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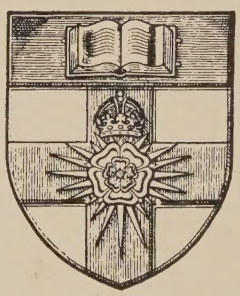

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PROCEEDINGS

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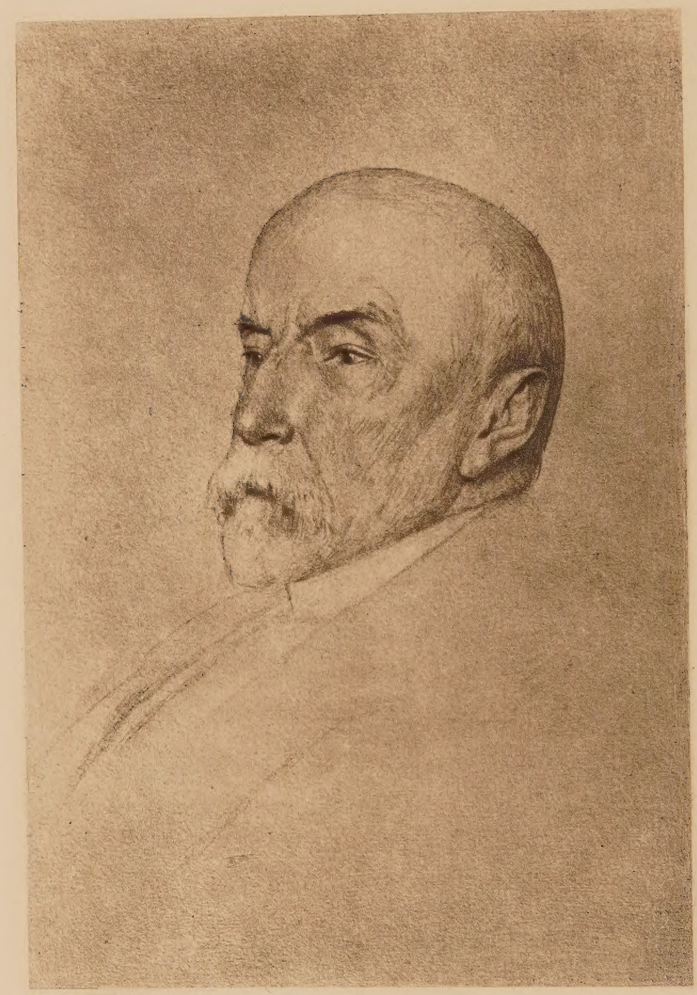

MHS

Henry Adams
From a drawing by
John Briggs Potter

Massachusetts Historical Society

Founded 1791

PROCEEDINGS

OCTOBER, 1917—JUNE, 1918

VOLUME LI

Published at the Charge of the Appleton Fund

Boston
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MEMBERS DECEASED,

July, 1917 — June, 1918.

Resident.

1867, Charles Card Smith	March 20, 1918.
1887, Edwin Pliny Seaver	Dec. 8, 1917.
1897, Leverett Wilson Spring	Dec. 23, 1917.
1901, Thomas Leonard Livermore	Jan. 9, 1918.
1906, Arnold Augustus Rand	Dec. 23, 1917.
1910, Henry Morton Lovering	Jan. 21, 1918.

Honorary.

1901, Pasquale Villari	Dec. 7, 1917.
1908, Henry Adams	March 27, 1918.

Corresponding.

1875, Hubert Howe Bancroft	March 3, 1918.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1917.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the PRESIDENT, Mr. LODGE, in the chair.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, Mr. Lord was chosen Recording Secretary *pro tempore*. The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary, in the absence of the Librarian, reported the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Alfred Bowditch, a number of English political caricatures on Lord Bute and his party, and of Dutch caricatures on John Law and the Mississippi Scheme, taken from *Het groote Taferel der Dwaasheid*, etc., printed in 1720.

From Senator Lodge, thirty-five posters, for encouraging enlistments in the Army and Navy in the present war.

From Arthur Lord, a proof of a bookplate, made and signed by Sidney L. Smith, used for purchases of books from the bequest of Edward H. Hall to Harvard College Library.

From William A. Butterfield, half-tone engravings of William Dawes, of his wife Mrs. Mehitable May Dawes, after a portrait by Copley, and of the house of Samuel May, her father, on Orange (now Washington) Street, near Davis, Boston.

From the National Exchange Bank, Providence, R. I., an engraving from a painting by Stuart of Washington in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

A photograph, by the Society's photographer, of the painting in Faneuil Hall of Webster replying to Hayne, painted by Healy in 1850.

Mem.ᵒ of pr. Cost of ye Wine. Law.ᵗ m.ᵗ

The Cost in Madeira £40.4. Stek & pr Inv.ᵒ is a 53.12.

pd Capt. Gardner freight pr. rec.ᵗ —— " 4.~.~

pd Winthrop Sergent in Specie for import & Excise pr. Rec.ᵗ — £6.6.7

pd ditto pr. Rec.ᵗ £5.14.8 in Excise Orders for import & Excise at 11/2 3.4.~

pd for permit 10.ᵈ Truck ᵃ 2/. " 0.2.10 " 9.13.5

½ " — 33.12.8½ 67.5.5

½ " — 33.12.8½ " 67.5.5

Boston Augᵗ 12. 1788 Recᵈ of Wᵐ Erving esqʳ the by an order on the Bank in favour of John Codman junʳ thirty three pounds 12/8 for one half of a Pipe of Madeira wine above mentioned, imported in the Sloop Tilly William Coas Gardner Commʳ & for half of Charges aforesaid

£33.12.8 pd James Bowdoin

Gift of Hon. George Peabody Wetmore.

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, two English military badges picked up on the battlefields in France, 1917.

From Francis H. Manning, the medal used at the 51st National Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic, Boston, 1917.

The Editor reported the following gift and purchases:

By gift, from George Peabody Wetmore, a memorandum in the writing of James Bowdoin of the cost of a pipe of Madeira imported in 1788, and divided between himself and William Erving.

By purchase: the letter-book of John March, agent in Gothenberg, Sweden, for American trading houses, 1811–1813.

Also nineteen sermons preached at Mansfield, Connecticut, by Rev. Benjamin Boardman (Yale, 1758),[1] of Middle Haddam and Hartford, and Rev. Moses Cook Welch (Yale, 1772),[2] of North Mansfield.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Rosebery was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

A Membership of Fifty Years.

The President then called upon Mr. Lord, who spoke as follows:

It has been thought appropriate at this meeting to formally notice the completion by our associate, Mr. Charles Card Smith, of fifty years of continuous membership in this Society. It may be interesting to note the fact that Mr. Smith, now in his ninety-first year, is the senior member in age and, with the exception of Dr. Green, who was elected a member in 1860, has held a longer membership than any other of our present associates.

I desire briefly to refer to Mr. Smith's services as the treasurer of the Society, and to leave to Mr. Ford the duty of speaking of Mr. Smith's contribution to the work of the Society during his term of service as its editor.

In 1877, ten years after his election as a member, he was chosen treasurer of the Society, which office he held until 1907. No one of the seven treasurers who preceded him surpassed him in length of service, and only one, his immediate predecessor,

[1] Dexter, *Yale Biographies*, II. 512. [2] *Ib.*, III. 459.

Richard Frothingham, held office for as many years. Of the 116 years of the life of the Society which had passed from 1791, the date of its organization, to 1907, when Mr. Smith declined a re-election, the terms of office of Mr. Frothingham and Mr. Smith covered sixty years, or more than half of that period.

At the time of his election the total assets of the Society in 1878, as appears by Mr. Smith's first report, were only $141,994, of which $103,280 was represented by the land and building on Tremont Street adjoining King's Chapel burying ground, and leased in part to the City of Boston, and the investments, apart from the real estate, aggregated only $35,146. The indebtedness of the Society secured by this real estate aggregated the sum of $75,000, and the income of the publication fund had been anticipated for the next three or four years. Compared with the position of the Society now, it was then the day of small things.

Thirty years go by and Mr. Smith retires from office. The real estate is entirely unencumbered. The land and building where we meet today is valued by the assessors at $196,000. The Society is free of any debt; the special funds of the Society had increased more than threefold, in number from six to twenty-two; the stock and bonds held by the treasurer as investments had increased more than twelvefold, from $35,000 to $434,000. It was a significant and gratifying showing of which he was justly proud.

Since his retirement he has never lost his interest in the financial affairs of the Society. His long experience, business sagacity and wise conservatism have been most helpful to his successor. I am glad of this opportunity to recognize and express my obligations to Mr. Smith, and in his words in the tribute paid by him to his predecessor, to say: "The present treasurer desires to add his testimony to the good judgment and ability with which his predecessor administered the financial affairs of the Society during his long term of service."

Mr. Ford said:

Entering the Society in April, 1867, Mr. Smith has memories of four of its Presidents, and of members sufficient in number to complete the roll of the resident membership twice

over. Never a voluminous contributor to the *Proceedings*, he has been distinctly the useful member, ready to accept the committee work laid upon him, and willing to perform those occasional demands which the routine of the Society entailed. He became the responsible Editor of the publications of the Society in 1889, and in the eighteen years of his service as such sixteen volumes of *Collections* and seventeen of *Proceedings* appeared — or nearly two volumes a year. In his dealings with his contributors, he held their confidence, giving friendly encouragement to those who needed it, and generous appreciation and kindly criticism to those who sought them. He maintained a high standard of accuracy, a necessary quality in historical writing, and was always coldly impartial in his treatment of material. After eighteen years, still in the possession of his powers, he gracefully retired from office, leaving the Society entire freedom of action. It was my good fortune to become his successor; it was my better fortune to find in him a guide and adviser, knowing the traditions of the Society, generous with his wide knowledge and anxious to advance our interests so far as in him lay. After a half century of intimate connection with the Society he has the respect of all the members; and of those who have known him the affection.

Recent Congressional Legislation.

Mr. Lodge then spoke as follows:

I have not had the pleasure and satisfaction of presiding over a meeting of the Society since last November. This enforced absence however has been my misfortune and not my fault. I have been the victim of circumstances. But I have felt that after this long interval, if I could have the indulgence of the Society I should like to say something in regard to the events of the past year. That period has been signalized by one of the greatest events of modern history and it has been a year crowded with great events. I refer, of course, to the entrance of the United States into the world war. When Canning uttered his famous declaration in the House of Commons, that he would call in the new world to redress the balance of the old, he little thought how that declaration would be

carried out. We have entered the war and we are now engaged in the great effort to redress the balance of the old world.

I am going to say a few words about what led up to this momentous action on the part of the United States and what has been done since. It will be remembered that the last election turned and was decided upon the assertion that the President had kept the peace and that he would continue to keep the peace. Many Democrats, I think, voted for the Republican candidate, but many more Republicans voted for Mr. Wilson on the sole ground that he had kept the peace; and although the margins in many states were narrow the result was decisive.

The President, on the 18th of December, almost immediately after the assembling of Congress, sent to the powers, the other nations of the world, what was known as the "peace note," which seemed to be the logical deduction from the election which had just taken place. It so chanced that the note appeared almost simultaneously with Germany's first attempt to bring about some sort of German peace, an unlucky coincidence. The President followed up his note by an address to the Senate in favor of a league for peace, what might be called a peace plan. That was on January 22, 1917. Both the Peace Note and the Peace Plan brought forth much criticism and caused but little satisfaction here. It is not, therefore, without interest in this connection to consider for a moment their reception in Germany which does not seem to have accorded entirely with the enthusiasm of Count Bernstorff who in a New York newspaper compared the President's note to the Star of Bethlehem.

There has just been published a book entitled *My Four Years in Germany*, by Mr. Gerard, which is very interesting and very instructive as to the effect of the President's position in the winter of 1916–1917 upon German opinion. It appears from Mr. Gerard's book that all the leading members of the government as well as the German press — and I suppose Germans generally, although that does not matter — all felt that after the election carried upon the peace issue and after the President's peace note there was no possibility of the United States going into the war; that neither the President could advise war nor that the people would follow him into war if he

should advise it. They were also dissatisfied with the "Peace Plan" because it was not in every respect as consonant with German plans and as thoroughly friendly to Germany as they expected and desired it to be.

This attitude of the German mind is an interesting illustration of the point at which the Germans have been curiously inefficient — their utter failure to form any just judgment of the psychology of other nations. They were perfectly confident that England would not come into the war. They believed England to be on the verge of civil war, and it broke on them with a shock of tremendous surprise when England went unitedly into the war upon the invasion of Belgium. We learn from Mr. Gerard's book that a similar surprise was occasioned in Germany when we acted and went to war with practical unanimity.

I do not think that the fact of this German belief in our determination to have peace at any price was decisive of their action; I believe that they would have taken the same action in any event, but they were nevertheless proceeding upon that belief. They followed up the President's plan for peace by declaring a new submarine zone and stated in their note to us that we could send one ship, painted as nearly as one could make out like a barber's pole, once a week to some given port, but that with this insulting exception they were going to make the new submarine campaign ruthless and all-destructive. The Chancellor stated that this new campaign had been delayed merely because they were waiting until they had completed a sufficient number of submarines. Perhaps you may not all realize just what that statement meant. It meant that the assurances which they had given to this country after the *Sussex* incident were absolutely false and that every note they wrote was false, and that they knew them to be false and meant them to be so; that they had no idea of carrying out any one of those assurances. Therefore when they issued their declaration of the new zone they of course broke all the assurances which they had given this country, and thereupon the President severed relations with Germany on the third of February, 1917.

The Congress was then drawing toward its last days. It was a period of very deep anxiety and very severe strain, because it was not at all clear what we were going to do. The

President asked for authority from Congress to arm merchantmen. A bill for that purpose passed the House and came to the Senate in the closing days of February. It was reported unanimously from the Foreign Relations Committee, but in the Senate a resistance in the form of Parliamentary obstruction developed on the part of a small group of senators who have since, with a few exceptions, been resisting or seeking to injure directly or indirectly all war legislation. Owing to the fact that we were in the last day of the session the cloture could not be applied; there was not time for it and there was therefore no method of giving the President by law the authority asked for. I was inclined myself to agree with him that he could have armed the merchantmen without specific authority from Congress. The importance of congressional action, it seemed to me then, was that in this way we gave the crews of merchantmen and all men on board a military status and took them out of the possibility of being treated as pirates. There was a defect in our existing laws which ought to have been covered. But however that may be, the bill failed and Congress adjourned.

The President at first was inclined not to call the new Congress until the last possible moment. There were three large regular appropriation bills which went over, and this made it necessary in any event to summon Congress before the end of the fiscal year, which was June 30. But overt acts continued to be committed by the German government, and on the 21st of March the President called Congress in extraordinary session. Congress convened on the 2d of April and the President came before the houses that same evening and delivered the message which all the world read, a most admirable message and a very powerful statement of the American case. Four days later Congress passed the war resolution declaring that a state of war existed with Germany, and it was at once signed by the President.

As I have been to a certain extent a participant in what has happened since that time, I thought that the Society would permit me to call attention to the conditions we in Congress were obliged to meet and to what we have done. You see reports from day to day in the newspapers, but perhaps the facts have not been all brought to your attention in a single statement.

It is to be remembered, in the first place, that we were

practically wholly unprepared. There was a strong movement for preparation immediately after the war in Europe opened in 1914. At that time the President discountenanced the movement and referred to those who were urging preparation as nervous and excited. A year later he had changed his mind and he made, as you all recall, a tour through the country strongly urging preparation. The Secretary of War had a plan for increasing the regular army, having what he termed a "continental army" as a reserve, of 400,000 men, and also for making large expenditures for munitions. Unfortunately, the chairman of the House Military Committee, Mr. Hay of Virginia, who has since been made a judge, had held that position for many years and had always resisted doing anything for the proper increase of the regular army. He too had a characteristic plan which really did nothing, and the President accepted Mr. Hay's plan. This resulted in the retirement of Mr. Garrison from the cabinet. I think that I am speaking within bounds when I say that Mr. Hay by his policy did more injury to this country at a great crisis than any one man I have ever known of in either branch of Congress. Therefore when war was declared two precious years had been wasted and practically nothing done in the way of preparation for the army. Even the regular army appropriation bill for this year had not been passed on March 4. It was one of the bills which had gone over.

The navy fared better. The chairman of the House Committee on Naval Affairs, is Mr. Padgett of Tennessee; he has been for many years chairman of that committee, has a remarkable knowledge of everything connected with the navy and is a very wise and liberal-minded man. Mr. Padgett in 1916 prepared a bill which had in it a good deal of legislation in addition to the appropriations, and in due course it came over to the Senate. It so happened that I was one of the subcommittee of two to whom the bill was referred, and as the full committee adopted the bill without a change and as the Senate subsequently adopted the committee bill without a change, I think I may say that Senator Swanson of Virginia, who owing to the illness of Senator Tillman was the acting chairman of the committee, and to whom the country owes a great debt, and I really framed the Senate amendments, two

hundred and fifty in number. I mention this merely because I am trying to show what happened to the navy and what a benefit even this one year of preparation proved to be.

The Naval Bill of 1916 was really a great legislative measure with incidental appropriations. We legislated for the Naval Reserve; we created the naval militia; we provided for taking over in time of war the revenue cutter service and the coast survey service. We revised the law in regard to the personnel of the navy, regulating promotions, and a vast mass of other detail legislation, all making for the preparation of the navy. We appropriated $313,000,000, covering the largest programme ever made in this country, and as large, I think, as has ever been made in almost any country for a single year, and it seemed at that moment a very large amount. Today it seems very moderate.

That bill passed in August, 1916. Last winter we passed another naval bill with comparatively little legislation in it, for not much was needed, but we increased the appropriations. We gave the President $150,000,000 for the purchase of submarine chasers and patrol boats and to expedite the building of vessels already contracted for, and we made further large authorizations. This bill appropriated over $500,000,000. It was the 3d of March when that bill became law, only a month before war was declared. The other bill was passed less than a year before. Yet the fact that even this amount of preparation had been made has been of inestimable value. And if you will pause a moment to think you will recall how little has been said about preparation in the navy since the war began and comparatively little money voted — I say comparatively — a good many hundred millions have been added, but comparatively it has been little. The navy was able to move at once. Before April had expired we had destroyers on the coast of Ireland, and we have been adding to them steadily, until now we have a very formidable fleet of that character on the other side of the water.

There has been a great deal done in Congress in addition to this. Great powers have been granted to the President, necessary powers, as I think, wisely granted, as I hope. We have created a Shipping Board with enormous powers and enormous appropriations, which is taking over practically all

the shipping of the United States. We were very unfortunate in the man who was first made chairman of that Board, Mr. Denman of California. I do not need to go into details; it is enough to say that his operations in the board caused a delay of something like five months, and instead of beginning to get vessels early next spring we shall be lucky if we get any by next July.

We also established a Food Commission and a Coal Commission, and they are engaged in an experiment which is to me of immense interest. History tends to show that all attempts at price fixing have been failures, but we are now attempting to lower prices — not only to fix prices but to lower prices except labor prices and costs — and at the same time to stimulate production, increase confidence, reduce profits and place huge loans. I am anxious to see how well it works. It is an ambitious programme. If it works successfully it will be a great benefit but I venture to think that there are risks and uncertainties connected with it.

We have also a commission on railroad transportation to determine priority of shipments.

The part of all this work with which I came in closest contact was that which fell upon Congress, the work which Congress was called upon to do and which could be done only by Congress. Congress has its defects, nobody is more aware of them than I, but sometimes it is without reason made a packhorse for every fault that can be found or imagined. The newspapers steadily charged Congress with intolerable delay and that we were wasting time in discussions. The best answer to this charge is to state what Congress actually has accomplished. I might say in addition that Mr. Balfour and the heads of other missions who were here spoke not only in praise but with wonder at the amount that was accomplished in Congress; and the newspapers, I think, in getting impatient of debate, hardly stopped to consider that we could not pass and ought not to have passed without discussion bills which entirely revolutionized what we are pleased to call our constitutional privileges and rights, and that it was inevitable and proper that there should be some discussion about them. Delays, grievous delays there have been but not in the legislative branch of the government.

Now as to this question of congressional delay. I shall not take long, but I think it may interest the Society to know what the Congress has actually done since the declaration of war on the 6th day of April. We first passed a general deficiency appropriation act appropriating $163,000,000, of which $100,000,000 was for national security and defence and for each and every purpose connected with the war.

We passed an act authorizing the issue of bonds to meet measures for national security. This act appropriated $3,000,000,000 for establishing credits for foreign governments and $2,000,000,000 to meet domestic expenditures, and a certain additional amount to consolidate and take up some small outstanding loans.

We passed an act giving an additional midshipman to each Senator and each congressional district.

We passed the regular appropriation act carrying $223,000,000 for the support of the army for the regular fiscal year.

We passed an act authorizing the President to increase temporarily the military establishment of the United States — this was the act which authorized the selective draft of a million men — and there was a great deal of subsidiary legislation connected with it. Members will recall that it took England and Canada some three years to pass conscription acts.

We passed a resolution authorizing the President to take over for the United States shipping owned in whole or in part by any corporation, citizen or subject of any nation with which the United States may be at war. This covered the German vessels, something over 500,000 tons. They are now all in the service, practically, and serving as transports for our troops.

We passed an act to increase the commission and warrant and enlisted strength of the navy from 87,000 to 150,000 men and of the Marine Corps from 17,000 to 30,000.

We passed the regular act making appropriations for the Military Academy.

We passed an act amending the War Risk Insurance Act; and then the regular act appropriating $147,000,000 for the sundry civil expenses.

We passed the deficiency bill appropriating $3,281,000,000 for the military and naval establishments, and this act appro-

priated, among other things, $405,000,000 for an emergency shipping fund.

We passed an act to punish acts of interference with foreign relations known as the Espionage Bill. It contained really twelve different bills which had been introduced on these subjects, consolidated into one measure.

We passed an act — I am leaving out many small ones — we passed an act appropriating $640,000,000 to increase temporarily the Signal Corps of the army and to purchase, manufacture, maintain, prepare and operate airships; and also an act in connection with it authorizing the United States to take possession of a site for a permanent aviation station.

We passed the River and Harbor Bill, carrying $27,000,000, which looks very moderate at this time.

We passed an act enlarging the Interstate Commerce Commission;

An act appropriating $11,346,400, to stimulate food production;

An act known as the Food and Fuel Act, appropriating $162,500,000 for the conservation of food products and fuel;

An act to authorize an additional issue of war bonds. This is the second bond issue, under which the present loan is being made. This act makes an additional appropriation of $4,000,000,000 to extend credit in the United States to our allies and for the expenses incident to the preparation and issue of bonds and certificates; and it authorizes an additional issue of $3,000,000,000 of bonds to meet the loans to foreign governments (that covers the $3,000,000,000 of the first act) and an additional issue of one-year certificates of indebtedness beyond the $2,000,000,000 and an issue of five-year war-saving certificates, making $5,000,000,000, carrying all together $7,000,000,000 of new loans.

We have just passed an act appropriating $5,650,000,000 to supply deficiencies in the appropriation for the fiscal year 1918. This is the largest appropriation act ever passed by this or any other country.

We passed an act to define, regulate and punish trading with the enemy and for other purposes, which appropriates $450,000. That is the "Trading with the Enemy Act," a very important act.

We passed an act to provide revenues to defray war expenses and for other purposes. This provides approximately $2,500,000,000, of revenue to defray the expense of government. That is the tax bill, of which I shall say a word presently.

We passed an act to provide a military and naval family allowance, compensation and insurance fund, known as the Soldiers' Insurance Act.

Finally a further act authorizing the Shipping Board to license the use of vessels of foreign registry and construction for the coastwise trade for the period of the war and 120 days thereafter.

I think this is a very remarkable list of measures which have been passed in six months. The bill which caused the greatest difficulty and consumed the most time was the revenue bill. Bills to spend money and bills to borrow money reaching into the billions passed in a few days and sometimes in a few hours. There was no opposition to either spending or borrowing in Congress or in the country so far as we could see. But when it came to imposing taxes the scene changed and cheerfulness and unanimity disappeared. The bill came over from the House on the 25th of May and the Committee on Finance, of which I happened to be a member, had that bill for over two months in committee, meeting every day for six or seven hours a day, literally every day. We then had three weeks of debate in the Senate, where there were differences of opinion which had not appeared before on the bond bills and the appropriation bills, and it then went to conference, where it remained for nearly three weeks and which was the most disagreeable part of the whole business. The House appeared to be obstinate; the Senate, of course, was firm. The result was a great deal of debate, which filled whole days for three weeks, including Sundays. The result is that we have now imposed upon this country for the fiscal year 1917, including the taxes already imposed by existing law, between $3,800,000,000 and $4,000,000,000, a larger sum to take from a people in taxation than has ever been attempted by any nation in the world. I was one of those who thought that we went too far, that we went beyond the line of safety in the taxation of profits and of incomes; and I am afraid we have done so, but we had great difficulty in holding the rates at the figures established by the committee. To give

you an idea of what these taxes amount to, the percentage of expenditures to be raised by direct taxation is 36.02 per cent. The highest proportion of taxes to loans in providing for expenditures in time of war was in the last year of our Civil War, when we raised as much as 30 per cent of the expenditures by taxation. We are now raising 36.02 per cent and the percentage to be met by government obligations is 63.98 per cent. The percentages raised by direct taxation by other countries involved in the present war after three years of war are:

	Per Cent.
England	26.00
France	14.12
Germany	14⅞
Canada	8

It is of course sound finance to take a large proportion of the expenditures from taxation, but this principle can easily be carried too far, can in fact be made ruinous. And what a strong element in Congress were disposed to overlook was the fact that it was essential to our financial stability and success to keep business as productive and active as possible. For that purpose you must have a certain surplus, so that business can extend and maintain itself. You also must look to that same surplus for all your loans. There was nothing else to do, nowhere else to go for money. When I tell you that it required a great effort and a strong contest in the Senate to defeat a proposition to put a tax of 76 per cent flat on all profits, war profits and peace profits alike, you can see that we have not been as excessive as some people desired, because there were members of both House and Senate who thought this was an excellent time to seize upon "criminal wealth."

Men, munitions and money are the essential things. We have the money; the munitions, I am sorry to say, are only beginning to come in. I will give you one example which will give you an idea of what lack of preparation means. The Departments came in on the 2d day of July and furnished us their estimates for the coming year, $5,563,000,000, and we passed our original revenue bill which was confined to war profits, on those figures. Twenty days later the heads of Departments came in with additional estimates for appropriations reaching nearly six billions. When the last appro-

priation bill had passed, between the time that it came to the Senate and while the Senate Committee had it under consideration for a report, they brought in $700,000,000 additional estimate. One item let me speak of as an illustration. We had been told in past years that we were well off in field artillery. They came before us — General Crozier, the head of the Ordnance Department and others, came before us when these great estimates came in, additional estimates, and informed us that for an army of a million men we needed 16,000 pieces of field artillery, the bulk of them 3s, which correspond to the French 75s; but all kinds, including mortars and up to as heavy as 9-inch guns, which would take a year to make. We actually had 600 pieces of field artillery, only enough to train our troops here, and when war was declared no shells to speak of.

Of course this lack of preparedness has increased the expenditure enormously because everything has to be done in such haste and in the most expensive way, but still, slowly with much stumbling and confusion, it is being done.

I thought perhaps these figures — although figures are dry — might be of interest as a contemporary historical record in our proceedings.

Before concluding I wish to say one word about the situation as it appears to us in Washington. It is the intention of the President and the administration at this time, I know, to carry this war through; and that is the intention of the overwhelming majority in Congress; the settled purpose of many who were very reluctant to go to war as well as of many who thought we ought to have gone to war long before the time when we did. The Government, Congress and President mean to carry the war through. Yet we see the newspapers filled with talk about peace, which all comes directly or indirectly from the enemy; it either emanates from Germany or is accidentally very like what the Germans are suggesting. We have had a note from the Pope, we have had resolutions in Congress, and we have had a great deal of general irresponsible talk about peace. This talk all proceeds with slight variations on the basis of the *status quo ante bellum*. To my mind — and I know this is the view of the administration — every man, the President who delivered the war message and Congress who voted for war, would be guilty of the blackest of crimes if they

were willing to make a peace on the *status quo ante bellum* and recreate the situation which existed before the war. If we send our armies and our young men abroad to be killed and wounded in northern France and in Flanders with no result but this, our entrance into war with such an intention was a crime which nothing can justify. The intent of Congress and the intent of the President, which I saw he reiterated only day before yesterday, was that there could be no peace until we could create a situation where no such war as this could recur. To make peace on the basis of the *status quo ante bellum* simply means that Germany will have a breathing space and the whole horror will come over again, with the chance that we shall not be all united as we are now. We must have peace with victory, complete victory, no other will stand or be worth having.

The President in his letter to the Pope stated what is the absolute truth — that we have no one now we can negotiate with. We cannot negotiate with a government which has declared that treaties are scraps of paper to be torn up when it feels like it. We cannot make peace in the ordinary way. We cannot in the first place make peace, except in company with our allies. There may be no written conventions or treaties, but it would brand us with everlasting dishonor and bring ruin to us also if we undertook to make a separate peace. Therefore there is only one alternative, and that is to bring Germany to her knees and force upon her a peace which we shall dictate and which will make the world safe — not merely safe for democracy, but safe for all the allied free countries to pursue their own way in security and work out their own salvation.

If we had not gone into this war and Germany had won it we should have been the next victim and we should have been compelled to fight alone. We must win the war, we shall win this war. Of the final result I have no sort of doubt. But the feeling in Congress — I mean of the great majority of both houses — is that any peace at all at this time or any argument for peace at this moment is little short of hostility to the United States and is distinctly helpful to Germany. Those charged with the responsibility of Government feel very strongly that the hour has not come for talk, idle talk about peace on German terms. I am sure that such is the feeling of the administration — as sure as I can be of anything

which has been directly told to me. This is the situation in which the country stands today; this is the legislation which Congress has passed.

I have taken much more time than I intended but I trust the Society will not think the hour misspent. I shall take the liberty of adding a financial statement by Senator Smoot of Utah the highest and most careful authority on this subject in the Senate.

APPROPRIATIONS, ESTIMATED RECEIPTS, ETC.

[Statement prepared by Senator Smoot.]

The direct appropriations made for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, total	$18,879,177,014.96
There have been contracts authorized by acts of Congress, in addition to direct appropriations, to be met by future appropriations by Congress amounting to	2,511,553,925.50
Included in the direct appropriations are the following items that will not be paid out of the appropriations authorized and for advances to foreign countries, which will be paid back to our Government with interest:	
The first war-risk insurance act, later repealed	$10,000,000.00
The sinking fund never set aside	60,000,000.00
Loans to foreign countries	7,000,000,000.00
Interest on loans to foreign countries	170,000,000.00
Total	$7,240,000,000.00
Appropriations made	$18,879,177,014.96
Deductions not direct payments for Government expenses	7,240,000,000.00
Actual Government expenses for year appropriated for	11,639,177,014.96
Revenues to be raised under existing laws:	
From acts in force before this present extra session of Congress	$1,333,500,000.00
From the revenue act passed this session	2,534,870,000.00
From post-office receipts (provision for expenses of the Post Office Department is included in the annual appropriations)	325,000,000.00
Total revenue	$4,193,370,000.00

Appropriations for expenses of the Government	$11,639,177,014.96
Revenues of the Government	4,193,370,000.00
Balance to be provided for	$7,445,807,014.96
The act of Sept. 24, 1917, authorizes an additional issue of bonds to meet expenditures of the Government of	3,538,945,460.00
From this it will be seen that the appropriations already made are not covered either by direct taxation or the authorization of a bond issue or other Government obligations amounting to the difference between	$7,445,807,014.96
And	3,538,945,460.00
Or a balance of	$3,906,861,554.96

The next Congress will no doubt provide means for meeting this uncovered amount.

	Per Cent
The percentage to be raised by direct taxation is	36.02
The percentage to be met by Government obligations	63.98
The percentages raised by direct taxation by other countries involved in the present war, after three years of continuous and bloody war, are as follows:	
England	26
France	14½
Germany	14⅞
Canada	8
United States	36.02

I also add some tables giving a few details of distribution and some comparisons relating to the appropriations of this memorable year. I am sure that these tables and Senator Smoot's statement will be found very valuable for future reference.

APPROPRIATIONS

Military Establishment and War Department, including sums in the army, military academy, deficiency, fortification and other acts	$7,522,726,441.39
Naval Establishment and Navy Department, including sums in the naval, deficiency, and other acts	1,604,840,690.43
Shipping Board and Emergency Fleet Corporation	1,040,517,500.00
National defense fund placed at the disposal of the President	100,000,000.00
Loans to the Allies	7,000,000,000.00
Control of foods and fuels and stimulation of agricultural production	173,846,400.00
Carry forward	$17,441,931,031.82

Appropriations — *Continued.*

Brought forward	$17,441,931,031.82
Soldiers' and sailors' insurance and family allowances	176,250,000.00
Interest on bonds and certificates (estimated)	200,000,000.00
All other expenses and services, including insurance of merchant vessels and their crews	102,047,244.55
Expenses of conducting the civil establishment of the Government, including pensions, etc.	958,948,738.59
Total appropriations	$18,879,177,014.96

Contracts or Authorizations in Addition to Appropriations

Military establishment	$1,389,452,750.00
Naval establishment	271,851,175.50
Shipping Board and Emergency Corporation	849,000,000.00
New building for the Treasury Department	1,250,000.00
Total contracts or authorizations	$2,511,553,925.50
Grand total appropriations and authorizations	$21,390,730,940.46
Sixty-fourth Congress, second session	$1,977,210,200.05
Sixty-fifth Congress, first session	16,901,966,814.91
Contract authorizations, 1918	2,511,553,925.50
Total for fiscal year 1918	$21,390,730,940.46
*Total appropriations, 1918	$11,879,177,014.96
*Total appropriations and contract authorizations	14,390,730,940.46

* Exclusive of $7,000,000,000 loans to the Allies.

Mr. Matthews contributed the

Journal of William Loughton Smith, 1790–1791.

The author of this Journal, now made accessible for the first time,[1] was William Smith of Charleston, South Carolina. His father, Benjamin Smith (1718–1770), was a noted man in his day, having filled many offices in his native province. William was his third son and fifth child by his first wife, Anne Loughton, who died February 29, 1760.[2] Late in life — apparently in or about 1804[3] — Mr. Smith added his mother's

[1] See p. 35, note 3, *infra*.

[2] For a sketch of the Smith family, see "William Smith and some of his Descendants," by A. S. Salley, Jr., in the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* for July, 1903, IV. 239–257, 313.

[3] A letter dated August 18, 1800, is signed "W. S.:" *Life of John Pickering*,

William Loughton Smith
From the Miniature by Trumbull
in Yale University

surname, and thereafter called himself William Loughton Smith.[1]

Early in 1770, at the age of twelve, young Smith was sent by his father, who had himself been educated in England, to Europe for his education, and did not return to this country until November, 1783.[2] Almost immediately he plunged into public life, and in November, 1788, was elected to Congress from Charleston district, South Carolina. On the ground of eligibility, his election was contested by Dr. David Ramsay,[3]

177. In a letter dated December 8, 1803, Timothy Pickering refers to "William Smith, Esq." (see p. 27, *infra*). In a letter dated October 18, 1804, Mr. Smith for the first time, so far as I have noted, signed himself "Wm. Loughton Smith." *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, IV. 427.

[1] Mr. Salley says that Mr. Smith had two book-plates, some bearing "the name 'William Smith. L.L.D. Charleston S. Carolina' and some [having] 'W^{m} Loughton Smith. L.L.D. Charleston S. Carolina.'" The former is here reproduced from a copy on the inside of the cover of *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States, Anno M.DCC,LXXXIX, . . .* New-York, owned by the Connecticut Historical Society. A number of Mr. Smiths' letters are in the Pickering Papers, in this Society.

Three portraits of Mr. Smith are in existence. Mr. Salley says that "Gilbert Stuart painted a portrait of him, and Sartain is said to have made an engraving from it." Sartain's engraving is from Stuart's portrait of the Rev. Dr. William Smith, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, painted in 1800, and engraved in 1880 for the second volume of H. W. Smith's *Life and Correspondence of William Smith, D.D.* Col. John Trumbull painted two portraits of our Mr. Smith: one, painted in 1792, is owned by Yale University; the other was in 1892 owned by Dr. G. E. Manigault of Charleston. The third portrait, though not listed in G. C. Mason's *Life and Works of Gilbert Stuart*, was painted by Stuart in or before 1796 and is now owned by the Carolina Art Association of Charleston. All three portraits are reproduced in *History of the Centennial Celebration of the Inauguration of George Washington as First President of the United States* (Bowen, 1892), 102.

Stuart's portrait was engraved by Edward Savage, the legend reading: "G. Stuart Pinx^{t} — E: Savage Sculp^{t} William Smith of South Carolina, L.L.D. Member of the Congress of the United States. Pub: March 11th 1796 by E Savage Philad^{a}" Mr. C. H. Hart, from whose article (2 *Proceedings*, XIX. 16) I quote, says that "A state of this plate is without 'L.L.D.,' and address." Obviously the "L.L.D." could not have been added until after September 28, 1796.

It is perhaps worth adding that in 1792 the city of Charleston instructed Mr. Smith to employ Trumbull to paint a portrait of Washington: see Trumbull's *Autobiography*, 166–167.

[2] In 1774 he went from London to Geneva, and is several times mentioned by Henry Laurens in letters to his son John, who was also at Geneva. *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, III. 215; IV. 30, 32, 100, 216.

[3] Dr. Ramsay published two pamphlets. One, evidently published in the spring of 1789, is entitled: *A Dissertation on the Manner of acquiring the Character and Privileges of a Citizen of the United States.* Printed in the Year MDCCLXXXIX. It contains no allusion to himself, to Mr. Smith, or to the election. The other, the prefatory note to which is dated "New-York, Sept. 17,

and to this fact is due the following interesting autobiographical sketch, extracted from a speech made in the House of Representatives on May 22, 1789:

As the House are inclined to hear the observations I have to make I shall begin with admitting the facts stated in the memorial of Doctor Ramsay, hoping the House will excuse the egotism into which I am unavoidably drawn. I was born in Charleston, South Carolina, of a family whose ancestors were among the first settlers of that colony, and was sent to England for my education when I was but twelve years of age. In 1774, I was sent to Geneva, to pursue my studies, where I resided till 1778. In November, that year, I went to Paris, where I resided upwards of two months in the character of an American gentleman. Immediately on my arrival there, I waited on Doctor Franklin, Mr. Adams, and Mr. A. Lee, the commissioners from Congress to the Court of France, as a citizen of America, and was received as such by them. In January, 1779, I left Paris for London, whither I went to procure the means of embarking for America, from the gentleman who had been appointed my guardian by my father when I was first sent to Europe in 1770, and from whom alone I had any hope of obtaining such means. But in this endeavor, I was disappointed, and remained some time in England, with the hope of receiving remittances from Charleston. Here again my expectation was defeated. The rapid depreciation of the Continental money rendered the negotiation of money transactions extremely difficult, and thus I remained till the fall of Charleston. I took this opportunity of studying the law,[1] but could not be called to the bar, because I had not taken the oath of allegiance to Great Britain, which is a necessary qualification. After the surrender of Charleston, the whole State of South Carolina, fell into the hands of the enemy, and it was impossible at that

1789," is entitled: *Observations on the Decision of the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 22d Day of May, 1789; Respecting the Eligibility of the Hon. William Smith, of South-Carolina, to a Seat in that House.* By David Ramsay, M.D. New-York: Printed by Hodge, Allen, and Campbell. M. DCC. LXXXIX. This contains many references to Mr. Smith. Allusions to this contested election will be found in Jefferson's *Writings* (Ford), IX. 53 *n.*, in Madison's *Writings* (Hunt), v. 366, and in Hildreth's *History of the United States*, iv. 45. In a letter (owned by this Society) to the Rev. John Eliot, dated December 27, 1790, Dr. Ramsay stated that he had sent Eliot copies of his two pamphlets, and said: "I still think Congress, or rather the house of representatives, violated the constitution in admitting Mr. Smith's claim to citizenship while he was in Europe."

[1] In the list of admissions to the Inner Temple occurs the name of "William Smith, South Carolina, 1774." C. Meriwether, *History of Higher Education in South Carolina* (1889), 26.

time to return. No sooner, however, did I acquire the means, and an opportunity offered, than I prepared myself to go back to America. I quitted London for that purpose in October or November, 1782, not in a vessel bound to Charleston, then a British garrison, and which I certainly should have done, had I considered myself a British subject, and which would have been most convenient, as there were vessels constantly going from London to Charleston; but I travelled to Ostend, and there embarked in a neutral vessel bound to St. Kitt's, from whence it was my intention to proceed to a Danish island, and thence to some American port in North Carolina or Georgia, from whence I could reach the American camp. In the beginning of January, 1783, I sailed from Ostend, but was detained a considerable time by contrary winds, and in the middle of the month of February, was shipwrecked on the coast of England, and was obliged to return to London in order to procure another passage. These circumstances unavoidably prevented my return to Charleston, until some time in November, 1783.

On my arrival at Charleston, I was received by my countrymen as a citizen of the State of South Carolina, and elected by their free suffrage a member of the Legislature in November, 1784. In the August following, I was chosen, by the Governor and Council, a member of the Privy Council, and this election was confirmed by the Legislature in the October following. In September, the same year, I was elected one of the Wardens of the City of Charleston. In November, 1786, I was again elected into the Legislature; again in November, 1788; I was elected at the same time that I was elected to the House of Representatives of the United States, the September preceding having been chosen again a Warden of the city.[1]

From the beginning Mr. Smith took an active part in the debates and soon became one of the leading Federalists. In

[1] Mr. Smith took his seat April 13, 1789. On April 15 Dr. Ramsay's petition was presented, on April 18 Mr. Clymer's report was read, the report was considered on April 18, 29, May 12, 21, and 22, when Mr. Smith was seated by a vote of 36 to 1. *Annals of Congress* under the above dates, pp. 121, 143, 168, 231, 329, 397–408. On May 12 Mr. Clymer reported, "That Mr. Smith appeared before them, and admitted that he had subscribed, and had caused to be printed in the State Gazette of South Carolina, of the twenty-fourth of November last, the publication which accompanies this report, and to which the petitioner doth refer as proof of the facts stated in his petition; that Mr. Smith also admitted that his father departed this life in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy, about five months after he sent him to Great Britain; that his mother departed this life about the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty; and that he was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court in South Carolina in the month of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four." Mr. Smith's father died at Newport, R. I., July 28, 1770.

1792 his first pamphlet, an attack on Jefferson, appeared, and during the next four years he published half a dozen other pamphlets, after which only one (in 1806) came from his pen.[1] Though he represented Charleston district continuously from 1789 to July, 1797, there was at least one time when he thought of withdrawing. Writing to Madison July 3, 1792, Jefferson said:

Smith of S. C. declines [offering himself at the next election] also. He has bought a fine house in Charleston for £5000 and had determined not even to come to the next session. But his friends it is said have made him promise to come. One gentleman from S. Carolina says he could not be re-elected. Another says there could be no doubt of his re-election. Commodore Gillon is talked of as his successor. Izard[2] gives it out that it is all false that Mr. Smith is so rich as has been represented, that he is in fact poor, cannot afford to live here, & therefore has retired to Charleston. Some add that he has entered again at the bar. The truth seems to be that they are alarmed, & he driven out of the field, by the story of the more modern Colchis. His furniture is gone off from hence [Philadelphia].[3]

On October 10, in a different strain, Hamilton wrote to C. C. Pinckney:

Some valuable characters are about to be lost to the House of Representatives. I feared once that this would be the case with Mr. Smith, of your State, but I believe his present intention is rather to continue to serve. I trust there can be no doubt of his success, and I wish means to be used to determine his acquiescence. He is truly an excellent member — a ready, clear speaker, of a sound analytic head, and the justest views. I know of no man whose loss would be more severely felt by the good cause.[4]

Two years later, Mr. Smith and Fisher Ames suffered the good old punishment of being burned in effigy. "It is reported," wrote Ames on March 5, 1794, "that William Smith and your humble servant have been burned in effigy in Charleston, South Carolina. The fire, you know, is pleasant, when it is not too near; and I am willing to have it believed, that, as I come out

[1] See the bibliography, pp. 76–88, *infra*.
[2] Ralph Izard, Mr. Smith's father-in-law.
[3] *Writings* (Ford), VI. 97–98.
[4] *Works* (Lodge), VIII. 287.

of the fire undiminished in weight, I am now all gold. I laugh, as you will suppose, at the rage of the burners."[1] And in a letter to Jefferson on March 26, Madison said: "The people of Charleston are taking a high tone. Their memorial, which is signed by Ramsay, the Gadzdens, Young Rutledge and a very great number of respectable Citizens, marks the deliberate sense of her people. The more violent has been expressed by hanging and burning the effigies of Smith Ames Arnold, Dumouriez & the Devil, *en groupe*."[2] On November 16 Madison again wrote: "In S. C., Smith has been carried by the British merchants in Charleston, and their debtors in the country, in spite of the Rutledges and Pinckney, who set up against him John Rutledge, Jr. Tucker was also a candidate. Smith had a majority of all the votes."[3]

When Washington was reorganizing his Cabinet in 1795, he wrote (October 29) to Hamilton: "Mr. Smith of South Carolina, some time ago, would have had no objection to filling a respectable office under the General Government, but what his views might lead to, or his abilities particularly fit him for, I am an incompetent judge; and besides, on the ground of popularity, his pretensions would, I fear, be small."[4] On November 5, Hamilton replied as follows:

> But for a Secretary of State, I know not what to say. *Smith*, though not of full size, is very respectable for talents, and has pretty various information. I think he has more *real talent* than the last incumbent of the office.[5] But there are strong objections to his appointment. I fear he is of an uncomfortable temperament. He is popular with no description of men, from a certain *hardness* of character; and he, more than most other men, is considered as tinctured with prejudices towards the British. In this particular his ground is somewhat peculiar. It may suit party views to say of other men, but more in this respect is *believed* with regard to Smith. I speak merely as to *bias* and *prejudice*. There are things, and important things, for which I would recommend Smith — thinking well of his abilities, information, industry, and integrity; but, at the present juncture, I believe his appointment to the office in question would be unadvisable. Besides, it is very important that he should not now be removed from the House of Representatives.[6]

[1] *Works* (S. Ames), I. 138.
[2] *Writings* (Hunt), VI. 211.
[3] *Letters and other Writings* (1865), II. 19.
[4] *Writings* (Ford), XIII. 131.
[5] Edmund Randolph.
[6] *Works*, (Lodge), VIII. 368.

On July 2, 1796, the Cabinet advised sending a new Minister to France, and among those suggested for the office was Mr. Smith; but with respect to him, Washington wrote to Pickering on July 8 that, "although it would be a very agreeable choice to me, I am sure it would not concenter those opinions, which policy would require."[1]

A year later, however, on July 6, 1797, President Adams nominated "William Smith, of Charleston, South Carolina, to be Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at the Court of Portugal, vice John Quincy Adams, removed to the Court of Berlin;" the nomination was confirmed by the Senate on the 10th.[2] Mr. Smith of course resigned his seat, and a week later issued the following address to his constituents:

To the Electors of Charleston District.

Philadelphia, July 18, 1797.

Fellow Citizens:

After having for upwards of eight years, had the honor of serving you in Congress, I cannot announce to you the vacancy of my seat, by the acceptance of an executive office, without expressing at the same time, my warmest thanks for the repeated proofs I have experienced of your kindness and partiality. When my conduct was misrepresented or misunderstood, you more than once generously interposed your candor to shield me from political degradation, and by your indulgent forbearance, afforded me the opportunity of establishing the rectitude of my conduct.

For these marked testimonies of your attachment, and for the very distinguished honor of being five times elected your representative in the national councils, I feel the most lively emotion of gratitude and affection.

In whatever clime my duty may call me, in whatever station my service may be required, I shall not cease to preserve those sentiments unimpaired, nor to pray for your happiness and the prosperity of a district, to which I shall ever continue strongly attached by the powerful ties of birth and gratitude.

I am, my fellow citizens, very respectfully your obedient Servant,

William Smith.[3]

[1] *Writings*, xiii. 236.

[2] *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate* (1828), i. 248, 249. The appointment was noted in the *City Gazette* (Charleston) of July 26, 1797. In his Anas, Jefferson wrote: "July, 1797. Murray is rewarded for his services by an appointment to Amsterdam; W. Smith of Charleston, to Lisbon" (*Writings*, i. 273).

[3] *City Gazette* (Charleston), August 3, 1797. For this extract I am indebted to Miss Mabel L. Webber of the South Carolina Historical Society.

On the day when that address was issued[1] Mr. Smith sailed from Philadelphia accompanied as his secretary by Timothy Pickering's son John, then a youth who had graduated from Harvard College only the year before.[2] On February 8, 1799, President Adams nominated "William Smith, our Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Portugal, to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Sublime Ottoman Porte, with full powers to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce between the United States of America and the dominions and dependencies of the Sublime Porte;" the nomination was confirmed by the Senate on the 11th,[3] but the mission was never sent.[4] Mr. Smith remained in Portugal from 1797 to 1801, though from March 2 to June 18, 1798, he was absent on a visit to Spain.[5] On September 9, 1801, he was superseded as Minister to Portugal;[6] early in October of that year he reached England;[7] for another two years he appears to have remained in Europe; and our last glimpse of him is in a letter from Timothy Pickering to his son John dated Washington, December 8, 1803:

Yesterday your friend William Smith, Esq., was to set off for Philadelphia, where he will embark for Charleston. He has visited Holland, France (I believe some parts of Germany and Switzerland), and Italy. He was present at Tangier when our little squadron was drawn up before it, and peace restored with the Emperor, whom he saw. He returned to the United States in the frigate which brought the news and the act of the Emperor declaring the Treaty

[1] In a letter dated Philadelphia, July 8, 1797, John Pickering said: "In about two weeks I embark for Europe. I go with Mr. William Smith, of Charleston, S. C., who is to be Minister Plenipotentiary at Lisbon." *Life of John Pickering*, 94. The *Minerva* (New York) of Monday, July 24, 1797, said: "Philadelphia, July 22. Tuesday last sailed for Lisbon, the ship *Dominick Terry*, capt. Dehart, in which went passenger Wm. Smith, Esq. minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the court of Portugal." In the *Philadelphia Gazette* of July 18 is noted, "Cleared, Ship *Dominick Terry*, De Hart. Lisbon."

[2] There is much about Mr. Smith in Mary O. Pickering's *Life of John Pickering* (1887), especially between pp. 94–219.

[3] *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate* (1828), I. 311, 312.

[4] See *Life of John Pickering*, 138–139, 143, 145, 146, 156, 160.

[5] *Ibid.*, 110, 121.

[6] *Register of the Department of State* (1871), 68. My reason for being so precise in regard to these appointments is because erroneous statements have been made about them. He was Minister to Portugal, not Chargé d'affaires, and he was never Minister to Spain.

[7] *Life of John Pickering*, 205.

made by the United States with his father in 1786. He desired me to present to you his very affectionate remembrance. He inquired with much interest of your situation and prospects at the Bar. He told me that he believed he should himself resume the practice of the law.[1]

Mr. Smith did not again enter public life, and died at Charleston in December, 1812. He was twice married: first, on May 1, 1786, to Charlotte Izard, daughter of Ralph Izard (1742–1804) and Alice (DeLancey) Izard, who died January 8, 1792;[2] and second, on December 19, 1805, to Charlotte Wragg. By his first wife he had Thomas Loughton Smith (who graduated at Princeton in 1807) and Anne Caroline Smith (who married May 22, 1820, Peter Pederson, Danish Minister to the United States); and by his second wife he had William Wragg Smith, who died unmarried, and Elizabeth Smith, who married Major Thomas Osborn Lowndes.[3]

Mr. Smith's career presents two puzzling problems — one biographical, the other bibliographical. They are due partly to the fact that late in life he changed his name, and partly to the fact that there was another William Smith who, though born in North Carolina in 1762, early removed to South Carolina, and who, by a singular coincidence, was in November, 1796, elected to Congress from Pinckney district in the latter State. This William Smith wrote little, and apparently nothing until about 1830, did not become prominent in politics until after our Mr. Smith had retired from public life, and did

[1] *Life of John Pickering*, 219.

[2] For an account of the Izard family, see the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, II. 205–240. In 1844 Mrs. Anne Izard Deas, who was a younger daughter of Ralph Izard, published the *Correspondence of Mr. Ralph Izard*. In a prefatory note she said (p. x) that "The last volume is chiefly composed of letters from his son-in-law — Mr. William Smith;" but only one volume was ever published, and I do not know where Mr. Smith's letters are.

[3] Mr. Smith was a correspondent of several of his more distinguished contemporaries, and is occasionally mentioned by them in their writings. Letters by him are printed in *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, II. 65–66, 164–167, IV. 427; Hamilton's *Works* (J. C. Hamilton), VI. 241–243; *Life of John Pickering*, 117–119, 155–156, 159, 176–177. Letters to him are printed in Hamilton's *Works* (Lodge), VIII. 382, 439, 442, 459, 461, 544. The more important references to him are given in the text or footnotes of this paper. Allusions to him will also be found in Hildreth's *History of the United States*, and in J. S. Bassett's *Federalist System*.

not die until 1840. Nevertheless the two William Smiths have been hopelessly confused alike by biographers[1] and by bibliographers;[2] and by a singular fatality the honorary degree of LL.D. conferred on our Mr. Smith by the College of New Jersey in 1796 has for sixty years been attributed to the other William Smith in the catalogues of Princeton University.[3]

[1] Two examples will suffice. The 1876 edition of C. Lanman's *Biographical Annals of the Civil Government of the United States* contains two notices of our Mr. Smith — one (p. 394) under William Smith, the other (p. 395) under William Loughton Smith. In the 1913 edition of the *Biographical Congressional Directory* it is stated (p. 45) that "William Smith, Pinckney district," "Resigned July 10, 1797, having been appointed Minister to Portugal" — whereas it was the other William Smith who resigned and received the appointment. It may well be doubted whether a notice of either William Smith has yet appeared which is wholly free from mistakes. In his sketch of Judge William Smith (1762–1840) O'Neall says that "In the Roll of Attorneys admitted at Charleston, Wm. Smith is put down as admitted 6th January, 1784" (*Biographical Sketches of the Bench and Bar of South Carolina*, I. 106–120), but this was our Mr. Smith, not Judge Smith.

[2] For a bibliography of Mr. Smith's writings, see pp. 76–88, *infra*.

[3] In the latest *General Catalogue of Princeton University* (1908, p. 404), the entry reads as follows:

"1796 William Smith, LL.D. *1840

"Member South Carolina Assembly 1823–1826; Member South Carolina Senate 1806–08; President South Carolina Senate 1808; Judge South Carolina Circuit Court 1808; U. S. Representative from South Carolina 1797–99; U. S. Senator from South Carolina 1815–23, 1826–31; Member Alabama Assembly 1835–39; A. B. Mt. Zion 1780."

This is an admirable summary of the positions held by Judge William Smith (1762–1840), except only in the matter of the honorary degree. It will be worth while to trace the origin of this error. That our William Smith received the honorary degree of LL.D. is made certain by his book-plates (see p. 21, note 1, *supra*), but Mr. Salley remarks that "We are not informed as to what institution conferred the degree of LL.D. upon him." The title-page of his *Oration* on July 4, 1796, states that it was "By William Smith, a member of the Revolution Society, and Representative in the Congress of the United States." The title-page of his *Comparative View*, the dedication to which is dated October 2, 1796, states that it was "By William Smith, of South-Carolina, L.L.D. and Member of the Congress of the United States" (see pp. 80, 81, *infra*). Hence the degree was conferred at some time between July 4 and October 2, 1796. To Professor V. Lansing Collins I am indebted for the following transcript of the record in the Manuscript Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the College of New Jersey for September 28, 1796:

"Resolved that the degree of Doctor of Laws be conferred on the Honb^le^ William Smith of South Carolina and the Honb^l^ Fisher Ames of Massachusetts."

This, it will be observed, is ambiguous, since it might apply to either of the two William Smiths. Not so, however, with the next extract, taken from the *Minerva* (New York) of October 1, 1796:

Finally, it is necessary to remove another misapprehension, though this relates not to Mr. Smith but to Washington. That

"Princeton, September 28

"This day being the anniversary of the commencement in the college of New Jersey, the board of trustees and the faculty of the college met, the senior class at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, in the public hall, from whence they went in procession to the church. . . .

"The degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on the Hon. William Smith, member of congress for South Carolina, and on the Hon. Fisher Ames, member of congress from the state of Massachusetts."

As our William Smith was the only one of the name who was then a Member of Congress from South Carolina, it follows that the degree was conferred upon him. The entry has stood as follows in the successive editions of the *Catalogus Collegii Neo-Cæsariensis*, etc., the entry being given only when it differs from the entry in the previous edition:

1800 Gulielmus Smith, Arm. e Cong. Leg. ap. Lis. LL D
1804 Gulielmus Smith, Arm. Leg. ap. Lis. LL D
1815 Gulielmus, Leg. ap. Lis. LL D
1821 Gulielmus Smith, LL.D.
1824 *Gulielmus Smith, LL.D.
1857 *Gulielmus Smith, LL.D., in Cong. Rerumpub. Fœd. Sen. *1840.
1896 *William Smith, LL.D., U. S. Sen. *1840.

It will be observed that in all the catalogues from 1800 to 1818, both included, Mr. Smith is unmistakably identified as the William Smith who was Minister at Lisbon, and that news of his death did not reach the Princeton authorities until 1824. Dates of death were first given in the edition of 1854, edited by G. Musgrave Gigèr, but no date was attached to the name of Mr. Smith. "In Professor Giger's interleaved copy of the 1854 edition," Professor Collins writes me, "containing his autograph notes, he has entered opposite William Smith: 'Wm. Smith, U. S. Sen. So. Ca., 1816–23, 1826–31. *Huntsville, Ala., July 26, 1840–?' Giger evidently satisfied his doubts, for the 1857 edition contains the full erroneous entry with date; and so it has remained, somewhat amplified however in the 1906 edition." Professor Collins assures me that the mistake will be rectified in the next edition.

The *City Gazette* (Charleston) of June 24, 1797, contained this notice: "William Smith, the representative of Charleston district in Congress, is now in some of the minutes of that body styled *Dr. Smith*, in consequence we believe, of his having sometime since received the diploma of *doctor of laws*, and in order to distinguish him from William Smith of Pinckney district." The same paper of July 12 spoke of "Dr Smith's resolution," etc. Miss Webber has furnished me with these extracts. A satirical epigram of the period contains the line, "Hear learned Dr. Smith, how he splutters:" see McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, II. 330 *n.*

Pinckney district comprised the then counties of Union, Spartan, York, and Chester: see *Letters on the Questions of the Justice and Expediency of going into Alterations of the Representation in the Legislature of South-Carolina, as fixed by the Constitution. Published, originally, in Numbers, in the City Gazette.* By Phocion. Charleston: Printed by Markland & M'Iver, No. 47, Bay. MDCCXCV, p. 33. Miss Webber tells me that the copy of this pamphlet owned by Mr. Smith has written in his hand under "Phocion" the name "Henry William De Saussure." See also Dr. W. A. Schaper's "Sectionalism and Representation in South Caro-

Washington accompanied Mr. Smith to Vermont and that the visit was of great political importance, has recently been asserted. In her *Hoosac Valley*, published in 1912, Miss Grace Greylock Niles says that "President Washington and Congressman William Smith on August 30, 1790, visited Gov. Moses Robinson and Isaac Tichenor at Bennington Centre, in order to hasten Vermont's admittance to the Union. At that time Washington was aware of the influence of Ethan and Ira Allen's diplomacy in bringing about the cessation of hostilities of the British on the Vermont-Canadian borders. On January 6, 1791, following Washington's Bennington visit, the vote of Vermont's officers proved to be 105 yeas to 3 nays for a final application for the State's admittance to the Union." And again:

President George Washington and Congressman Smith, on August 30, 1790, mounted on horseback, rode from New Lebanon Springs, N. Y., to Bennington Centre to consult with Gov. Moses Robinson about Vermont's final admittance to the Federal Union. . . . Congressman Smith in a letter published a century later in the *New York Evening Post* described their romantic ride beneath the "Weeping Rocks," overhanging the Hoosac River in the Pownal intervale of Vermont. . . . The President's party was welcomed at Councillor Isaac Tichenor's mansion at Bennington Centre on Mount Anthony Road, west of the Walloomsac Inn, and their host later conducted them to Governor Robinson's home. . . . On September 7th, the Presidential party left New Lebanon Springs in a springless wagon, bound for Albany by way of Kinderhook Road, . . . and on Thursday, September 9th, set sail on an Albany sloop for New York, although, owing to contrary winds and tides, they did not reach that City until six days later.[1]

lina," in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1900, I. 374, 417, 461, where Pinckney district is shown on a map between pp. 378–379. Mr. Salley writes me as follows:

"I notice that you refer to '*the* Pinckney district,' the home of the other William Smith, who was in Congress at the same time as our William Smith. At that time the judicial and executive unit of the State was the district and so remained until 1868, when the name was changed to county and the legislative unit made to conform. Pinckney District was one of the nine districts of the State. We did not have nine members of the House of Congress, so that in about two cases congressional districts were composed of two of the local units. When the State was redistricted in 1798 Pinckney District was dismembered. Union District, carved therefrom, was the home of William Smith."

[1] *Hoosac Valley*, 376–377, 432–434. An illustration on p. 439 is labelled: "Pownal Village in the Hoosac Pass of the Taconac Mountains. The picturesque

Some scepticism having been aroused as to this alleged visit to Vermont by Washington, two years later, in an article headed "President Washington's journey through Hoosac Valley described — in a letter written by Congressman Smith in 1790," Miss Niles wrote:

Nearly every colonial tavern of Revolutionary fame, that received man or beast, claims the honor of having entertained Gen. George Washington. Little if anything, however, is known today of President Washington's ride from Columbian Hall, New Lebanon Springs, N. Y., to Dewey's Tavern, Bennington Centre, during August 1790. He was accompanied by Congressman William Smith, of South Carolina. As to why the journey should have remained a secret — now nearly one hundred and twenty-five years, perhaps none of this generation will ever satisfactorily know.

The only record, which exists relating to President Washington's ride to Bennington was discovered in a note attached to a letter of Congressman Smith's, addressed to his friends at home, in 1790. The letter was found among Mr. Smith's papers after his death and published a century after it was penned, in the *New York Evening Post.* The letter was subsequently re-printed in the semi-weekly edition of *The Troy Times,* April 11, 1905.

It is evident that President Washington's and Congressman Smith's ride to Bennington, related to some advice rendered to Gov. Moses Robinson, about the final measures required for Vermont's admittance to the Union. Certainly the visit to Bennington was not made purely for pleasure. The presidential party arrived at Councillor Isaac Tichenor's old mansion, on Mount Anthony road, west of the Walloomsac Inn, during the afternoon, Monday, Angust 30, 1790; Mr. Smith says, that he was conducted to Gov. Robinson's home, and later his party drank tea with Mr. Tichenor. They remained over night, either at Mr. Tichenor's home, or at Col. Dewey's Tavern — a large and good tavern, at that time. Tuesday morning they arose before sunrise, and returned to Lebanon Springs for dinner. Had the ride to Bennington been taken for pleasure, it is evident that they would have visited the site of the famous battlefield of the Benningtonians.

Lastly, under the heading "Reason for Trip," Miss Niles says:

It is safe to say, that the Presidential party's ride to Bennington, in 1790, was made in order to hasten Vermont's admittance to the

intervale was beheld by President George Washington and Congressman William Smith during their horseback ride to Bennington Centre, August 30, 1790."

Union. At that time it proved unwise to publish the President's and Congressman's visit, with Councillor Tichenor and Gov. Robinson. It might have involved objections of the leading officials of Congress from New York, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Vermont officers. Mr. Smith appears to have been the spokesman of the President's party, and headed the official visit on Gov. Robinson. In truth, the President's party departed before sunrise the following morning, and to this day, President Washington's and Congressman Smith's visit to Bennington is questioned by older residents of the town.[1]

On my writing to Miss Niles asking her authority for the statement that Washington accompanied Mr. Smith, she courteously replied (March 13, 1917) as follows:

In answer to your inquiry about President Washington's visit to Bennington, I refer you to an article published by myself, in the *North Adams Transcript*, North Adams, Mass., Saturday, March 28, 1914, in which I cited extracts from Congressman William Smith's *Notes*. These Notes were found, according to a postscript, published on the *original* script *Notes* a century later about 1890, and printed later in *The Evening Post*. On the original Notes, as I understand it, in Mr. Smith's handwriting, he had penned the fact, that his journey to Lebanon Springs, over the Williamstown hill, to Bennington *was made with President Washington*, and a Mr. Izzard, and others. . . . The letter *first* published in *The Evening Post*, was later reprinted in *The Troy Semi-weekly Times*. I have this copy, but it is in storage, and I cannot now refer to it. I have had several inquiries about this visit to Bennington and can only refer you to Mr. William Smith's *postscript* added to his *Notes* kept on that *journey in 1790*. For this reason, in answer to inquirers, I prepared a short paper, citing the *Notes* of Mr. Smith, in the *North Adams Transcript*, to which I refer you. It was undoubtedly a *secret* journey on the part of Gen. Washington, made for the purpose of promoting Vermont's admittance to the Union. He was undoubtedly disguised.

It is evident from each of her accounts that Miss Niles had never seen Mr. Smith's Journal as printed in the *New York*

[1] *North Adams Transcript*, March 28, 1914, p. 2. For these extracts I am indebted to Miss Mabel Temple, librarian of the North Adams Public Library, which owns a file of the paper. Miss Temple writes that "Miss Niles prints quotations from Mr. Smith's letter, but the greater part is taken up with a description of his visit to the Shakers . . . It is difficult, without having Mr. Smiths' account, to tell where his remarks leave off and her remarks begin."

Evening Post in 1888, but had relied on that portion of the Journal which was reprinted in *The Troy Times*, semi-weekly edition, of April 11, 1905. An examination of that issue shows that that portion was the third instalment of Mr. Smith's Journal,[1] which was reprinted (according to one of the present editors of the paper) "because of its local interest." The article is headed "A Hundred Years Ago," and appended is the following note, printed in small type:

(From a letter written by William Smith, Congressman from South Carolina, in August 1790, and describing a journey with President George Washington. The letter was found in Mr. Smith's papers a century later and was published in the *New York Evening Post.*)[2]

Here, then, is the origin of Miss Niles' error in regard to Washington. The above note, which she mistakenly thought was written by Mr. Smith, was of course compiled in the office of *The Troy Times*.

The facts about Washington's movements in August–September, 1790, are as follows. On August 15 he left New York; reached Newport August 17, leaving there August 18; reached Providence August 18, leaving there August 19; reached New York August 21,[3] presumably remaining there until August 30; left New York August 30[4] — the very day when, according to Miss Niles, he was riding from New Lebanon to Bennington; reached Philadelphia September 2,[5] leaving there September 6;[6] reached Baltimore September 8, leaving there September 10;[7] reached Bladensburg September 10, leaving there Sep-

[1] See pp. 48–57, *infra*.

[2] *The Troy Times*, Semi-weekly edition, April 11, 1905, p. 2. For this extract and for information about the article in *The Troy Times* I am indebted to Miss Mary L. Davis, librarian of the Troy Public Library, who kindly consulted a file of the paper at the publication office.

[3] See pp. 36–39, *infra*.

[4] "Yesterday morning the President of the United States, and his family, left this city." *New York Daily Gazette*, August 31, 1790.

[5] "Philadelphia, September 2. This day about 2 o'clock arrived in town from New-York, the President of the United States — his Lady, and their suite." *New York Daily Gazette*, September 6.

[6] "Philadelphia, September 6. This morning the President proceeded on his journey to his Seat in Virginia." *New York Daily Gazette*, September 9.

[7] "Baltimore, September 10. On Wednesday last [September 8], at 6 o'clock in the afternoon, the President of the United States, and his Lady, attended by their suite, arrived here from Philadelphia, on their way to Mount-Vernon. . . .

tember 11; reached Georgetown September 11,[1] and Mount Vernon the same day.[2]

JOURNAL[3]

I

New England, August–September, 1790

August, 1790.[4]

Being at New York, as a member of the House of Representatives in Congress, which adjourned on the 12th of August and having some leisure, I resolved to make a tour into the back parts of the State of New York, and into some parts of Massachusetts and Connecticut. The day after we adjourned, viz., Friday, the 13th, the President of the United States, General Washington, who had on that morning resolved to pay a visit to the State of Rhode Island in consequence of its accession to the Union,[5] did me the honor to invite me to be of his party; I could not decline so acceptable an

This morning, at 6 o'clock, the President, his Lady and suite, set out on their journey." *New York Daily Gazette*, September 17.

[1] "George-Town, Sept. 15. Last Saturday [September 11] about eight o'clock in the morning, arrived here from Bladensburg, where they lodged the preceding night, the President of the United States." *New York Daily Gazette*, September 22.

[2] See W. S. Baker, *Washington after the Revolution*, 1784–1799 (1898), 190–197.

[3] The Journal has twice been printed: first in the *New York Evening Post* of April 14, 21, 28, May 5, June 2, 1888; and again in the semi-weekly edition of the *Post* of April 20, 24, May 1, 11, June 5, 1888.

[4] This instalment, under the heading "One Hundred Years Ago. First Paper," was printed in the *New York Evening Post* of April 14, 1888, where it is preceded by the following statement: "During the years from 1790 to 1797 William Smith of South Carolina was a member of the Congresses of the United States from the First to the Fifth, resigning in 1797 to accept the post of Minister to Portugal. He was a man of excellent education, and a close observer of the manners and customs of the people. In his travels to and from Congress he was accustomed to keep a record of the events of the day, and the following was found among his papers some time ago, and is here published for the first time. The original orthography is followed closely." The original manuscript is not owned by either the New York Historical Society or the South Carolina Historical Society; Mr. John P. Gavit, managing editor of the *Post*, kindly informs me that "there is nothing in our office records to indicate the source of the papers from the diary of William Smith, published in the *Evening Post* in 1888;" and I have been unable to locate the original.

As for the "original orthography" which, we are told, has been "closely followed," either Mr. Smith made quite natural mistakes in the names of certain persons and places, or else the copyist was unable to decipher correctly Mr. Smith's writing. In a few cases, changes have silently been made.

[5] When Washington made his tour of New England in the autumn of 1789, he purposely avoided Rhode Island, which did not ratify the Constitution until May 29, 1790.

invitation, and accordingly sat off with his company on Sunday morning, the 15th, on board a Rhode Island packet.[1] We arrived at Newport Tuesday morning, after an agreeable passage. As we entered the harbour, a salute was fired from the fort and some pieces on the wharves; at our landing we were received by the principal inhabitants of the town, and the clergy, who, forming a procession, escorted us through a considerable concourse of citizens to the lodgings which had been prepared for us; the most respectable inhabitants were there severally presented to the President by Mr. Merchant,[2] Judge of the District Court.

The President then took a walk around the town and the heights above it, accompanied by the gentlemen of the party and a large number of gentlemen of Newport. We returned to our lodgings, and at four o'clock the gentlemen waited again on the President, and we all marched in procession to the Town Hall or State House, where, while dinner was serving up, a number of gentlemen were presented. The dinner was well dished, and conducted with great regularity and decency; the company consisted of about eighty persons; after dinner some good toasts were drank; among others, following: "May the last be first," in allusion to Rhode Island being the last State which ratified the Constitution. The President gave the "Town of Newport," and as soon as he withdrew, Judge Merchant gave "The man we love," which the company drank standing. The company then followed the President in another walk which he took around the Town: He passed by Judge Merchant's and drank a glass of wine, and then went to his lodgings, which closed the business of the day. I slept in the room with Governor Clinton.

[1] From contemporary newspapers it appears that this was the packet *Hancock*, Capt. Brown.

[2] Henry Marchant (1741–1796): see G. C. Mason, *Annals of Trinity Church*, Newport (1890), 132 *n*.

In the itinerary prefixed to the fifth volume (p. xxv) of Mr. Paul Leicester Ford's edition of Jefferson's *Writings*, August 13, is given as the date of Jefferson's departure from New York. The *Independent Chronicle* of August 26 (p. 3/2) said that "On Saturday, 14th inst. the President of the United States sailed from New-York." The date (August 15) given by Mr. Smith is confirmed by this item in the *New York Daily Gazette* of August 18: "On Sunday embarked on board one of the Packets, on a visit to Rhode Island, his Excellency the President of the United States," etc. An item dated New York, August 12, printed in the *Columbian Centinel* of August 18, stated that "The President proposes a visit to the State of Rhode-Island." Washington's party consisted of Jefferson, Governor George Clinton (1739–1812) of New York, Judge John Blair (1732–1800) of the United States Supreme Court, Senator Theodore Foster (1752–1828) of Rhode Island, Congressman Nicholas Gilman (1755–1814) of New Hampshire, Col. David Humphreys (1752–1818), Maj. William Jackson (1759–1812), Thomas Nelson (his secretary), and Mr. Smith: see *Columbian Centinel*, August 25.

Wednesday, 18th. Immediately after breakfast addresses were presented by the Clergy and the Town of Newport. That of the latter, by a committee, the chairman of which, Judge Merchant, began to read the address, but before he had proceeded far, he was so agitated he had to resign it to Col. Sherbet,[1] who read it very composedly. We then formed another long procession down to the wharf, and embarked for Providence. On our way through the main street in Newport, the President desired Mr. Nelson,[2] one of the gentlemen of his family (a relation of Mrs. Washington's) to step into a store and buy a pair of gloves for him. Mr. Nelson in vain applied to the mistress of the store who would not stir from the window where she stood with her eyes rivetted on the President, after having first hastily thrown a bundle of gloves on the counter; the delay occasioned by the lady's refusal to assist in finding a proper pair of gloves, induced the President to enter the shop, where he provided himself with gloves to the great gratification of the above lady, who had little idea that the gloves were wanted for him. We had a tedious passage to Providence, being seven hours in performing it. The same salute took place as at Newport, but the procession up to the Tavern was more solemn and conducted with much greater formality, having troops and music. The Governor[3] of the State was so zealous in his respects that he jumped aboard the packet as soon as she got to the wharf to welcome the President to Providence. The President with the Governor of the State on his right hand and Mr. Forster, a Senator in Congress, from Rhode Island, on his left moved in the front ranks; then followed Governor Clinton, Mr. Jefferson (the Secretary of State for the United States), Mr. Blair (a judge of the Supreme Federal Courts), myself, and the three gentlemen of the President's family, viz., Col. Humphreys, Maj. Jackson, and Mr. Nelson — who formed the party — afterwards followed the principal inhabitants of Providence and some from Newport, and other citizens making a long file, preceded by some troops and music; the doors and windows for the length of a mile, were all crowded with ladies and spectators. When we arrived at the tavern (Dagget's)[4] the President stood at the door, and the troops and the procession passed and saluted. In the procession were three negro scrapers making a horrible noise. We then sat

[1] Unquestionably this was Col. Henry Sherburne (1747–1824): G. C. Mason, *Annals of Trinity Church*, Newport, 172 note.

[2] Thomas Nelson, son of Thomas Nelson (1738–1789). See *Writings of Washington* (Ford), XI. 413.

[3] Arthur Fenner (1745–1805).

[4] This tavern, better known as the Golden Ball Inn, was kept by Abner Daggett and stood in Benefit Street, near the old State House.

down to a family dinner. After tea, just as the President was taking leave to go to bed, he was informed by Col. Peck (Marshal of the District, who had sailed with us from New York) that the students of the College[1] had illuminated it, and would be highly flattered at the President's going to see it, which he politely agreed to do, though he never goes out at night and it then rained a little, and was a disagreeable night. We now made a nocturnal procession to the College, which indeed was worth seeing, being very splendidly illuminated. I slept that night at Mr. Clarke's,[2] a merchant who has lately built a handsome house and is a man of property. His house was struck with lightning a few weeks ago, but is repaired: he treated me with much civility, having offered me a bed immediately on my arrival, though I had never seen him before.

Thursday morning began with heavy rain and cold easterly wind. It cleared at nine o'clock, and then the President, accompanied as before, began a walk which continued until one o'clock and which completely fatigued the company which formed his escort. We walked all around the Town, visited all the apartments of the College, went on the roof to view the beautiful and extensive prospect, walked to a place where a large Indiaman of 900 tons was on the stocks, went on board her, returned to town, stopped and drank wine and punch at Mr. Clarke's, Mr. Brown's,[3] Gov. Turner's,[4] and Gov. Bowen's,[5] and then returned home. As soon as the President was rested, he received the addresses of the Cincinnati, the Rhode Island College, and the Town of Providence,[6] and then went immediately to dinner to the Town Hall. The dinner consisted of 200 persons, and an immense crowd surrounded the hall. After dinner several toasts were drank; the second was "The President of the United States," at which the whole company within and without gave three huzzas and a long clapping of hands. The Pre-

[1] Rhode Island College, now Brown University, was chartered in February, 1764.

[2] John Innes Clarke.

[3] John Brown, whose house in Power Street is now owned by Mr. Marsden J. Perry. I am indebted to Mr. Howard M. Chapin of Providence for identifying Messrs. Daggett, Clarke, and Brown.

[4] Mr. Smith no doubt wrote "Fenner:" see p. 37, note 3, *supra*.

[5] Jabez Bowen, who had been Deputy-Governor in 1778–1780, 1781–1786.

[6] The addresses presented to Washington at Newport by the town and the clergy, and at Providence by the inhabitants, the Corporation of Rhode Island College, and the Society of the Cincinnati, together with Washington's replies, were printed in the *Boston Gazette* of August 30 and September 6. The address of the Hebrew Congregation at Newport was printed in the *New York Daily Gazette* of September 14. The Boston Athenæum owns the original address presented by the Lodge of St. David at Newport, signed by Moses Seixas and Henry Sherburne, and Washington's reply, signed by himself.

sident then rose and drank the health of all the company; he afterward gave "The Town of Providence." Among other toasts, there were given "The King and National Assembly of France." Several French gentlemen who sat together then rose and bowed. "Faithfulness in the collection and economy in the expenditure of the public revenue," and "The establishment of public credit and private faith." Cannon was fired at each toast; at the conclusion of the toasts, the President rose, and the whole company, with a considerable crowd of citizens, walked down to the wharf, where he and his suite embarked for New York.[1] I took chaise at the same moment for Norwich and reached Manchester's tavern that night, about twelve miles, over a stony, rugged, and disagreeable road.

This part of the State of Rhode Island is the most barren and unpeopled, the country very rocky, and the people as uncultivated as the country; they are generally anti-Federal, and ignorant, and dislike any government which calls on them for taxes, in fact, they seem to care very little what government prevails or whether there is any at all, and would prefer that which required the least taxes. It is here remarkable that much use is made of wooden fences, though the country abounds with stones very convenient for stone walls, which as I advanced into a better country were more in use, though the country was much less stony; this is owing to the poverty of the former, where they are unable to bestow the labor necessary for stone walls. Notwithstanding the roads were extremely disagreeable and fatiguing, yet the prospects were pleasant; distant hills and woods, and occasionally a rapid stream, and now and then some well-cultivated fields enlivened the scene; to this was added some very fine weather, so that my journey to Hartford was a pleasant one. I left Manchester's tavern early on Friday morning, on my way to Norwich. My landlord complained bitterly of taxes. He said he paid about fifteen pounds lawful money a year; that his farm consisted of 200 acres, one-half of which was improved, and that he could barely make a living. The land certainly required great labor, as it appeared nearly covered with stones, and the road to Providence is so bad as to render the transportation of produce very inconvenient and expensive.

I breakfasted at Nixon's tavern at Valenton,[2] thirteen miles. My landlord here, has two smart daughters, whose heads were ornamented with wigs, which are much worn by the lower class of

[1] The *New York Daily Gazette* of Monday, August 23, stated that "on Saturday afternoon arrived the President of the United States, and his suit, from Rhode Island."

[2] Voluntown, Connecticut.

females in New England: these wigs are convenient and give considerable smartness to the appearance when well-frizzed and powdered, and are always handy; they are hung up in the room and when any company appears they are fixed on the head in a moment. From Valenton I passed through Plainfield, a pretty country town. From a high hill which I ascended there is a very magnificent prospect of an extensive range of country, some miles around Plainfield — a highly cultivated plain interspersed with woods and surrounded by beautiful hills, illuminated by a bright sun, opened a charming view just as I reached the brow of the hill, and struck me with an agreeable surprise. A similar view appeared just as I arrived within a mile or two of Norwich, which is a very neat town with several handsome houses. I dined at Norwich, and after dinner paid a visit to Mr. B. Huntingdon,[1] a member of the House of Representatives in Congress. He has a large family, and his eldest son is a coachmaker. He accompanied me in a walk; we ascended a high rocky hill, which divided Norwich into two parts, called Up-town and Down-town, which distinctions have created distinctions among the inhabitants. The Up-town part is called sometimes "Bean Hill," arising from a report which the inhabitants had spread by way of derision, that the Up-town people had a way of eating beans and bacon every Saturday for supper. This report introduced the custom in both parts of the Town, and the inhabitants now regularly sup on Saturday on beans and bacon.[2] From the hill (where the Meeting house formerly stood) is a charming prospect: the Town is extensive and spread before the traveler surrounded by a well-cultivated and thickly settled country; Norwich landing is about two miles distant. After I had paid a visit to the Governor, Samuel Huntingdon,[3] formerly President of Congress, I hired a chaise and rode ten miles that evening, to Mr. Jona. Trumbull's[4]

[1] Benjamin Huntington (1736–1800).

[2] Frances M. Caulkins, *History of Norwich* (1866), 78, 510–514.

[3] Samuel Huntington (1731–1796).

[4] Printed "John" Trumbull, but Mr. Smith doubtless wrote "Jon^{a}" Trumbull — that is, the second Governor Jonathan Trumbull (1740–1809). On November 11, 1804, Jonathan Mason (1756–1831) wrote: "Tarried the Sunday at New Haven. . . . Invited Jonathan Trumbull and William Smith of South Carolina to dine with me at Mr. Butler's, and the company of each of them was desirable from their polite and easy deportment." 2 *Proceedings*, II. 7. The editors say in a footnote: "These were probably students in Yale College." There were no such students at that time at Yale, and the persons who dined with Mason were doubtless Governor Trumbull and our Mr. Smith, the former of whom must have been in New Haven from October 11 to November 2, as the fall session of the Assembly began and ended on those dates, and the latter of whom had returned from Europe in 1803: see p. 27, *supra*.

at Lebanon; the road was rather rough but the country was picturesque. About Norwich there are several romantic scenes, a river, woods, and high hills diversify the prospect every moment. Lebanon is a valuable township, the lands fertile and well-cultivated: they export their produce to Norwich landing, from whence there is good navigation fourteen miles to New London. Mr. B. Huntingdon, the member of Congress, attended me at the inn till I sat off from Norwich. I had directed the landlord (Mr. Brown,[1] a very civil man who keeps a good house) to hire me a one horse chaise; it was brought to the door while Mr. Huntingdon was with me, who knew that I had hired it from my landlord. A little boy accompanied me as agreed, to bring the chaise back; on the road I asked him whose horse and chaise it was, and was greatly surprised to find that it belonged to my friend Mr. B. Huntingdon, of whom my landlord had hired them; he has a large family and this is one of his resources to get money.

I past the night at my acquaintance Trumbull's; he has a farm of 200 acres, reckoned a very considerable one, and lives comfortably on it. The next morning the stage called on me and we reached Hartford at four o'clock in the afternoon. The road from Norwich to Hartford is less stony and disagreeable than that from Providence to Norwich, but is far from being smooth or pleasant to travel over in a carriage; one is, however, indemnified by a succession of pleasing views. The whole way from Norwich the country is thickly settled, farm houses in sight constantly, the country well-cultivated, meadows, hills, and distant woods rising one above the other. We passed through several towns. I stopped at one about nineteen miles from Norwich, and took a view of the church-yard; from the age of many of the deceased the climate must be very healthy. The inhabitants did not, however, shine in the poetical line, to judge at least from the versification on the tomb-stones, a specimen of which is in these words:

> Behold as you pass by
> As you are now, so once was I;
> As I am now, so you must be,
> Prepare for death and follow me.

On the tomb-stone of Deborah House, a great name in this Town, was written "She lived desirable, and died lamented." I dined at Woodbridge's tavern, nine miles from Hartford. The road from this place, which is called East Hartford, is smooth and good; a few miles before I arrived at the river, I had from an eminence as I

[1] Jesse Brown. Frances M. Caulkins, *History of Norwich* (1866), 512–513.

crossed the Bolton hills, an extensive view of a fine country, and caught a distant glimpse of Connecticut Towns. There is also a most charming view a mile or two after leaving the tavern, of a rich plain containing meadows and woods.

At[1] Hartford I crossed the ferry over the Connecticut River, which is navigable up to this place for large sloops. About sixty sea vessels belong to Hartford, which carries on much business and is a flourishing town. The river frequently changes its bed, and by its deviations occasions much alteration of property, and gives rise to many law suits, a circumstance not disagreeable to the people of Connecticut, who are acknowledged by themselves to be very litigious; this spirit they account for from their being so well-informed, their knowledge of their rights and their equality makes them extremely jealous of any encroachment or invasion and they are determined rather to incur the expense of law (which is cheap enough) than to risk any violation of their just rights. At Hartford I saw a remarkable old oak in which the Charter of Connecticut was concealed in the year 1684 by a Mr. Wadsworth, an ancestor of the present Jeremiah Wadsworth,[2] a member of Congress from this State. The Charter of Massachusetts had been taken away and the Governor of Connecticut was instructed to take away that of Connecticut; as it lay on the table Wadsworth blew out the candle and ran and hid this charter in a hollow part of this oak, where the Governor was unable to find it; the revolution soon after took place, and the Charter was out of danger.[3] There is in this town an old gentleman of the name of Willis;[4] he is upwards of eighty years of age, is the Secretary of the State, and has held that office upwards of sixty years; he is still in the full possession of his faculties and of the esteem of his countrymen, he owns a very considerable landed estate about Hartford. I had seen at Providence a Mr. Ward,[5] upwards of sixty years old, who had been Secretary of State upwards of forty years, which was thought a very remarkable instance of continuance in office, but that of Mr. Willis is the most extraordinary ever known. These instances and many others, are proofs of

[1] Here begins the second instalment of the Journal, printed in the *New York Evening Post* of April 21, 1888, under the heading "One Hundred Years Ago. Second Paper."

[2] Jeremiah Wadsworth (1743–1804).

[3] The year should be 1687, not 1684. As the tradition is usually related, the credit of having hidden the Connecticut charter is given to Capt. Joseph Wadsworth, but Mr. Smith's account assigns it to John Wadsworth, a brother of Joseph and the ancestor of Col. Jeremiah.

[4] George Wyllys (1710–1796).

[5] Henry Ward (1732–1797).

good sense in the East. Inhabitants who continue their old servants in office, as long as they behave well.

The country around Hartford is well-cultivated and the soil fertile; this is the oldest settlement in Connecticut and is perhaps the most thickly peopled part of the United States. In the towns of Connecticut I was struck with the calm and tranquility which prevails; though they are full of inhabitants, yet none are scarce seen in the streets, no carriages are moving about, and a stranger would suppose that he had entered a deserted village. Here is no idleness, no lounging and chattering in the streets; every one is at work either in the field or in his house; no vagrants, no beggars to be seen; on the week-days all are at work, and on Sundays all are at home, reading the Bible. It is reckoned improper to walk about the streets and visit on Sundays; after services they all go home. Sunday forenoon I went with Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth's family to church, where I heard very good singing in parts by men and women, who stand in opposite galleries while they sing: I also heard a pretty good preacher, Mr. Strong.[1] There are in Hartford two Meeting houses for Congregationalists and none for Episcopalians, who are very few in number. Monday morning I rode to Middletown, fifteen miles, and dined at Bigelow's tavern, and returned in the afternoon to Hartford. This was the most delightful ride I ever remembered to have taken, more beautiful scenery in that distance than in any part of my travels; the whole a most romantic country, thickly settled, highly cultivated, and adorned both by nature and art. Weathersfield about four miles from Hartford is a pretty town on the road to Middletown. After I had dined at Middletown, I rode up a hill back of the Town from which I had a most enchanting scene; looking down I saw a pretty town on the borders of a fine navigable river, a country richly cultivated, intermixed with houses and woods, the opposite banks of the river equally cultivated and bounded by rising hills, some covered with woods, others with meadows and corn fields. Returning to Hartford I enjoyed the whole way a succession of delightful prospects; first, the road for a few miles was close along the river, on one side meadows ornamented with hay-stacks and distant high hills, on the other a river ornamented with vessels sailing about and the other side romantic. Then ascending a steep hill the prospect as you turn back is extremely grand; the distant view of Middletown, a long range of the river, various hills, woods, fields, meadows, numberless settlements, and the whole bounded by lofty hills rising in masses and presenting variegated shapes. Approaching Weathersfield, another very fine scene suddenly opened from the

[1] Rev. Nathan Strong (1748–1816).

brow of a hill over which the road runs; an extensive plain, through which the river is seen meandering, presenting the appearance of a large garden, and so thickly settled with houses that it appears like one town, the steeple of Weathersfield rising in the middle of it, the richness of verdure forms a delicious view.

Weathersfield is famous for onions, the smell of which salutes the nose of the traveller on entering the Town. Here I was shown the son of the celebrated Elizabeth Canning and the house where she lived. He is a lad about twelve or fourteen. She was brought out from England by a Mr. Williams, who settled at Weathersfield and married her to a Mr. Treat by whom she had several children; he was a respectable citizen and she was also respected by her neighbors; they are both dead.[1] Colonel Wadsworth met me a mile beyond the Town and we ascended the steeple of Weathersfield to enjoy the view, which well rewarded us for our trouble; it is extensive, embraces Hartford and the country beyond it and surpasses all description. Tuesday a party was made on my account by Col. Wadsworth to the mountains west of Hartford. We sat off after breakfast a party of about a dozen, and rode seven or eight miles to the foot of the mountain, we ascended some time a rugged, steep road; from the summit is a commanding view of a level, well-cultivated country on each side the river, with Hartford, Weathersfield, and Suffield. From the other side of the mountain, looking west, is a very grand view. Just under our feet was an immense thick forest, the top of which resembled the waves of the ocean, and appeared a considerable distance below us; a very extensive range of country lay before us to the right and left, the whole highly cultivated and interspersed with settlements; the town of Farmington is seen at a distance and the whole is extremely picturesque. At the top of the mountain is a curious pond surrounded with rocks and woods, in a very romantic situation. Upon my observing that the piece of water was disgraced by calling it a pond, and that it well merited the name of lake, it was resolved by the company that it should in future be denominated a lake, and as I was the first person who had dignified it with that appellation, it should be termed thereafter Lake Smith. We sat down to a rustic dinner (which we had carried with us) on

[1] For Elizabeth Canning, see the *Dictionary of National Biography* and Dr. H. R. Stiles's *History of Wethersfield*, I. 689–694; II. 711–716. Her arrival at Boston was noted in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of November 7, 1754. She lived for a while in the family of the Rev. Col. Elisha Williams (H. C. 1711, Rector of Yale College, 1726–1739), and on November 24, 1756, was married to John Treat. She died in 1773, while he lived until 1796. Either the wrong youth was pointed out to Mr. Smith or the latter was a poor judge of ages, for the youngest of their five children was born in 1766.

the verdant moss in a beautiful spot, encircled with rocks and groves, with the lake just below us. In the afternoon we returned to Hartford, and I was made acquainted with Mr. John Trumbull,[1] the celebrated author of the poem "McFingal," who supped with us at Col. Wadsworth's.

Wednesday morning we sat off for Springfield; I breakfasted with Mr. Ellsworth,[2] member of the Federal Senate from Connecticut, at Windsor, ten miles from Hartford, where he has a comfortable, neat house on a pleasant little farm. I then passed through Suffield, a pretty little town situated on an eminence and commanding a pleasing and extensive view; the Meeting house is at a little distance a fine object, being situated on very high ground. Passing on to Springfield, I crossed the Connecticut River which is wide here, and then entered the Town, which is a pretty considerable one. Here are some public stores of arms and accoutrements, and cannon belonging to the United States: they are kept in very good order. I think there were 8,000 stands of arms, and a large quantity of gun powder. In the rebellion in Massachusetts, in 1787, Shays made an attempt on this place, but though superior in force to the Government party, was completely routed at the first shot from a piece of cannon, which killed a few of his men; he fled with great precipitation and some of his people did not stop till they had travelled upwards of forty miles that day. He now resides on his farm in Arlington in the State of Vermont, fifteen miles from Bennington.[3] I saw two stockade forts which were hastily erected for the protection of the stores, and are still standing. The public stores are on an eminence just above Springfield, which commands a fine view of Springfield and the adjacent country, which is highly cultivated and pleasing. I drank tea with the Miss Worthingtons, daughters of Col. Worthington, one of the most reputable characters of this part of the country. His eldest daughter, it is said, is about to be married to Mr. Ames.[4]

The journey from Hartford to Springfield is a most agreeable one, through a thickly settled country well-cultivated, and over good roads; the river makes its appearance now and then, and there are some distant mountains which terminate the scene agreeably. Thursday I left Springfield, crossed the river, and intended to take the road to Northampton, having been informed that it was a very thriving town, in a beautiful country, but my driver having mistaken

[1] John Trumbull (1750–1831).

[2] Oliver Ellsworth (1745–1807).

[3] Daniel Shays (1747–1825) was pardoned and died at Sparta, New York.

[4] John Worthington (1719–1800), whose third (not eldest) daughter Frances was married to Fisher Ames, July 15, 1792.

the road and carried me within a few miles of Westfield, to which I intended to go from Northampton, and being apprehensive from his ignorance of the roads of encountering similar difficulties in other places, I resolved to proceed on to Westfield, where I got to breakfast. The country hereabouts is romantic; a river called the Westfield River is seen through the woods, and the prospect, which is limited, is terminated by high mountains. Westfield is divided by this river, and is a large settlement. It is nearly at the foot of the mountain, which must be crossed in progressing westward, it is a continuation of the Green Mountains, which run the whole length of Vermont from north to south, and then running southerly proceed on to New Haven; any communication to the east and west of this long ridge is attended with difficulty, as the crossing this mountain in any place is bad and troublesome, particularly with a carriage. I was in a four-wheeled carriage, and unfortunately selected the worst place, intending to go from Springfield through Stockbridge to New Lebanon, where I expected to meet my family who had gone there from New York. Leaving Westfield I coasted along the river through a very bad, but a very romantic road; it is over rocks and through a thick forest; on one side high mountains clothed with woods to their summit, on the other, the river just below you, running rapidly over a bed of rocks, and high mountains covered with impenetrable forests, rising on the opposite shore. I then crossed a large wooden bridge, and having the river on my right began to ascend the Green Mountains: now for miles the badness of the road exceeds description. We ascended for five miles a steep mountain, which took us four hours; the prospect consisted of nothing but other mountains rising one above the other, rocky and bleak, here and there the appearance of a new settlement in the woods.

We then got to a place called by some Glasgow, and by others Blandford Street.[1] This is for a few miles a tolerably level country,

[1] In his Address delivered before the Literary Association, Blandford, September 21, 1850, William H. Gibbs said:

"In 1741 the town was incorporated by the name of Blandford; previous to that period it had borne the name of Glasgow.

"The inhabitants of the city of Glasgow promised the citizens of this town, that if they would continue its former name they would present a church-bell to them. It was the design of the people that it should bear the name of Glasgow. Therefore they petitioned the General Court for that name. But William Shirley, who had been appointed Governor of the province of Massachusetts Bay under the Crown of Great Britain, had just arrived in a ship bearing the name Blandford. In honor of said ship, he chose to have the new town which applied for an act of incorporation called by its name. Hence the name of Blandford was given to this town" (p. 17).

The "Act for erecting Suffeild Equivalent Lands, commonly called Glasgow,

the prospect commanding. From Blandford Street we proceeded on towards Becket; for a mile or two the road was tolerable and the prospect fine, on the right an extensive view of a well-cultivated country, and many waving hills. We then entered a wood and had for about six miles the most execrable road that was ever traveled by a carriage; a narrow track through a forest, the path full of huge rocks and loose stones, up and down hill the whole way; I trembled every step of the way lest the carriage should be shattered or the horses give out: we were obliged to quit the carriage and walk the whole way. I could only advance at the rate of a mile an hour. With much difficulty we reached a tavern kept by one Foley, five miles from Blandford Street, where I put up that night, and contrary to my expectations from the external appearance of his house, got a decent supper and a good bed. He was settled in the midst of the forest, surrounded with rocks and woods, and his habitation had the most dreary appearance. He however made a subsistence, raised plenty of grain, and made his own sugar from the maple trees. This practise I found very common; the forests in this part of the country abound with the maple and sugar is extracted with great ease. Early on Friday I proceeded on and had about two miles of road, if possible worse; with much care the carriage was got through without damage, and then quitting the forest we arrived at Becket, where lives one Perkins, who informed me that is was impossible to get along to Stockbridge with my carriage in the direct road, and that my only route was through Pittsfield. I therefore immediately resolved to alter my route and proceed on to Pittsfield and New Lebanon, and from thence take a ride to Stockbridge. Becket is a small town situated on very high ground, being nearly the highest part of the Green Mountains; the country around it appears well cleared and settled in comparison with the wilderness I had just left. In the road from Westfield to Becket little else is to be seen but forests and rocks, with here and there a new settlement and others just forming. The whole has very much the appearance of a country in its infant state.

I left Connecticut between Windsor and Springfield and continued in the State of Massachusetts till I had left Pittsfield; the New York line is between that place and New Lebanon, which was

in the County of Hampshire, into a township by the name of Blandford" was passed and published April 10, 1741 (*Massachusetts Province Laws*, II. 1058–1059). Shirley was not commissioned Governor until May 25 and not inaugurated until August 14, 1741, at which time he was at his house in Boston. *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XVII. 74. Obviously, therefore, the above account is erroneous. But when Belcher came over as Governor in August, 1730, he arrived in the man-of-war *Blandford* (*ib.* XVII. 73).

formerly part of Hancock, being considered in Massachusetts, but on running the line it is found to be in New York. From the town of Becket, a well-cultivated country appears at a great distance to the northward and considerably below Becket, which however is surrounded by hills which have a black aspect. The road here improved a little, though still hilly and rugged. We went on seven miles to Washington, a small town, where we breakfasted at a Widow Milligan's whose accommodations surpassed the expectations the exterior of the house had excited. Her husband and herself had emigrated from Ireland about twenty odd years ago, and first settled at Hartford; they then purchased a farm in this new country. They left Ireland because they wished to be independent landholders instead of oppressed tenants and because they paid heavy rates, but she said she began now to find little difference between this country and Ireland, for what with the state taxes, county rates, poor rates, church rates, school rates, and road assessments she found taxes very heavy; her tax amounted to about five pounds lawful money and her farm was small. They came from the north of Ireland, and were Protestants: she spoke with a strong Scotch accent. Proceeding on to Pittsfield, the road improved so much that we were able to trot, which was a considerable gratification to me, as for nearly two days we had only gone at foot's pace. Passing through a wood, we suddenly arrived at the edge of the mountain on which we had been since the preceding morning, and had a most enchanting view of the prodigious extent of country, cultivated throughout and intermixed with woods. At a great distance below us Pittsfield appeared beautiful in this plain and the whole afforded a rich scene, strangely contrasted with the gloomy forest and uncomfortable rocks we had left. I dined at Pittsfield, which is a pretty town, and sat off in the afternoon for the Pool or New Lebanon, where I arrived at dark, having travelled the whole distance in a heavy rain, which prevented my seeing the country, but the following afternoon, I took a ride towards Pittsfield which is separated from it by a very high mountain, from the top of which I had a very pleasing view of Pittsfield and the adjacent country which is well settled.

The[1] Pool, the Springs, or Lebanon Springs (for it has occasionally all these denominations)[2] is renowned for its waters which are reckoned anti-rheumatick, anti-scorbutick, bracing and serviceable

[1] Here begins the third instalment of the Journal, printed in the *New York Evening Post* of April 28, 1888, under the heading "One Hundred Years Ago. Third Paper."

[2] In 1790 the villages of New Lebanon and Lebanon Springs were in the township of Canaan, and the present township of New Lebanon was not set off from Canaan until 1818.

in a variety of disorders; they are for bathing and drinking; they are very soft, moderately cool, and have the same effect to the feelings as the waters of the Matlock in Derbyshire. New Lebanon is a settlement of about twenty-five years; it is surrounded with high hills but the land is fine and the vales highly cultivated; indeed the cultivation has reached the very summit of the loftiest hills; others are still beautifully clothed with woods. The place has therefore a romantic appearance, and from the purity of the air and the dryness of the soil the hills must be salubrious, which in many instances added to the regularity of life, of diet, and of exercise, conduces more probably to the restoration of health and vigour than the use of the waters. There are two farms in the Town which are yet kept in a rude state; a store and a few dwelling-houses compose the Town, which improves rapidly. In the summer months some persons reside here weeks, others only dip *en passant*. The keeper of the bath is subject to violent convulsion fits; whenever he is attacked by them, he is thrown instantly into the bath and instantly springs up saying, "I am well again." He has tried other waters in vain. Once some persons, suspecting him to be an impostor, pretending the fits in order to raise the reputation of the baths, threw him into other water, but they soon found their mistake and were glad to plunge him into the right place, where he soon recovered.

Within two or three miles of the Pool is a settlement of shaking Quakers,[1] whose mode of worship we went to see on the Sunday following, viz., the 29th. We arrived there about ten o'clock in the forenoon and found them at work. In a long, low room of a very neat building painted white, were about fifty men and from eighty to one hundred women; the preacher stood in the centre, on his right hand were the men, arranged in rows, on his left the women in similar order; two men with their hands applied to their jaws and two or three women sung, or rather howled sundry strange tunes (one of them was "The Black Joke"), to which the men and women danced in uniform step, occasionally all turning around. The men had taken off their coats and waistcoats and hung them up about

[1] Ann Lee (1736–1784) came to this country in 1774, founded in 1776 at Niskenna (now Watervliet, N. Y.) the first American Shaker society, and died there in 1784. In 1779 there was a revival at New Lebanon, in 1780 some of the people there visited Mother Lee at Watervliet, and in 1787 the Shaker community was organized at New Lebanon. See the notice of Ann Lee in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and, for early accounts of the Shakers at New Lebanon, Timothy Dwight, *Travels*, III, 149–169; B. Silliman, *Remarks made on a Short Tour between Hartford and Quebec* (1824), 40–55; Theodore Dwight, Jr., *Northern Traveller* (1826), 44–48; S. Y. Wells, *Testimonies concerning the Character and Ministry of Mother Ann Lee* (1827); *Peculiarities of the Shakers described by a Visitor* (1832); F. W. Evans, *Compendium of the Origin*, etc. (1859).

the room, and tied up their shirt sleeves; they were most of them in trowsers. The women in close, white caps, short jackets, and stiff petticoats: both sexes had thick shoes which made a horrible clatter and shuffling on the floor: the warmth of the weather and such continuous exercise occasioned a profuse sweating, which appeared all over the shirts and the trowsers of the men, and through the very stays of the women, and produced an horrible smell; some of the men were wringing wet, and the sweat dropped from their faces on the floor. There were occasional intermissions when they all stopped; and the preacher, who is an amazing booby, muttered a few words, something to this effect: "Avoid carnal lusts. Labor to shake off sin; sin is hateful; I hate sin. Power of God. Those who come here must observe our rules and orders; the men come in at the west door, women at the east. Strangers must observe silence at our worship; there must be no talking, whispering, or unnecessary goings in and out. Those who come here and don't observe our rules and orders are the basest of mankind." Then turning to the men (who were all arranged in files and held down their heads with their hands clasped before them): "Labour to shake off sin." Then turning to the women, arranged in the same order: "You also labour to shake off sin. You have had an intermission: those who wish to serve God and to labour, prepare again for labour."

Then the men would pull off their clothes as before, and both sexes resuming their places, the howl would commence and with it the dance. In the intermissions some of the most devout would shake from head to foot, as if seized with shivering fits of the ague. At every cessation of labour, the preacher would make the same address to the spectators, who were very observant of these rules and required no admonition, but he either thought it would recommend him to his congregation or he was at a loss for something to say. However absurd their form of worship, it is not the worst part of their devotions; they reprobate matrimony; if any married persons become members of this church, they must immediately live in a state of separation, and any connection between them is considered criminal and the parties expelled; they continue their sect by making proselytes. Their neighbors give them a good reputation for their scrupulous observance of farming industry and attention to agriculture. Their elders own several farms which have been made over to them by new members and which are cultivated for the good of the society. There were two negroes among the dancers, one of them was the best dancer there; all ages joined in the dance. Their settlement is in a romantic situation, in the midst of a fine country, well-cultivated, and their buildings are very neat.

After dancing for three hours they walked home and exposed themselves without any caution to the open air. Their service lasts from nine to twelve in the forenoon, and two to five in the afternoon.

Monday morning, August 30, I went on horseback to Bennington and returned on Tuesday; the ride is a very agreeable one. Quitting Lebanon, you proceed through a narrow vale to Hancock, having on your left a distant view of the Meeting-house at Septhenton[1] on an eminence. A well-cultivated country the whole way; in some places are seen the most beautiful vales, in others variegated hills, some cultivated to their summit. Fifteen miles from Lebanon we breakfasted at Sloane's tavern[2] at Williamstown, in Massachusetts. The principal part of the town is about four miles further on, where they are building a handsome brick college, seventy feet by fifty and three stories high, a donation from Mr. Williams,[3] from whom the Town took its name, is applied by his executors to the erection of this college, which will be in a fine, healthy country. Between Williamstown and Bennington are many pleasing scenes; one is particularly striking, the road runs on the side of a high and steep mountain, from which it has been cut out, and just beneath you runs a river with a rapid course, foaming over a bed of rocks; this river, which is called the Housack, with the steep, lofty mountain rising almost perpendicular from it, and covered to its summit with a thick forest, affords a most enchanting scene. You soon after ascend a mountain, and, looking back on the vale beneath, another fine view opens to the sight of rich lands watered by the river. About nine miles from Bennington you enter Vermont State; the rest of the road is along the foot of mountains, some very rugged and rocky, others woody; the vales cultivated; many of the settlements just in their infancy. Bennington is a very pretty town at the foot of a high hill in the shape of a cone, which is entirely covered with maple trees. Around the Town the country has a beautiful aspect, the lands being rich and well improved. Mr. Tichenor[4] one of the principal persons of this new State, waited on me and conducted me to Mr. Robinson,[5] the Governor, who gave me a

[1] Stephentown, Rensselaer County, N. Y.

[2] The tavern was kept by Gen. Samuel Sloan (1740–1813). A. L. Perry, *Origins of Williamstown* (1900), 511.

[3] Col. Ephraim Williams (1714–1755). "The house for the Free School" — Mr. Smith's "handsome brick college" — "plain, unpretentious, yet having a certain quiet dignity withal — has been known for more than a hundred years as West College" (L. W. Spring, *History of Williams College*, 1917, 38). The Free School was opened on October 26, 1791, and chartered as Williams College on June 22, 1793.

[4] Isaac Tichenor (1754–1838).

[5] Moses Robinson (1741–1813).

polite reception. We drank tea with Mr. Tichenor, who is a gentleman of the law. There is a large and good tavern, kept by Col. Dowie,[1] whose son is married to the Governor's daughter. The next morning we sat out early, and arrived to dinner at Lebanon.

Vermont is settled by New Englanders; it has, consequently, all the New England manners and policy. It is 190 miles in length and 40 to 90 in breadth; it contains 20,000 fighting men and about 90,000 to 100,000 inhabitants. The country now called Vermont was formerly part of the New Hampshire Province, and a considerable part of it was sold to individuals by the Governor of New Hampshire. Gov. Colden[2] of New York having suggested to the king and council that it would be convenient to make Connecticut River the eastern boundary of New York, it was so resolved and thereupon Gov. Colden and his successors have granted lands to a considerable amount in Vermont, part of which were previously granted by New Hampshire and the remainder unlocated. In 1777 under a pretence that the country of Vermont was not protected by New York nor Congress, the inhabitants sat up an independent government,[3] which New Hampshire has recognized, but New York constantly refused; she was however, unable to recognize any authority or jurisdiction within the Territory of Vermont, and has gradually ceased further attempts, but the right to the land still remains a question between them. The lands which were claimed under prior grants from New Hampshire, New York has relinquished, but claims either the lands which were not covered by a prior grant, or an indemnification for them. The Vermonters refused, alleging that Vermont was, prior to its independence, a part of New Hampshire, and that New Hampshire by relinquishing her claim has established the right of the present holders by possession. New York contends that the king and council had a right to make such boundaries to the provinces as they pleased in their wisdom, and that by throwing Vermont into the province of New York, the Governor had a right to grant the lands, which were not previously granted by the Governor of New Hampshire. Commissioners are appointed by both States to settle these contending claims to this Territory;

[1] Mr. Smith probably wrote "Dewie," and he should have said "whose daughter is married to the Governor's son." The allusion is to Capt. Elijah Dewey, whose daughter Ruth married Moses Robinson, Jr. *Life of George Dewey and Dewey Family History* (1898), 870–872, 904–905.

[2] Cadwallader Colden (1688–1776).

[3] At a convention held at Westminster January 15, 1777, a State government was organized "by the name of New-Connecticut;" but at a convention held at Windsor June 4, 1777, the name was changed to Vermont. *Connecticut Courant*, March 17, and June 30, 1777.

they are to meet in New York the end of the month of September.[1] After this point is settled, it is expected Vermont will become a member of the Union.[2] A part of Vermont being bounded by Canada, they receive part of their supplies from that province, the rest from Albany, Hartford, etc.

Saturday, September 4. After dinner, accompanied by Mr. H. Izard[3] and Mr. J. Smith,[4] I rode to Stockbridge on a visit to Mr. Sedgwick,[5] we passed through the Shaker settlement and then ascended a high hill, from which the prospect of the settlement and the distant hill, highly cultivated, is charming. Passing through a woody country we soon arrive at Richmond, a town of great extent and straggling settlements; the lands appear good and the ground is much cleared, and the prospect of the well-cultivated plain is pleasing. Quitting Richmond we arrived at some iron works, and then traveling through a thick wood, had from an eminence a fine view of Stockbridge which is a very large settlement, containing some handsome houses, among which Mr. Sedgwick's is for size and beauty the most conspicuous. The lands are also good here and well-cultivated and the extensive plain thickly covered with settlements and encircled by fine romantic hills presents an agreeable scene. We supt and slept at Mr. Sedgwick's, and after breakfast the next morning returned to the Pool, having stopt about an hour at the Shakers' Meeting house to take another view of their ridiculous worship. Stockbridge is about sixteen miles from the Pool.

Tuesday, September 7th. Early in the morning we left the Pool for Albany, the distance about thirty miles. The road for about fifteen miles is bad, hilly, and rocky, and traveling in a wagon without springs was extremely rough and unpleasant. The first part of the road is through a wild country, where new settlements are just forming along the brow of wooded hills or in rich vales; the wildness of the mountains and the multitude of the stumps yet remaining on the cleared ground give a gloominess to the prospect of this country, which in a few years will doubtless be a beautiful one, for the land is good and it is fast settling. We passed by Schermerhorn's mills and soon after ascending a high hill enjoyed from its summit a prospect of very considerable extent, terminated to the left by the lofty Kaatskill Mountains. We dined at Tobias' tavern at Phillips-

[1] The New York and Vermont Commissioners met September 27–October 7, 1790.

[2] At a convention held at Bennington January 6–10, 1791, the Federal Constitution was ratified, and on March 4th Vermont was admitted to the Union.

[3] Doubtless Henry Izard (1771–1826), oldest brother of Mr. Smith's wife..

[4] I have been unable to identify this Mr. Smith.

[5] Theodore Sedgwick (1746–1813).

town,[1] kept by an impudent woman, where we were badly entertained. Thence to Albany the road is good, the country becomes more level as you descend towards the river; we passed through several woods and I observed that the land did not appear so good and was more thinly settled than I should have expected at so short a distance from the river. When within a mile of the river, arriving at the edge of a hill, a most delightful view suddenly presents itself, consisting of the noble river of the Hudson gliding smoothly along and carrying on its surface several vessels, the city of Albany in the midst of a verdant and fertile country, several handsome mansions on the river side, particularly Gen. Schyler's,[2] which makes a noble appearance and is delightfully situated; the sloping hills on each side of the river highly cultivated, and the scattered farms with cattle grazing in the meadows, the whole terminated by distant hills and a fine view of the Kaatskill mountains. We crossed the ferry and entered Albany early in the afternoon.

Wednesday. Albany is an ugly town when not viewed at a distance. Most of the houses are built in the old Dutch style, with the gable ends to the street; it is said to contain 4,000 inhabitants. There are several modern, handsome brick houses; from the battery there is a fine view of the river and adjacent country. I took a walk to General Schyler's; his house is a large, square brick one, with a flat roof; it stands on a rising ground above the river, and enjoys a commanding view. We rode to the Cahoos falls,[3] ten miles from Albany; the road for six miles runs through a level meadow along the river, which in the time of freshets overflows it and renders it a very rich soil; it belongs to Mr. Stephen Rennselaer,[4] son-in-law of Gen. Schyler; this gentleman is called the Patroon, which is the Dutch name for the Lord of the Manor, and he owns an immense estate on the banks of the North river, and running many miles back into the country. We past by his house at the end of the Town, it is an old-fashioned brick house. We were obliged to pass through several of his gates which shut up the road, for the road is on his land and he cannot keep up fences for his cornfields on account of the freshets. He has 3,200 tenants and his rental is £12,000 per annum, York currency. He makes himself very useful to his neighbors by his acts of benevolence, and is adored by his numerous tenants, he is void either of avarice or

[1] Not to be confused with the present Philipstown in Putnam County, opposite West Point. Tobias' Tavern was in the present Nassau, Rensselaer County, which was "taken from Petersburg, Stephentown and Schodack, by the name of Philipstown, 21st March, 1806; name changed 6th April, 1808." T. F. Gordon, *Gazetteer of the State of New York*, 1836, 644.

[2] Philip Schuyler (1733–1804).

[3] Cohoes Falls.

[4] Stephen Van Rensselaer (1765–1839), who married Margaret Schuyler.

ambition, the latter is remarkable, as he is a young man of twenty-five.

Nothing can be more pleasant than the ride for six miles, all the way close to the river's edge, and on a smooth, level road, with rich meadows or well-cultivated fields on the other side of the road. On the opposite shore just at the point where we quitted the river, stands Troy, a new and flourishing town at the head of navigation for sloops; it enjoys over Albany the advantage of receiving with more convenience the produce from Vermont and the eastern shore. It is but a few years since the first store was built, and now there are forty or fifty houses. A few miles above Troy is the New City or Lansingburg, which only has the water for sloops in freshets, but then has the advantage of being higher up in the country. At the point where we left the North river the Mohawk river enters it by several mouths, all of which are visible from the road; coasting up the Mohawk river, a view of which is now and then had through the woods, we proceeded four miles of a bad road till, entering into a woody and rocky spot, we suddenly had a full view of the fall of the Cahoos, which is the fall of the whole Mohawk river over a ledge of rock thirty feet high and 200 yards wide; in some places the fall appears sixty feet, when standing just above it. A considerable spray is occasioned by this prodigious body of water falling with such violence over the rocks, and a tremendous roaring is heard. The scenery around, consisting of hills, woods, and rocks, is romantic, and the beauty and grandeur of the falls, with the pleasantness of the ride, rendered this excursion highly gratifying.

Thursday, September 9. We embarked in the morning on board an Albany sloop for New York, which place, from contrary winds and calm, we did not reach till the Tuesday night following. This tedious detention, however, afforded me ample opportunity of viewing at my leisure the beautiful banks of the Hudson. For some miles the river is shallow and narrow and the country around rather low and level. We came to anchor about eight miles from Albany, and went ashore and dined; I ascended a hill and had a fine view of the river, which here resembled a noble lake. The next day we anchored off Kinderhook landing, where there are a few houses. The river now began to deepen and widen considerably; we next passed by Red-hook, a pretty little landing where there are some good looking houses, pleasantly situated; some miles before we reached Red Hook, we passed the home of the Chancellor[1] and that of his mother, situated in the lower manor of Livingston; the old

[1] Robert R. Livingston (1746–1813). His mother, Margaret (Beekman) Livingston, lived until July, 1800.

lady's house is a handsome stone one, well situated, and makes a good appearance from the river, being placed on a hill in the midst of the woods, which go on quite down to the water's edge. The Chancellor's house is a little back and is not so well seen. We passed by the town of Hudson in the night: this is one of the most thriving places ever known, having been first settled in 1786 and now containing upwards of 200 houses; vessels of any burden can load at the wharves, an advantage it enjoys over Albany, as the navigation from this place to Albany is bad and difficult; Hudson is thirty miles from it.

Sunday morning we made Newborough, New Windsor, and Fishkill landing, small places on the river's side, which add much to the scenery; we now had the Highlands full in view guarded by lofty mountains. I went ashore at Fishkill landing. In the afternoon we approached the Highlands, which assumed an aspect more and more tremendous as we approached them. The two mountains which form the entrance are of great height, and rise out of the river perpendicularly; they are clothed with impenetrable woods to the very summit. As we sailed close under them their appearance was grand and tremendous. The wind being ahead we felt it rushing with amazing violence through the aperture formed by these mountains: and were obliged to work in, which we did with the assistance of the tide. Having entered the Highlands towards the close of the day, the wind blowing hard ahead and the sky covered with black clouds, the gloomy appearance of the high-mountains which encircled us rendered the scene tremendous. We came to anchor just within West Point, that celebrated American fortress, justly styled the American Gibraltar, which the traitor Arnold attempted to betray into the hands of the enemy. It was very interesting to take a survey of this strong place, to behold the spot which Arnold had begun to dismantle (Fort Putnam); the landing where he embarked in his barge; the place where the *Vulture* sloop-of-war lay at anchor; the house of my namesake[1] where Arnold and André met; and the place where the latter crossed the river. On Monday morning I arose at break of day to have a view of West Point before we passed it. There was one battery nearly at the water's edge, another on the point which is a considerable height, another on Fort Putnam, a rocky cliff much above the point, and other batteries still higher on several points of land, forming, as it were, different stages of fortification; the opposite point was likewise fortified and a large boom-chain was placed across the river; as the river takes a turn just at this point, no vessel could possibly pass without being torn

[1] Joshua Hett Smith (1736–1818).

to pieces by the cannon. The whole scenery about West Point is astonishingly grand and sublime, high mountains seem to stop the passage of the river and give it the appearance of a lake; under some aspects it reminded me of some of the lakes I had seen in Cumberland and Westmoreland. We afterwards saw Fort Montgomery, and a mountain called Anthony's Nose, deemed the highest in the Highlands. These mountains are rocky, but all covered with woods from the water's edge to their summit.

The Highlands continue about fourteen miles. Sailing between two other mountains, but less lofty and tremendous, we quitted the Highlands and came in sight of Peekskill Landing. We anchored close to the western shore, nearly opposite Peekskill. Tuesday morning we entered Tappan Sea, which is the widest part of the river, being in some places five miles across. The wind blowing from the sea raised such a swell as to make some of the passengers very sick. I should have noticed Stony Point, which we passed Monday evening, celebrated by the distinguished manner in which it was taken by Gen. Wayne. Tuesday noon we came to anchor off Closter landing, under a high, steep hill covered with rocks and woods. In the afternoon, when within twenty miles of New York, a fair breeze sprang up and soon carried us home. We passed by Forts Washington and Lee, and landed at the Albany pier at eight o'clock.[1]

[1] Here ends the New England trip. As Mr. Smith's movements are sometimes hard to follow, an intinerary will prove useful:

Aug. 15. Su. Leaves New York.
17. Tu. Reaches Newport.
18. W. Newport to Providence.
19. Th. Providence to Manchester's tavern.
20. F. Manchester's tavern to Voluntown, Norwich, Lebanon.
21. Sa. Lebanon to East Hartford and Hartford.
22. Su. Hartford.
23. M. Hartford to Wethersfield, Middletown, and back.
24. Tu. Excursion to mountains west of Hartford.
25. W. Hartford to Windsor and Springfield.
26. Th. Springfield to Westfield, Blandford, Foley's tavern.
27. F. Foley's tavern to Becket, Washington, Pittsfield, New Lebanon.
28. Sa. New Lebanon.
29. Su. New Lebanon. Visits Shakers.
30. M. New Lebanon to Hancock, Williamstown, Bennington.
31. Tu. Bennington to New Lebanon.
Sept. 1–3 New Lebanon: no entries.
4. Sa. New Lebanon to Richmond, Stockbridge.
5. Su. Stockbridge to New Lebanon.
6. M. New Lebanon: no entry.
7. Tu. New Lebanon to Nassau and Albany.
8. W. Albany to Cohoes Falls and back.
9–14. Th.–Tu. Albany to New York by the Hudson.

II

Philadelphia to Charleston, April–May, 1791

April 20.[1] — I sat out in the stage for Richmond in Virginia, where I proposed purchasing horses and where I had sent a sulky by sea from Philadelphia. I left Philadelphia in the morning, past through Darby,[2] a small town situated near the Delaware, and through Wilmington in the State of Delaware, a pretty town beautifully situated on Christine creek which runs into the Delaware near the Town.[3] The Town is situated on an eminence with a gradual descent toward the creek and commands a fine and extensive prospect of the surrounding country and the river Delaware; from a considerable distance Wilmington is a fine object, and being situated on a descent, all the houses present themselves to the view. Just before I entered the Town I passed by the Brandywine mills, about thirteen in number. They are conveniently placed on the bank of Christine creek, which is navigable for sloops and has the advantage of loading and unloading the wheat and flour from the vessels into the mills by cranes. They are substantially built of stone, and, being placed contiguous to each other along the banks of the creek have a handsome appearance. Beyond Wilmington is Newport, a small place where we dined. The ride this morning was agreeable, having a view of the Delaware nearly the whole way, and being through a well-wooded and well-cultivated and thickly settled country. From Newport we proceeded to a small place called Christine,[4] on the creek of that name and arrived early in the evening at Elktown, a small town on the Elk river which runs into the Chesapeake. It carries on a good trade, being conveniently situated in point of navigation, and is about fifty miles from Philadelphia.

April 21. At three in the morning we proceeded, and arrived at sunrise at Charlestown,[5] a small, mean-looking town, but most delightfully situated on an eminence near the head of the Chesapeake, (of which it has a noble prospect), on a small river called Charles river. Thence through a hilly and romantic country to the river Susquehanna, and breakfasted at the ferry-house at Colonel

[1] This instalment, under the heading "A Hundred Years Ago," was printed in the *New York Evening Post* of May 5, 1888, where it is preceded by this statement: "The interesting papers from the diary of William Smith of South Carolina, giving a history of a trip through New England in 1790, are supplemented by the following account from the same source of a trip from Philadelphia to South Carolina in the spring of 1791."

[2] Derby, Pa.

[3] Christiana Creek.

[4] Christiana, Del.

[5] Charlestown, Md.

Rodgers, father-in-law of Mr. Pinkney, one of the new members in Congress from Maryland.[1] The prospect of the river, the bay into which the Susquehanna opens close by the islands; and the opposite town of Havre is agreeable and picturesque. Vessels of burden must anchor at the mouth of the river; vessels of smaller size can proceed up the river six or nine miles, where the navigation is totally interrupted by rocks, which would have rendered the river a very unfit place for the federal seat of Government, as was once intended. Next comes Bush Town[2] or Abingdon, a pretty little town with a hilly country around, and about a mile distant a College called Cokesbury College, situated on a very lofty eminence and built of brick; the building is a handsome one, and is seen from a great distance.[3] Dined between this place and Baltimore, where we arrived about four in the afternoon, distance 102 miles from Philadelphia. Baltimore, the principal city of Maryland, though not its capital, is a large, handsome place, containing a number of good brick houses and inhabited by several thriving and wealthy merchants. It contains several good streets well paved. It is situated on Patapsco River, which empties into the bay. Large vessels cannot approach the Town nearer than Fells' Point, about a mile off, where goods are loaded and unloaded by lighters, a great inconvenience to trade; notwithstanding Baltimore has thriven most astonishing, having been for twenty-five or thirty years a very considerable place, young men remember some of the principal streets to have been fields and ponds when they were boys. The harbour is a very commodious and safe one, being sheltered from the northwest winds by the Town, and from the southeast by a promontory.

[1] William Pinkney (1764–1822) married Ann Maria Rodgers, daughter of John Rodgers and sister of Commodore John Rodgers.

[2] "Harford, or Bush-town, in Harford county, Maryland, lies at the head of the tide waters of Bush river, between Binam's and James's runs; the former separating it from Abingdon." J. Morse, *American Gazetteer*, 1797.

[3] "Cokesbury College, in the town of Abingdon, . . . is an institution which bids fair to promote the improvement of science, and the cultivation of virtue. It was founded by the Methodists, in 1785, and has its name in honor of Thomas Coke, and Francis Asbury, the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal church." Morse, *American Gazetteer*, 1797. The Boston Athenæum owns a copy (which formerly belonged to Washington) of *An Address to the Annual Subscribers for the support of Cokesbury-College, and to the Members of the Methodist Society. To which are added, the Rules and Regulations of the College.* By Thomas Coke, L.L.D. and Francis Asbury, Superintendents of the Methodist Episcopal Church. New-York: Printed by W. Ross, in Broad-Street. M.DCC.LXXXVII. This is dated "New-York, May 18, 1787;" and the authors say that "our College is under cover, and will, we trust, be opened for the Education of Youth, by next Christmas at farthest" (p. 2).

The exports of Baltimore increase rapidly and nearly equal Philadelphia. Probably the prosperity of this Town may be owing to the high duties in Virginia under the old Constitution, which drove the trade of Virginia into Maryland where the duties were low. The exports of Baltimore consist chiefly of wheat and flour. The main street is a mile in length, has a good wooden bridge over the river, and ascends gradually to a fine plain above the Town, which was intended for the seat of Congress had Baltimore been chosen. This land belongs to Colonel, now Governor Howard,[1] who had agreed to present it to Congress. From this eminence is a noble view of the Town, harbour, shipping, etc. The Town house has a singular appearance. It was built on a hill which was since leveled, leaving the building in the air supported by a stone arch. From the brow of the eminence back of the Town house is a grand prospect back of the city, an extensive plain, with distant hills, and the beautiful Seat of Colonel Howard and Mr. Stephenson,[2] with woods, etc. In traveling to Baltimore we passed through the most barren part of the State; now and then a few wheat fields; a good many old fields and deserted plantations; fences in ruins; we past several fine streams on which there are mills and iron works, there being several mines on this road or near it. There were also many new settlements; trees recently cut down and land cleared for planting, with much the appearance of a new country. The price of a passenger from Philadelphia to Baltimore is a guinea. In general the road is very bad, hilly, rough, and cut up; the soil principally clay, as is the soil about Baltimore, which when not paved, was impassable in wet weather.

April 22. Left Baltimore before four in the morning, past by a pretty little town called Elkridge, crossed the Patapsco river, eight miles from Baltimore in a very convenient ferry-boat with a rope; breakfasted about sixteen miles distant. The country woody, hilly, from time to time a pretty scene of verdant wheat fields, with a farm on the hill; but the country generally poor on this road. Dined at a very pretty town called Bladensburgh, eight miles from Georgetown, situated at the head of eastern branch, by means of which it carries on some trade, as large flats can come up here from Georgetown and Alexandria. The country around is romantic; on the hills above it are some handsome Seats. A pleasant ride to Georgetown, the hills over which you pass commanding fine prospects, one above Bladensburgh, and another within a few miles of Georgetown has a distant view of the Potomac and Alexandria, and a fine and extensive country well wooded. Crossed Rock creek and ascending

[1] John Eager Howard (1752–1827). [2] Dr. Henry Stevenson.

a steep hill arrived at Georgetown: as soon as you attain the summit of this hill, a magnificent view suddenly opens, Georgetown being placed on a very commanding site. From the Town itself, but more from the adjoining hills, an enchanting prospect presents itself. The Town, shipping, river, distant country variegated with woods, creeks, hills, and vessels under sail, fine eminences, fields cultivated combined into as grand a scene as can be found almost anywhere.

Georgetown is said to have risen to some importance in the commercial world from the same cause as Baltimore, viz., the impolitic revenue laws of Virginia, which carried her produce to Georgetown and sent the imports from Europe, which otherwise would have gone to Alexandria. The navigation is certainly not equal to that of Alexandria, for there are some rocks opposite Georgetown, the channel is narrow and bad, and no vessel can withstand the ice which comes down the Potomac, for which reasons insurance cannot be made on vessels till they have got to Eastern Branch. The situation of Georgetown is likewise inconvenient for trade, the land being very uneven, and full of steep declivities, and hollows, and lofty eminences, which though beautiful to the eye of the traveler, and afford delightful prospects, are certainly ill-calculated for trade. As soon as I arrived at Georgetown, I rode with Major L'Enfant,[1] appointed by the President of the United States to make plans, surveys, etc., of the Federal city, to survey the land laid out for that purpose. It covers an area of nearly 6,000 acres, extending from Rock creek near Georgetown, beginning at the mouth of the creek and running down the Potomac to the Eastern Branch four miles, then along the Eastern Branch to a point called Evans Point, and from thence passing near Bladensburgh to a spot on Rock creek about a mile or two from Georgetown. I rode over the greatest part of the ground; the Major pointed out to me all the eminences, plains, commanding spots, projects of canals by means of Rock creek, Eastern Branch, and a fine creek called Goose creek, which intersects the plan of the city along the Eastern Branch, quays,

[1] For a sketch of Pierre Charles L'Enfant (1754–1825), see Jusserand, *With Americans of Past and Present Days*, 139–195. The following item, dated Georgetown, April 2, was printed in the *Columbian Centinel* of April 23, 1791: "Previous to the departure of the President from this town, we hear, that he instructed Lieutenant Colonel L'Enfant, a native of France, who served with distinguished reputation in the American corps of Engineers in the late war; and whose tastes and talents are universally admired, to plan and lay out the Federal City." Another item was printed in the same paper of May 7, 1791: "Alexandria, April 21. On Friday the 15th inst. the Hon. Daniel Carrol, and Dr. David Stewart, arrived in this town, to superintend the fixing of the first *Corner-Stone* of the Federal District."

bridges, etc., magnificent public walks, and other projects, but he never once mentioned a convenient spot for a church, and what is more surprising I never once thought of asking him where he proposed placing them.

The ground pleased me much; the Major is enraptured with it; "nothing," he says, "can be more admirably adapted for the purpose; nature has done much for it, and with the aid of art it will become the wonder of the world." I proposed calling this new Seat of Empire, Washingtonople.[1] The eastern branch affords a noble harbour, having twenty-seven feet of water and being perfectly safe; the country along its banks is beautiful, and the view of the Eastern Branch, with the Potomac and the view of Alexandria, which is distinctly seen nearly opposite, with the prospect behind of woods, farms, etc., is extremely grand and romantic. In short, I was delighted with my ride, and returned to my tavern in the dusk of the evening well satisfied that the place selected unites more advantages for the place intended than any spot I have seen in America. The speculations of land in this neighborhood have been great since the President has fixed on the spot; land in the neighborhood which before sold for five or seven pounds an acre, has been sold for thirty and forty pounds. The Major showed me all his plans and surveys, and so did Mr. Ellicott[2] who is appointed to take the heights, distances, etc.; they are to be all ready for the President on his return from his tour.[3]

April 23d. Crossed the Potomac and went to Alexandria. A noble view of Georgetown from the heights on the Virginia side, and many pleasing views as you proceed to Alexandria, of Georgetown and the opposite shore, the Goose creek, Eastern Branch, etc. The road being chiefly through woods, you have only now and then a view of the river and opposite coast. Alexandria is a considerable

[1] The Commissioners "notified L'Enfant, on the 9th of September, 1791, that a name had been selected for the district and the city: 'We have agreed that the federal district shall be called "the Territory of Columbia," and the federal city "the City of Washington." The title of the map will therefore be "A map of the City of Washington in the District of Columbia"'" (Jusserand, *With Americans*, 177). The name Columbia, as a heading for news about Congress, was in popular use much earlier. Thus the heading of a column devoted to the proceedings of Congress in the *Boston Gazette* of April 26, 1790, was "Congress" (p. 3/1), but in the same paper of May 3, 1790, the heading was "Columbia" (p. 2/3). About that time it was suggested that the name of our country should be changed from the United States of America to the United States of Columbia: see the *New York Nation*, March 9, 1916, 282.

[2] Andrew Ellicott (1754–1820).

[3] On March 11, 1791, Washington left Philadelphia on a tour to the South, and reached Mount Vernon on June 12: see his *Diary* (Lossing, 1860), 154–202.

place of trade, is well situated on the river which is three-fourths of a mile wide. It suffered, as before mentioned, under the old constitution, but is now thriving rapidly; the situation of the Town, a capital one, a fine eminence, plain level, and bounded by a pretty range of hills an excellent, safe, and commodious harbour, a fine back country to it, will soon make it a very important post; much business is done here; there are about 3,200 inhabitants; the houses principally of brick; the streets are not paved and being of clay after rain they are so slippery it is almost impossible to walk in them. I went to the top of Colonel Howe's house, a very lofty one, the prospect a magnificent one. The Town laid out at right angles, the harbour, river to great distance, with its windings, creeks, and islands, the extensive plain contiguous to the city, all formed a fine scene. Dined at Alexandria. With the aid of a borrowed horse and sulky, and a hack for my man, went to Mount Vernon, the celebrated Seat of General Washington, where I now write this journal. Distance from Alexandria ten miles, road very hilly, but in general very good, I followed the Colchester road till I crossed Hunting creek, which is the southern boundary of the ten mile square, then took the left road and ascended a very high, steep hill, from which is a fine view of the creek, river, and Alexandria. The road mostly through fine woods, and little of the river is seen; and much like the road from Middletown place on Ashley river down to the ferry.

The house at Mount Vernon is most magnificently situated; I hardly remember to have been so struck with a prospect. It stands on a small plain near the river, which is 200 feet below; the view extends up and down the river a considerable distance, the river is about two miles wide, and the opposite shore is beautiful, as is the country along the river; there is a verdant lawn between the house and the river, and a rapid descent, wooded, down to the river. From the grand portico which fronts the river, the assemblage of objects is grand beyond description, embracing the magnificence of the river with the vessels sailing about; the verdant fields, woods, and parks. The mansion is large and commodious, the portico 96 feet long and lofty; the grand salon 32 x 28 and very high ceiling, handsomely ornamented with a representation of implements of husbandry. The chimney piece is of marble, richly wrought, and represents rustic scenes, the hearth inlaid. The stable for forty horses; two pretty gardens, separated by a gravel serpentine walk, edged with willows and other trees; a circular lawn back of the house; the grounds well-cultivated and improved. There is a jackass upwards of fifteen hands high, sent by the King of Spain;[1] another

[1] See Washington's *Writings* (Ford), x. 479; xi. 29, 342.

from Malta upwards of fourteen, fine animals both. The estate extends down the river about three miles, and up the river about six, and is about three or four miles back from the river, containing from 9,000 to 10,000 acres, one-half under cultivation, the remainder woods. A great fishery of herrings is carried on, and it is sold to the country people, who salt it for provisions. Upwards of 100,000 bricks are made here annually; the fence of the estate where the mansion is runs nine miles. The General has lately sold his transmountainous lands, 130,000 acres for 65,000 crowns. He has besides other estates tenanted in Loudon and other counties; he owns 300 slaves, about 150 or 160 workers; no negro houses are seen near the mansion; they are all at a distance and not visible from the house.

I caught a rock fish while I was here, four feet long and sixty-four pounds weight; they have caught them weighing sixty-nine. From the portico is a view on the same side of the river of Colonel Fairfax's Seat;[1] the house was burnt some years ago, but the woods about the ruins have a romantic appearance. Sunday I remained at Mount Vernon and left on Monday, and proceeded to the Seat of Colonel Mason,[2] about thirteen miles on the Potomac; the ride a pleasant one, a hilly country, well-wooded and romantic. Colonel George Mason is a gentleman of considerable eminence in the political line in this state. I arrived at his house about dinner time, and staid with him until the next morning. The house is rather an ancient brick building, with a neat garden, at the end of which is a high natural terrace which commands the Potomac; the ground about is rough and unimproved. On Tuesday I got to Colchester, to breakfast. This little place is seated on a river, and seems to be in a declining condition. Dined at Stafford Court House. Passed through Dumfries before dinner, a small town which has some trade, though said to be on the decline, owing to the want of navigation, as the little river on which it is placed is filling up. Passed through Falmouth, a little town on the Rappahannock, beautifully situated on a hill, which has a fine prospect of the river and the Town of Fredericksburgh on the opposite bank. Crossed the river and arrived at Fredericksburgh, a pretty town, consisting of one long street, containing several good houses. This place is at the head of navigation, and appears to be thriving and carrying on a large business; there are a great many stores in it, and the houses are generally neat and in good repair; it contains upwards of 300.

The road to-day extremely woody, and hilly, and fatiguing. The

[1] Belvoir, formerly the seat of George William Fairfax.

[2] George Mason (1725–1792). For Gunston Hall, see Edith T. Sale, *Manors of Virginia in Colonial Times*, 92–103; Kate M. Rowland, *Life of George Mason*, I. 57, 72, 98–110.

country well settled, wheat country principally. On Wednesday breakfasted at Bowling Green. At this place is a neat looking College.[1] Passed this day the Mattapony and Pamunkey rivers, which form below York river. Dined at a place called the Merry Oaks; I arrived early in the afternoon, at Richmond, the metropolis of Virginia. The road this day level and fine; the country well settled, a great deal of wood and many wheat fields. Tobacco is declining fast and the culture of wheat succeeding to it. Richmond is situated partly on a high eminence and partly on the banks of the James river, which is navigable for sloops within a mile to Rocket's landing; above that the river is full of rocks and shoals, but a company has associated for purposes of navigation by cutting a canal along the river. Ninety negroes are constantly employed, with four overseers and a head manager. The canal is brought already within two miles of the Town, and when finished will open a valuable communication with the entire country. I rode as far as the spot to which the canal ends. The ride along the river is extremely beautiful and romantic; the road winds on the brow of a hill over the river and commands a fine view of the Town, the river, the little town of Manchester, on the opposite side, and woods scattered about. The roaring of the water over the rocks and the noise of the workmen working below, with the explosion made in blowing the rocks up, render the scene curious and pleasing. On my return I was struck with the grandeur of the scenery; the different views of Richmond, with its immense Capitol, towering above the Town on a lofty eminence, with its antique appearance, arrested my attention.[2] They are extremely fine and picturesque and well worthy the traveler's notice. The Town contains about 300 houses, some of them excellent brick and well built. It carries a great deal of business and will be a flourishing place when the navigation with the county is entirely opened, which will be in two or three years.

The Capitol, built on the model of the Temple of Nismes, is an immense pile of brick work, seated on the edge of a lofty hill, which overlooks the whole Town, river, and adjoining country. From the extensiveness of the undertaking it has for some years remained incomplete for want of funds; it has already cost £30,000, and will require 12, or 15,000 more to finish it. Its unfinished state gives it a heavy, singular appearance, but when complete it will be a magnificent building. The model, made at Paris in plaster of Paris (by order of Mr. Jefferson, who was directed by the State of Virginia

[1] Mr. William G. Stanard of Richmond kindly informs me that this was perhaps Concord Academy.

[2] A good view of Richmond was printed on Bishop James Madison's Map of Virginia, published in 1807.

to obtain a model of the Temple of Nîsmes), is a very beautiful and elegant thing. It is kept at the Governor's,[1] who is a good-tempered, genteel man. He was very polite to me and invited me to dine with him. He is a plain looking man and lives in a plain house. The Capitol contains a number of apartments allotted for the different public offices; they are mostly on the ground floor, which is arched with brick and secure from fire. In front of the building is a grand portico, the height of the building and supported by large pillars. The loftiness of this building, and its eminent situation render it a very striking object, and it is the first thing which strikes the traveler. The principal tavern is a large, handsome building.

April 29th.[2] Quitted Richmond in my sulky which I had sent around by sea from Philadelphia, having bought a pair of horses. Crossed James River on a long wooden bridge, or rather two bridges, the island separating the bridge into two parts; the river here is almost a bed of rocks, with a rapid current. Manchester, a small town, is just opposite Richmond on the river; it is a long straggling place and carries on some business; it has a handsome view of Richmond and the Capitol, which continues to attract attention and excite admiration as you recede from it; the farther distant, the more you are struck by its grandeur and by its antique appearance, resembling at a distance a Roman structure amidst rocks and woods. The road at this season is very fine, and this is a thickly settled country. I met a great number of wagons carrying down tobacco, and a number of hogsheads rolling down to Manchester inspection. At Hopkins,[3] twenty miles from Richmond, on the road to Janet's bridge, I met very good fare, a neat, clean house, and a very civil landlord. Here I dined, and proceeded on to Janet's bridge,[4] a wooden bridge over the Appomattox, which afterwards passes by Petersburgh; the river above and below the bridge offers a romantic scene, flowing smoothly between high, verdant, and woody banks. This afternoon saw several plantations, the country being much cultivated and affording several pleasant views of wheat fields, meadows, and woods. The road was excellent, hard clay principally, and quite dry, passing either through handsome woods or along plantations. Four miles from Janet's bridge the road forks; the right

[1] Beverly Randolph (1755–1797).

[2] This instalment, under the heading "One Hundred Years Ago," was printed in the *New York Evening Post* of June 2, 1888.

[3] Hopkins, though apparently not in modern gazetteers, is one of the few places given on Bishop Madison's Map of Virginia, 1807. It is (or was) in Powhatan County. Mr. Stanard thinks that "the name Hopkins has probably disappeared."

[4] Mr. Stanard tells me that this was Janitoe's Bridge, in Amelia County.

takes you to Chinkapin church;[1] the left by Colonel Mead's plantation, to his mill, etc. I took the latter meaning to put up at the Colonel's, being recommended to it by my landlord. Soon after I passed the fork I was assailed by a violent shower, which fortunately was of short duration. I then turned from the road, and riding nearly two miles through the plantation arrived at dusk at the Colonel's, who gave me a kind reception. He has a very large plantation. I found him bitterly opposed to the excise, and attempted to reason his objections; we discussed the matter upwards of an hour, but I fear I met with little success; his objections were groundless.

Saturday, April 30. Colonel Meade[2] conducted me through a by-road into the main road which leads to Chinkapin church. Some parts of the road this morning were bad, and from the appearance of the road I imagine that it must be impassable in winter. I had the advantage in traveling at this season of the year of having the roads good, roads which are dreadful in winter being now firm and level. I dined at rather an ordinary tavern at Chinkapin church; here I met several respectable citizens of the neighborhood, after a great deal of conversation on public topics, in the course of which they spoke their minds freely, I withdrew to dress, and on my return the most respectable of them, who was a Colonel Morton[3] and one of the County Court Judges said: "We suppose, sir, from your acquaintance with the proceedings of Congress, that you probably are a member of that body." I replied that I was. "From what State," "South Carolina." "Mr. ——, I suppose." "Yes, sir." "I have heard a great deal of you, sir: had we known who you were, we should have spoken with more reserve about Congress;" (they had said nothing offensive). I told them that it was on that account I had not discovered who I was, in order to hear their opinions about Government with freedom, that I wished to have the sentiments of the people respecting the proceeding of Congress, as our object was only to promote their welfare and obtain their approbation.

I then inquired whether the State certificates of Virginia were raised in value since the assumption, and was informed they were doubled; whether the Excise was so odious in this State as had been represented; Colonel Morton said that after all stills had been made liable to pay a duty, he was satisfied with it, but that he should have much disapproved of an exemption of domestic stills. I informed him that Colonel Meade's principal objection had been to the sub-

[1] Chinquapin Church, built about 1749, at a place since called Paineville.

[2] Mr. Stanard thinks that this was Everard Meade (*d.* 1808), a brother of Richard Kidder Meade (1746–1805) and uncle of Bishop William Meade.

[3] Mr. Stanard thinks that this was John Morton.

jecting domestic stills to the duty; all the company thought that they should be subject to it, as well as those distilling liquors for sale. After some further conversation Colonel Meade[1] asked whether it was true that the lands of individuals within the ten miles square were to be at the disposal of Congress, I assured him not, and acquainted him with the meaning of the Constitution as generally explained. When the horses were ready, my head was so full of politics that I ascended my sulky, took leave of the company, and drove off. I had proceeded nearly a mile before I recollected that I had come off without paying for my dinner. I stopt, called Ben, and was relieved to find he had done what I should have done. The road was now pleasant and fine for several miles, hard and level, and romantic woods. Six miles from Chinkapin church there is a fork; the right leads through Prince Edward County to Prince Edward court house; the left through Amelia to Moore's Ordinary;[2] the distances nearly the same by both roads, but I was advised to take the latter, being more level; the former approaches the Appomattox and crossing several creeks is broken ground and hilly. Within six or eight miles of Prince Edward court house lives the celebrated Patrick Henry,[3] who is now making a great deal of money by large fees of £50 or £100 for clearing horse thieves and murderers, which has lost him much of the great reputation he enjoyed in his neighborhood; he has been left out of the Assembly at the last election; some say because he insisted on not being elected, others that his conduct has given general disgust. I am told that he will travel hundreds of miles for a handsome fee to plead for criminals, and that his powers of oratory are so great he generally succeeds, insomuch, that a man in his neighborhood has been heard to say he should have no apprehension of being detected in horse stealing, for that Governor Henry, or Colonel Henry as he is sometimes called, would for £50 clear him. The road forks at one doctor's; taking the left I proceeded along a very high ridge, from which a great extent of country is seen on both sides, forests rising above forests, with intermediate spots of well-cultivated country. From the description I have had, this part of the country must considerably resemble the back part of South Carolina. This country when thickly settled, will be equal in beauty of prospect and richness of scenery to Great Britain. This is evident from some

[1] Doubtless an error for "Colonel Morton."

[2] "The next road that passes through the county from the east, is by Moor's old ordinary in Prince Edward." J. Martin, *Comprehensive Description of Virginia*, 1834, 149.

[3] Henry moved to Prince Edward County in 1786 or 1787: see W. W. Henry, *Patrick Henry*, II. 305, 311.

spots, which, being well cleared and cultivated, and possessing a happy combination of woods, meadows, wheat fields, and hills gently swelling, present a romantic prospect. One of these spots struck me soon after leaving Janet's Bridge, when ascending a hill, and, looking back, I saw the scene just described.

These parts of Virginia through which I have just traveled, viz.: the counties of Powhatan, Prince Edward, Amelia, and Charlotte are generally thickly settled; the inhabitants I have met with are polite and kind to strangers. I found a sufficiency of fodder for my horses; my own fare consisted generally of bacon, eggs, salad, corn bread, tolerable rum, good cool water, sometimes a chicken, but not often; the bills reasonable. There are some peculiarities in this people; they are fond of showing respect to strangers, by bedecking them with the title of Colonel:[1] this happened to me more than once, and I could scarce keep my countenance at hearing this when I have so little of a martial appearance and such small pretension to the title. They pronounce the words "there" and "stairs" different from any of the inhabitants of the other States, calling the one "stars," and saying "thar." Gaining a livelihood so easily, having abundance of land, and a tolerably fertile soil, cultivated in many parts altogether by the negroes, they have a great deal of leisure on their hands, which they spend in piazzas at taverns on the road, where a great number will collect and pass whole mornings in conversing about their geldings and "mars," and relating anecdotes about their neighborhood and their own adventures. Land being abundant and living plenty, no people in the world can surpass these in good living and ease; with their blessings and a mild government they ought to be happy, if it be the lot of any people to be so. The dwellings of gentlemen of property being generally remote from cities and mechanics, are generally most out of order; if a pane of glass be broken, or some of the paper loose, or the wall peeled off, or the lock of a door deranged, they will continue so for years, for there is no remedy at hand. In this respect their houses are not comfortable. You will therefore put up at a house perfectly unfurnished and uncomfortable, the owner of which drives his carriage and four.

I passed this afternoon several small taverns, and traveled an hour after dark to reach Billy George's because it was recommended as the best, but I found it bad enough; there was neither rum nor sugar; he borrowed some rum from a neighbor, but I lost my tea.

[1] "There is not a country under heaven," wrote John Adams in 1807, "in which titles and precedency are more eagerly coveted than in this country:" see G. L. Kittredge, *Old Farmer and his Almanack*, 234.

The bugs made a heartier supper on me than I did on my bacon and eggs; I was glad, however, to find that my horse fared better than I did, and before six the next morning I proceeded on my journey. On Sunday I passed by Moore's Ordinance,[1] now kept by one Boucker, and crossing Little Roanoke River on the bridge of that name, arrived at breakfast at ten o'clock at Captain Timberly's tavern at Charlotte court house. This being my wedding day, I was struck with the co-incidence of names.[2] Entering Charlotte county, I remarked that a great part of this road I traveled from Richmond is very badly watered, scarce having seen above two or three streams of water the whole way; the road, I fancy, runs along a high and dry ridge. After dinner, proceeded to Cole's Ferry. The first part of the road is very hilly, some of the hills steep; from the summits are several fine prospects of broken ground and well cultivated country; passed several fine streams, all along are settlements. After traveling three or four miles the road is hard and level for some distance through pleasant woods, and then it becomes again extremely hilly. Crossed Cubb Creek[3] over a bridge, after which ascending a hill had a beautiful view on the east side and behind of the most verdant wheat fields on the sides of fine undulating hills intermixed with woods; then descending a steep hill, approached Staunton river and passed through a low ground cleared, which appears very fine land, being sometimes overflowed by the river, which though at present not above 150 yards wide is at times nearly a mile wide, rising forty feet and spreading over all the low grounds in its vicinity. I crossed the ferry; some countrymen forded it at the same time, for though the river is wide and the water deep and rapid, the fording is reckoned safe, as the exact depth can be easily ascertained and the bottom is fine and level. There is a fall of the river just at the ferry, which occasions a great rapidity in the current.

At the moment that I crossed the ferry came on a thunder-storm, which, with the fierce redness of the sky just over my head, the rapidity of the current, and the violence of the wind, excited some apprehensions, as I had never before crossed the ferry with my horses. The rain pursued me, and poured in torrents, I, however, pushed on to Colonel Cole's; he is a man of genteel fortune, and has a pretty considerable plantation here, with other estates. Here I tarried the forenoon, and after dinner proceeded on towards Dan river to cross it at Dix's Ferry. The road good for about ten miles;

[1] Mr. Smith doubtless wrote "Ordinary."

[2] On May 1, 1786, Mr. Smith married Charlotte Izard: see p. 28, *supra*.

[3] Cub Creek, Charlotte County, Va.

it is then very hilly. I put up this night at one Pridie's, a sorry tavern; I had for company an idiot, the landlord's brother, who was himself but one remove from it, and I was waited on by an ugly broken backed old negro woman. My fare was indifferent, and as I was kept awake a great part of the night by bugs and fleas, and the united groaning and grunting of the hogs under the window, and my man Ben in the chamber with me; all this agreeable music was enlivened by perpetual peals of thunder and the rattling of heavy rain on the shingles over my head, which continued nearly the whole night, and began just as I entered the tavern. The heavy rain of the night had so cooled the air that I traveled the whole of the next day in my cloak. A mile or two from Pridie's I came to Banister river, which I crossed over a bridge; the river and banks pleasant and shady. The country well settled along this road. Breakfasted at Halifax Old Town; or Old Town, as it is called: it has no other pretension to the name than by containing two or three old houses, inhabited by some wretched old women: I, however, got a decent breakfast and went on.

A few miles from the old town the road forks; the right goes to Allen's ford; the left carried me towards Dix's ferry. The road from Pridie's to the old town pretty good; from thence to one Wisdom's, about fourteen miles, the road continues tolerably good, but from his house to Billy Dix's, eight miles, is an abominable road, consisting of stumps, roots, stones, gullies, steep hills, and everything which can compose an execrable road: thence three miles further to the ferry the road is good; the country all this way well settled. A little above Billy Dix's is a road which goes from Dix's ferry to Petersburgh. The tavern where I lay that night is kept by Colonel Dix. A sick, cross child made a terrible noise from the time I entered the house till bedtime, and then its mother, who was suddenly seized with a violent fit of the colic, commenced the most dreadful howling, screaming and groaning I ever heard, and as my chamber was only separated by a thin partition, I was kept awake by her music the greatest part of the night. After supper I had a long debate with the landlord upon the excise, to which he was not a little opposed.

Wednesday, 4th of May. Descending a steep hill I came to the ferry over Dan river, near the tavern. The river is nearly as wide as Staunton and is fordable; the banks wooded and pleasant; it is less rapid than Staunton. Ascending a very steep hill on the other side I entered the State of North Carolina. The road is there good. Stopt and breakfasted at Grant's store, twelve miles, where I got a very good breakfast and where a tavern is kept. About a mile

further is a fork; the left goes on by Stublefield's tavern to Guilford Court House; the right, which I took, goes likewise to Guilford, by the iron works, and is reckoned a better road; it goes likewise to Salem. Arrived at the iron works about three o'clock. My landlord, Jones, superintends them. After dinner he conducted me over them. They are situated at the head of a creek called "Great Troublesome," in a hollow surrounded by high hills covered with wood. The first appearance of the buildings, large reservoir of water, creek, and the people at work, with the noise of the machinery of the mills and the rapid currents which work them, have a pleasing and singular appearance just as you ascend the hill which overlooks them, after traveling a number of miles through the woods. The ore is none of the best, and the furnace is not yet in order; they make less iron here than there is a demand for. The spot is reckoned very unhealthy, on account of the large reservoir and the creek, which is wide and stagnant. During the night came on a violent rain accompanied by loud and continued peals of thunder, some of the severest I ever heard. I imagine the vicinity of the mines must have had some influence on the lightning; the common ore is got close by, and the rock ore at about four miles distance; my conductor supposes there is silver in the ore.

Thursday, May 5. About two miles from the iron works the road again forks; the left leads to Guilford Court House, the right to Salem. Leaving the iron works, I ascended a high hill; the road for seventeen or eighteen miles towards Salem is very disagreeable — a soft clay badly cut up by the wagons, numberless stumps, some steep hills, the ascent obstructed by large stones. After passing a mill the road becomes very good, and continues so to Dobson's, about twenty-six miles from the iron works. There is no tavern in the whole of this distance, and the road a very long and fatiguing one, which took me six hours, so that I did not get my breakfast till after twelve. The country from Dix's ferry is well settled, many new plantations. The people, however, do not look so well as those more northerly, nor so much at their ease. The soil on the high land, indifferent, but good near the water courses. Country woody, now and then an opening, with a plantation of good-looking wheat, and sometimes from the summits of the hills, over which the road passes, is seen a great extent of woody country rising in waves one above the other, with a little clearing here and there. I got a very good breakfast at Dobson's; he has a very decent house; his wife, who sat down to breakfast with me, is a huge fat woman of about eighty, whom he calls "Honey." The road continues good, with a few interruptions of steep and broken hills to

Salem.[1] After traveling through woods for many days, the sight of this little settlement of Moravians is highly curious and interesting. Between 200 and 300 persons of this sect here assembled live in brotherly love and set a laudable example of industry, unfortunately too little observed and followed in this part of the country. Every man follows some occupation; every woman is engaged in some feminine work; a tanner, shoemaker, potter, saddler, tinner, brewer, distiller, etc., is here seen at work; from their labors they not only supply themselves but the country all around them. The first view of the town is romantic, just as it breaks upon you through the woods; it is pleasantly seated on a rising ground, and is surrounded by beautiful meadows, well-cultivated fields, and shady woods.

The antique appearance of the houses, built in the German style, and the trees among which they are placed have a singular and pleasing effect; the whole resembles a beautiful village, and forms a pastoral scene. On my arrival I waited on a Mr. Bagge, one of the brethren and a respectable old gentleman, who keeps a store here. Having introduced myself to him, he very politely conducted me to the single men's house, and to all the different trades. I found every one hard at work; such a scene of industry, perhaps, exists no where in so small a place. The brewery and distillery are considerable; the beer is very good, and a cordial made out of the whiskey excellent. Water brought from the adjacent rivulets is collected in large pipes and conveyed to all the houses: at the tanner's a very small quantity falling from no great height turns a large wheel and works the pestles with which the bark is broken. Every house has its garden. Their discipline and customs resemble generally those of Bethlehem in Pennsylvania. There are two settlements or towns near Salem, but they are sickly. The settlement in this State covers about 90,000 acres: Salem covers 2,000. There are in all 1,500 souls; 260 at Salem, 200 at the two other settlements, and the residue scattered in different farms. The church yard is on a hill above the town, surrounded by shady groves: the graves are all distinct, laid out in apartments, a small square stone on each only mentions the name, the place they come from, and the age and day of death. It is surprising to find what a medley of nations lie here interred; it is also astonishing to find the small number of deaths, since their first settlement in Salem, which was in 1772, there are only buried here ten boys, twelve girls, fourteen single men, only one single woman, thirteen married women, nine married men, and one negro, total sixty, which in the space of twenty years is only three per annum, a surprising proof of the good effects of industry, sobriety, temper-

[1] *Col. Rec. North Carolina*, v. 1156, *et seq.*

ance, and a good situation. Between eight and nine o'clock I attended their evening service, which consisted only of singing, accompanied by an organ. I was much pleased with the music, which was good, and with the very orderly and decent appearance of the audience.

Friday, May 6. Very much pleased with Salem, and recruited by the best bed since I left home, I proceeded to Saulsbury by a most excellent road and crossed the Yadkin at Long's ferry. Less fatigued than by any day's journey I had traveled. I arrived at Saulsbury[1] to dinner, after which Mr. Steele attended me to the County Court which was sitting, and then shewed me the town, which consists of about forty or fifty straggling houses in an open pretty plain; it looks like a poor place and has but little business. The Court House is not half finished: the town contains about 300 inhabitants among them a great number of children. The weather this day uncommonly cool and the evening very cool. Mr. Steele informed me that people could sleep under a blanket almost the whole summer; there was a white frost this night. On Saturday I rose with the sun and found the weather extremely cold, and traveled twenty miles to breakfast, the road excellent. From Phifer's the road which was wide all the way from Saulsbury narrows and forks; the left goes to Camden by the Rocky river, it is most frequented by the wagons, but is so little settled that there is scarce a house to be seen for forty miles; the right hand through Charlotte, though farther about, and perhaps a worn road being well settled is most preferable. For twelve or fourteen miles the road is very disagreeable, being hilly, and broken by deep gullies, and passes through several creeks, which in wet weather must be extremely bad. About the creeks the land is good, and I saw this day several beautiful wheat and rye fields. From the summits of some of the high ridges over which I passed, a great extent of country is seen.

The last eight or ten miles to Charlotte, with a few interruptions of steep hills and a good many roots across the road, is a fine, hard, level red clay through beautiful woods. Near Charlotte are some finely cultivated fields. This place does not deserve the name of a town, it consists only of a wretched Court House, and a few dwellings falling to decay. There is a good tavern kept by Mason, where, however, I paid the dearest bill on the road. On Sunday I rode eight or nine miles on a good road, then there is a good deal of bad road to Major Barklay's; some part is abominable, a succession of steep hills, full of deep gullies and large rocks, intermixed with roots stumps and ruts: passed this day several creeks, Twelve Mile Creek,

[1] Salisbury, N. C.

William Smith LLD.
Charleston S. Carolina.

Waxam Creek, etc. The first is the boundary between the two states, but there is a slip of South Carolina runs northward a considerable distance above it. On the road some good looking plantations, and several fine hills well cultivated. Slept at Barclay's, an indifferent house. The road is now good all the way to Camden, generally level and sandy, a few hills, but not bad: the country about here well known in the history of the war, particularly for the actions of Hanging Rock and Camden: I passed over the spot where both were fought. The road passed over some curious flat rocks of great extent: the land about here, pine barrens and some parts of the road heavy. About nine miles from Camden I saw the traces of the famous battle of Camden, and the marks of balls against the trees. Slept at Camden, a pretty town of about seventy houses and some very good dwellings. On Tuesday breakfasted at Statesburgh,[1] on the high hills of Santee, a delightful situation, commanding a prodigious extent of country. Slept at Simpson's. On Wednesday breakfasted at Eutaw's, slept at Jackson's. Thursday dined at P. Smith's, lay at the "Elms."[2] Friday morning started on the last stage of my journey, reached home in the afternoon.[3]

[1] Stateburg, S. C.

[2] Ralph Izard's estate. In a letter to Jefferson dated "The Elms, South Carolina," April 27, 1784, Izard said, "I am settled upon an agreeable spot, about 18 miles from Charles Town. A plantation long neglected, but pleasantly situated and capable of great improvement. This I am attempting; and my inclination would lead me never to enter again into public life." *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, II. 195.

[3] An itinerary of this trip follows:

April 20. W. Philadelphia to Derby, Wilmington, Newport, Christiana, Elkton.
21. Th. Elkton to Charlestown, Harford (Bush Town), Abingdon, Baltimore.
22. F. Baltimore to Elkridge, Bladensburg, Georgetown, Federal City.
23. Sa. Georgetown to Alexandria and Mount Vernon.
24. Su. Mount Vernon.
25. M. Mount Vernon to Gunston Hall.
26. Tu. Gunston Hall to Colchester, Dumfries, Stafford Court House, Falmouth, Fredericksburg.
27. W. Fredericksburg to Bowling Green, Merry Oaks, Richmond.
28. Th. Richmond: no entry.
29. F. Richmond to Manchester, Hopkins, Col. Meade's.
30. Sa. Col. Meade's to Chinkapin Church, Billy George's tavern.
May 1. Su. Billy George's tavern to Moore's ordinary, Charlotte Court House, Cole's Ferry.
2. M. Cole's Ferry to Pridie's.
3. Tu. Pridie's to Halifax Old Town, Col. Dix's.
4. W. Col. Dix's to Jones's at iron works.
5. Th. Jones's at iron works to Salem.
6. F. Salem to Salisbury.

Bibliography.

This bibliography is based on the pamphlets owned by the following four libraries: Boston Athenæum, Boston Public Library, Harvard College Library, Massachusetts Historical Society. Two of the pamphlets here listed — Nos. 5 and 18 — are not in those libraries, and their titles have been obtained from other sources. The authorship of three pamphlets — Nos. 9, 13, and 14 — is uncertain, but they are included for convenience. Chronological and alphabetical lists of the pamphlets follow, after which the pamphlets will be discussed chronologically.

1 1792 Politicks and Views.
2 1794 Jan. Speeches, Philadelphia.
3 1794 Jan. Friendship with Great Britain, Edinburgh reprint of No. 2.
4 1794 Jan. Speeches, Edinburgh reprint of No. 2.
5 1794 Jan. Speeches, London reprint of No. 2.
6 1794 May 1. Address, Philadelphia.
7 1794 May 1. Address, London reprint of No. 6.
8 1794 Dec. Speech.
9 1795 Candid Examination, New York.
10 1796 July 4. Oration, Charleston.
11 1796 July 4. Oration, second edition, Charleston.
12 1796 Oct. 2. Comparative View, Philadelphia.
13 1796 Oct. Pretensions, Part First.
14 1796 Nov. Pretensions, Part Second.
15 1797 Phocion's Examination. Reprint of Nos. 13 and 14.
16 1806 Numbers of Phocion, Charleston.
17 1806 American Arguments, London reprint of No. 16.
18 1815 Speech, Philadelphia, reprint of No. 2.
19 1832 Comparative View, Washington, reprint of No. 12.

6 Address, Philadelphia, 1794.
7 Address, London reprint of No. 6, 1794.
17 American Arguments, London reprint of No. 16, 1806.
9 Candid Examination, New York, 1795.
12 Comparative View, Philadelphia, 1796.
19 Comparative View, Washington reprint of No. 12, 1832.
3 Friendship with Great Britain, Edinburgh reprint of No. 2.
16 Numbers of Phocion, Charleston, 1806.
10 Oration, July 4, 1796, Charleston.

May 7. Sa. Salisbury to Charlotte.
8. Su. Charlotte to Barclay's.
9. M. Barclay's to Camden.
10. Tu. Camden to Stateburg, Simpson's.
11. W. Simpson's to Eutaw's, Jackson's.
12. Th. Jackson's to P. Smith's, the Elms.
13. F. The Elms to Charleston.

11 Oration, July 4, 1796, Charleston, second edition.
15 Phocion's Examination, 1797. Reprint of Nos. 13 and 14.
1 Politicks and Views.
13 Pretensions, Part First, October, 1796.
14 Pretensions, Part Second, November, 1796.
18 Speech, Philadelphia, 1815, reprint of No. 2.
8 Speech, December, 1794.
2 Speeches, Philadelphia, 1794.
4 Speeches, Edinburgh reprint of No. 2, 1794.
5 Speeches, London reprint of No. 2, 1794.

1

The / Politicks / And Views / Of a Certain Parrty, / Displayed. / Printed in the Year M,DCC,XCII.

Title, 1 p.; Text, pp. 2–36.

The Boston Athenæum has five copies, one with "G° Washington" in ink on the title-page; another with "D. Cobbs" in ink on the title-page; another with "Cabot" in ink on the title-page and also in ink the words "said to be written by William Smith of South Carolina," either in the hand of George Cabot (with which I am not familiar) or in that of Josiah Quincy, to whom the volume containing the pamphlet once belonged. In 1877 and again in 1885 Sabin attributed the pamphlet to Hamilton.[1] "The authorship of this pamphlet," wrote P. L. Ford in 1886, "has been referred to Hamilton. It is probably by William L. Smith."[2] "Its authorship," wrote H. B. Tompkins in 1887, "has been generally attributed to Hamilton, although Ford . . . thinks it was probably written by William L. Smith."[3] "This has been sometimes attributed to Alexander Hamilton," wrote Evans in 1914, "but there seems to be good reason for ascribing the authorship to William Loughton Smith, who shared his political views."[4] That Mr. Smith was the author is made certain by a manuscript note in his own hand on the title-page of a copy which once belonged to him but is now owned by the Charleston Library Society: "By William Smith — 1792."[5]]

2

The / Speeches / of / Mr. Smith, of South-Carolina, / delivered in the / House of Representatives of the United States, / in January, 1794, on the subject of certain / Commercial Regulations, / proposed by Mr.

[1] *Dictionary of Books relating to America*, VIII. 28; XV. 249.
[2] *Bibliotheca Hamiltoniana*, 39.
[3] *Bibliotheca Jeffersoniana*, 51–52.
[4] *American Bibliography*, VIII. 356.
[5] Miss Mabel L. Webber of the South Carolina Historical Society informs me that the Charleston Library Society owns sixteen bound volumes of pamphlets which formerly belonged to Mr. Smith, having his book-plate and in each volume a manuscript table of contents in his hand (according to Mr. Salley), together with a few manuscript notes also in his hand.

Madison, in the Committee of the Whole, / on the Report of the Secretary of State. / Philadelphia: / M DCC XCIV.

Title, 1 leaf; Resolutions . . . proposed . . . January 3, 1794, pp. [iii]–vi; Speeches, &c., pp. [7]–75; Comparative Footing of the Commerce of the United States with the Dominions of France and Great Britain prior to the pending Revolution of France, folded table at end.[1]

3

Friendship with Great Britain / the / True Interest of America. / The / Speech / of / Mr Smith, / of / South Carolina, / delivered in the / House of Representatives / of the / United States, / In January 1794. / On the subject of certain / Commercial Regulations, / proposed by Mr Madison, / in the Committee of the Whole on the Report of / the Secretary of State. / Philadelphia Printed. / Edinburgh: Reprinted for Bell and Bradfute, / J. Simpson and W. Laing. 1794.

Title, 1 leaf; Resolutions . . . proposed . . . January 3, 1794, pp. [1]–3; Mr. Smith's Speech, pp. 4–78; Comparative Footing of the Commerce of the United States with the Dominions of France and Great Britain, prior to the pending Revolution of France, folded table at end.

4

The / Speeches / of / Mr Smith, / of / South Carolina, / delivered in the / House of Representatives / of the / United States, / in January 1794. / On the subject of certain / Commercial Regulations, / proposed by Mr Madison, / in the Committee of the Whole, on the Report of / the Secretary of State. / Philadelphia Printed: / Edin-

[1] See *Annals of Congress*, January 13, 1794, 174–209. Madison's reply on January 14 (*Annals of Congress*, 209–225) was published at New York in 1794 in a pamphlet entitled "*Speech in the House of Representatives*," etc.

On December 31, 1793, Jefferson resigned as Secretary of State and returned to Monticello, whence he wrote Madison on February 15, 1794: "We have been told that mr. Smith's speech and your's also on your propositions have got into Davis's papers, but none of them have reached us." And again on April 13, he wrote to Madison: "I have been particularly gratified by the receipt of the papers containing your's and Smith's discussion of your regulating propositions. . . . I am at no loss to ascribe Smith's speech to it's true father. Every tittle of it is Hamilton's except the introduction. There is scarcely anything there wrote I have not heard from him in our various private tho' official discussions. The very turn of the arguments is the same, and others will see as well as myself that the style is Hamilton's. The sophistry is too fine, too ingenious, even to have been comprehended by Smith, much less devised by him." *Writings* (Ford), VI. 499, 501. Hamilton's draft of the "Outline of Smith's Speech on Madison's Resolutions of January 3, 1794," including the table, is printed in Hamilton's *Works* (Hamilton), V. 80–95; and in Hamilton's *Works* (Lodge), III. 423–441.

This was the most popular of Mr. Smith's pamphlets, and as late as October 7, 1796, the *South Carolina State Gazette* (Columbia) advertised "For sale, at the Printing-Office, . . . Smith's (of South Carolina) speeches, delivered in the house of representatives of the United States, in January, 1794."

burgh: Reprinted for J. Simpson, Book- / seller, Front of the Royal Exchange. / 1794.

Title, 1 leaf; Resolutions . . . proposed . . . January 3, 1794, pp. [1]–3; Mr. Smith's Speech, pp. 4–78.[1]

5

The speeches of Mr. Smith, of South Carolina, delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States, in January, 1794, on the subject of certain commercial regulations, proposed by Mr. Madison . . . Philadelphia, printed; London, reprinted, J. Stockdale, 1794.

vi, [7]–75 p. fold. tab.

This I have not seen, and the title and collation are taken from the Library of Congress cards at the Massachusetts State House.

6

An / Address / from / William Smith, / of / South-Carolina, / to his / Constituents. / Philadelphia: Printed in the Year MDCCXCIV.

Title, 1 leaf; Address, pp. [3]–32. Dated at end (p. 32): "Philadelphia, May 1, 1794."

The Boston Athenæum copy formerly belonged to William S. Shaw, having his autograph in ink on the title-page and in his hand the words: "in defence of his opposition to Maddison's resolutions."

7

An / Address / from / William Smith, / of / South-Carolina, / to his / Constituents. / Philadelphia, Printed: / London, Reprinted for J. Debrett, opposite / Burlington-House, Piccadilly. / 1794.

Title, 1 leaf; Address, pp. [3]–28; Books printed for J. Debrett, opposite Burlington-House, Piccadilly, 4 pp.

8

The / Speech / of / Mr. Smith, / of / South Carolina, / In the House of Representatives of the United / States, on the subject of the Reduction / of the Public Debt. / December, 1794.

Title, 1 leaf; Text, pp. [3]–20.

This speech was delivered December 23, 1794: see *Annals of Congress*, pp. 1010–1019.

9

A / Candid Examination / of the / Objections / to the / Treaty / of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, / between the / United States and Great-Britain, / as stated in the / Report of the Committee / appointed by the Citizens of the United States, in / Charleston, South-Carolina. /

[1] The only copy of this pamphlet I have seen (in the Boston Public Library) lacks pp. 73–78 and the folded table at end.

By a Citizen of South-Carolina. / Audi alteram partem. / By a Collision of Sentiments Truth is discovered. / Addressed to the Citizens of South-Carolina. / Charleston: Printed. / New-York: / Re-printed for James Rivington, No. 156 Pearl-street. /1795.

Half-title, 1 leaf; Title, 1 leaf; A Candid Examination, &c., pp. [3]–43; Half-title, 1 leaf; Postscript, pp. [1]–5.

First half-title reads:

The / Eyes Opened, / or the / Carolinians Convinced, / by an / Honourable and eloquent Representative / in the / Congress of the United States, / in the following / well received and candid Examination / of the / Objections / to His Excellency / Governor Jay's late Treaty with / Great Britain; / and which has been ratified by / President Washington, / at the City of Philadelphia. / New-York: / Printed for, and sold by J. Rivington, No. 156 Pearl-street. / 1795.

Second half-title reads: "Postscript."

The Boston Athenæum has three copies, one having "Cabot" written in ink on the first half-title. The Boston Public Library has two copies, one having "Daniel Sargent jun^{r}" written in ink on the first half-title and against lines 5–8 in the same hand the words "William Smith." That Mr. Smith was the author seems a reasonable conclusion from the evidence. I have not found a copy of the original Charleston edition.[1]

10

An / Oration, / delivered in / St. Philip's Church, / before the Inhabitants of / Charleston, South-Carolina, / on the Fourth of July, 1796, / in commemoration of / American Independence. / By Appointment of

[1] On June 24, 1795, the Senate voted to recommend to Washington the ratification of Jay's Treaty, and it was ratified by Washington August 14. The New York edition of the pamphlet was issued after August 18, since the Postscript (evidently added by Rivington) contains extracts from New York papers of that date. On April 30, 1796, the House of Representatives "took up the resolution . . . for carrying into effect the Treaty lately negotiated with Great Britain," and the question was "determined in the affirmative — yeas 51, nays 48." *Annals of Congress*, 1282–1291. It has been stated that "only four from the South voted for the bill." C. W. Sommerville, *Robert Goodloe Harper*, 1899, 10. South Carolina was then represented in the House by Lemuel Benton, Samuel Earle, Wade Hampton, Robert Goodloe Harper, William Smith, and Richard Wynn, of whom all voted nay on the resolution except Mr. Smith and Harper. It would seem, therefore, as if the pamphlet must have been written either by Mr. Smith or by Harper. Though elected as a Democrat, Harper yet approved of Jay's Treaty, and late in 1795 published at Philadelphia a defence of his position entitled: "*An Address from Robert Goodloe Harper, of South Carolina, to his Constituents*," etc. This is dated at the end "Philadelphia, Dec. 17, 1795," and editions were printed in 1796 at Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. So far as I have been able to ascertain, Harper had published nothing on Jay's Treaty earlier than this, and thus by a process of elimination we reach Mr. Smith as the probable author of the *Candid Examination*, etc. (Cf. p. 88, note 4, *infra*.) It should be added, however, that Mr. Smith's collection of pamphlets, now owned by the Charleston Library Society, contains no copy of this tract.

the / American Revolution Society, / and published at the request of that Society, / and also of the / South-Carolina State Society / of / Cincinnati. / By William Smith, / a member of the Revolution Society, / and Representative in the Congress of the / United States. / Printed by W. P. Young, N° 43, Broad-Street, / Charleston.

Half-title, 1 leaf; Title, 1 leaf; Oration, pp. [1]–40; Errata, p. 40.

The half-title reads: "Smith's Oration." With straight rules above and below.

11

An / Oration, / delivered in / St. Philip's Church, / before the Inhabitants of / Charleston, South-Carolina, / on the Fourth of July, 1796, / in commemoration of / American Independence. / By appointment of the / American Revolution Society, / and published at the request of that Society, / and also of the / South-Carolina State Society of Cincinnati. / By William Smith, / a member of the Revolution Society, / and Representative in the Congress of the / United States. / Second Edition. / Printed by W. P. Young, No. 43, Broad-Street, / Charleston.

Half-title, 1 leaf; Title, 1 leaf; Oration, pp. [1]–40.

The half-title reads: "Smith's Oration. Second Edition." In ornamental oval.[1]

12

A / Comparative View / of the / Constitutions / of the / several States with each other, and with that / of the United States: / exhibiting in / Tables / The prominent Features of each Constitution, / and classing together their most important provisions under the / several heads of administration; / with / Notes and Observations. / By William Smith, of South Carolina, L.L.D. / and Member of the Congress of the United States. / Dedicated to the People of the United States. / Philadelphia, /

[1] An advertisement, headed "American Revolution Society," in the *City Gazette* (Charleston) of June 25, 1796, stated that "The Members of this Society will, on the 4th day of July next, . . . meet at Williams's Coffee-House, at 11 o'clock, a.m. when they will be joined by the Society of the Cincinnati, in procession to St. Philip's Church, and attend service. Anthems will be performed suited to the occasion; after which an Oration will be delivered . . . by the honorable William Smith, esq. appointed for that purpose by the Revolution Society." An advertisement of the Cincinnati, printed in the *Columbian Herald* (Charleston) of June 13, mentioned the oration, but did not give the name of the orator. The *City Gazette* of July 2 announced the arrival of "Passengers in the *South Carolina*, captain Garman, from Philadelphia: . . . William Smith, esq." In a letter to Rufus King dated July 23, Mr. Smith said: "I did not leave Philad. till ten days after the adjt. and having a very tedious passage did not arrive here [Chareleston] till the 1st inst., not in time to prepare, and scarcely in time to deliver my Oration, a copy of which I send you, with a curious advertisement of the vender, who says that the works which have lately had the greatest run in town, are Paine's Age of Reason and Smith's Oration. You will smile at seeing any work of mine associated with Paine's and the heroic actions of the French." *King's Life and Correspondence*, IV. 427.

Printed by John Thompson, and sold by all the Booksellers / in the United States. / 1796.

Title, 1 leaf; Dedication to "Fellow Citizens," 1 leaf; Copyright, 1 leaf; Preliminary Discourse, pp. [1]–4; Tables I–VI, not paged and without signatures; Notes on the Legislative, pp. 9–26; Notes on the Executive, pp. 27–31; Notes on the Judiciary, pp. 32–34.[1] The dedication is dated "Philadelphia, October 2, 1796."[2]

The copy owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society has written in ink on the title-page the words: "For the Historical Society — Boston From Henry W^m^ De Saussure." Cf. 1 *Proceedings*, I. 146. One of the two copies owned by the Harvard College Library has written in ink on the inside of the front cover the words: "The Gift of the Author to J. Pickering, 1797, at Lisbon — (and bound at Lisbon)." This was John Pickering (1777–1846), son of Col. Timothy Pickering, then Secretary of State.[3]

[1] The copyright notice states that "on the twenty-fourth day of January, in the twenty-first year of the Independence of the United States [1797], John Thompson of the said District, hath deposited in this Office the Title of a Book, . . ."

[2] In some copies the tables are differently folded. An advertisement dated "Aug. 22," printed in *Procupine's Gazette* of August 23, 1797, and succeeding issues, reads in part as follows: "Just published, And for sale by Thomas Dobson, . . . A Comparative View Of the Constitutions of the several states with each other, and with that of the United States: . . . By William Smith, LL.D. Of South Carolina, and Member of Congress of the United States. Price of the fine paper, hot-pressed, one dollar 25-100ths — and of the common paper one dollar."

[3] John Pickering accompanied Mr. Smith to Portugal as his secretary: see p. 27, *supra*. In a letter dated Lisbon, September 1, 1798, Pickering wrote: "I am told that at Princeton they study (for information on one branch of politics) a book written by Mr. Smith, the gentleman with whom I live. The author has made me a present of one. It is a most excellent work; and if you have already any interest in the subject of it, you can get one from Philadelphia. It is entitled 'Comparative View of the Constitutions,' etc. It is a small volume, but deserves the motto of *multum in parvo* as much as any book I know" *Life of John Pickering*, 130.

Mr. Smith also gave copies of the work to Hamilton and to King. "I have received, my dear sir," wrote Hamilton April 5, 1797, "your letter of the 2d of April, (1797,) with your little work accompanying it, which I shall read with the interest I take in the author, the first leisure hour. I have cast my eye over it, and like very much the plan." And again on April 10: "Since my last to you I have perused with great satisfaction your little work on our governments. I like the execution no less than the plan. If my health and leisure should permit, I would make some notes; but you can not depend on it, as I am not only extremely occupied, but in feeble health." Hamilton's *Works* (Lodge), VIII. 459, 461–462. In a letter to King dated April 3, 1797, Mr. Smith wrote: "Our friend [William Vans] Murray sails for Amsterdam shortly; he will do credit to the appointment. I shall entrust to his care a copy of a little work on the Constitution for you, which I have had interleaved to receive those judicious remarks which will I am sure occur to you on perusing it. When this is done, I shall request you to return it to me, in exchange for a copy of a new edition on a more enlarged

13

The / Pretensions of / Thomas Jefferson / to the / Presidency / Examined; / and the / Charges against / John Adams / Refuted. / Addressed to the Citizens of America in general; / and particularly to the / Electors / of the / President. / United States, October 1796.

Title, 1 leaf; Text, pp. [3]–64. Colophon on p. 64: "End of First Part."

A copy in the Harvard College Library has written in pencil on the title-page in an unknown hand the words: "By W^m^ Smith, of S^o^ Carolina — Member of Congress — & Minister to Portugal." The copy owned by the New York Historical Society has written on the title-page, in the hand of John Pintard, then Recording Secretary, the words: "N. Y. Historical Society presented by Oliver Wolcott 30th Sept 1813;" and above the date of the imprint the words: "by Oliver Wolcott and William Smith of S. C."

14

The / Pretensions of / Thomas Jefferson / to the / Presidency / Examined; / and the / Charges against / John Adams / Refuted. / Addressed to the Citizens of America in general, / and particularly to the / Electors / of the / President. / Part the Second. / United States, November 1796.

Title, 1 leaf; The Pretensions of Thomas Jefferson, &c., pp. [3]–39; Appendix, pp. 39–42.

The text fills 31 lines on p. 39, after which comes the word "Finis." Then follows "Appendix. / Vindication of Mr. Adams's / Defence of the / American Constitutions," pp. 39–42, signed "Union" and dated "Eastern Shore, Maryland, / 26th Oct. 1796."[1]

The volume in which the Boston Athenæum copy is bound belonged to William S. Shaw, having his autograph on the first fly-leaf and on the second fly-leaf a list of the contents in the same hand, which says: "5 Phocion — by W^m^ Smith of South Carolina."

These articles by "Phocion" were originally printed in the *Gazette of the United States* (Philadelphia), beginning October 14 and ending November 24, 1796. The First Part was advertised as "This Day Is

& useful plan." *King's Life and Correspondence*, IV. 167. The contemplated enlarged edition was never published by Mr. Smith, his early transference to Europe probably interfering with the revision.

[1] This *Short Vindication of Mr. Adams's 'Defence of American Constitutions,'* signed "Union," was printed in the *Gazette of the United States* of November 5, 1796, p. 2, where it is preceded by this note: "The following judicious and candid analysis of 'A Defence of the American Constitutions, by John Adams,' is earnestly recommended to the consideration of the Electors, generally." Miss Webber informs me that in his copy of this pamphlet, now owned by the Charleston Library Society, Mr. Smith has written under the Appendix this note: "by William Vans Murray, now Min. Res. in Holld." This is quite improbable as no other reference to such an authorship has been found.

Published" in the same paper of November 5th, p. 3/3. They were written (so the first one states) in reply to "a writer under the signature of Hampden, in the Richmond paper of" October 1st. Their authorship is in doubt. The only passage which throws any light on the matter is found on pp. 30–31 of the First Part, where the author quotes Hampden as saying: "'I believe,' he adds, 'no member of congress will contradict this fact.'" Whereupon the author remarks: "Without being a member of congress, I will undertake to contradict this fact, and to prove that Hampden's assertion is as false, as his reasoning thereon is absurd." If the author was not a Member of Congress, then he could not have been Mr. Smith; but this is one of those statements which writers frequently make when they wish to conceal their identity. Besides, if Oliver Wolcott (who was then Secretary of State) was part author of the articles, then the above passage was presumably written by him. Even while the articles were appearing in the *Gazette of the United States*, Mr. Smith was pointed at as their author.[1] In 1801, under the heading "Jefferson's

[1] "*Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Philadelphia, October 25.* 'Except the late news from Europe we have nothing new here. Our campaign for the chusing electors of a President has commenced and each party is straining every nerve to get in their favorites. Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Adams are to be opposed to each other. It is generally thought that electors favorable to the former will be chosen in this state, notwithstanding the many attempts which have been made to injure his publick character in the daily papers. Amongst these attacks on his character, there are none which have been read with more disgust than some pieces under the signature of *Phocion*, and which you will find in the *Gazette of the United States*, sent you here with. Even the enemies of Mr. Jefferson speak of them as discreditable to their author and injurious to the cause they were meant to assist. It is said that they are the production of a member from your state. I can hardly believe it, as, from his general character, I thought he could not descend to scatter such abuse, for it can be called by no other name, on a character who at least has always shewn himself a decided friend of his country, and at an early day in our revolution was noted for his manly opposition to the unjust claims of Great-Britain'." *City Gazette*, Charleston, November 9, 1796.

A letter signed "Z," written "For the City Gazette," reads in part as follows: "A Member of Congress from South Carolina, who has on all occasions been lavish of his abuse of Mr. Jefferson, apprehending that if he shall be elected President he will have little chance of participating of the loaves and fishes, has attacked him with much asperity under the signature of *Phocion*." *City Gazette*, November 17, 1796.

A communication "From a Correspondent" reads as follows: "If there were any doubts concerning who is the author, or rather the compiler of the abusive and malignant pieces which have lately appeared in the *Columbian Herald*, under the signature of Phocion, they would vanish, or at least be very much lessened, on reading in a late *Gazette of the United States*, printed in Philadelphia, where the pieces in question were first published, that 'it is perfectly certain, that the letters of *Phocion* contain *entire* passages of the essays of *Catullus* (published in 1792) without the usual inverted commas, *or any other mark of quotation*.' Who does not know the person that committed a similar plagiarism upon the Federalist, in defending the treaty here in the summer of 1795?" *City Gazette*, December 17, 1796. For these extracts I am indebted to Miss Webber.

The allusion in the third passage to a pamphlet by "Catullus" published in

Character," William Cobbett quoted from the pamphlet in question various extracts, which he thus introduced:

" This man's character has been well illustrated by Mr. William Smith, now (in 1801) American Ambassador in Portugal. A writer under the signature of Hampden, . . . after asserting the exclusive right of Virginia to fill the office of President, called the attention of that state to the illustrious Thomas Jefferson, as the fittest character in the Union to fill the President's chair, and proceeded to enumerate the various pretensions of that gentleman. — In answer to Hampden, Mr. Smith published a pamphlet, from which the following extracts are made."

After quoting the extracts, Cobbett concluded:

" Such was the character and conduct of the man, who is now President of the United States. Let it be remembered, that it is not *I*, it is not any Royalist that says this; but a Republican, an American, a gentleman who was long a member of Congress, and who is now an Ambassador." [1]

In a work published in 1802 Cobbett again quoted the same passages, which he said were "Extracted from the Letters of Phocion, written by William Smith, Esq. of South Carolina, long a member of Congress, and lately American Minister to the Court of Portugal." [2] In 1859 the pamphlet was attributed to Mr. Smith and Oliver Wolcott,[3] and in 1885 to the same persons.[4] "This tract," wrote H. B. Tompkins in 1887, "has been attributed to Noah Webster. It was written, however, by William L. Smith of South Carolina (Phocian)." [5] In 1914 R. H. Johnston attributed the pamphlet to Mr. Smith.[6] With the remark

1792 eludes me. The allusion to "the Federalist" is probably to the celebrated essays written by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay in 1787–1788, but may be to one of the numerous articles which were written on Jay's Treaty in 1795. Thus a series of letters under the title "Federalist" and signed "A Federalist," appeared in the *Columbian Centinel* of July 22, 25, 29, August 1, 8, 12, 15, and 26, 1795, and was reprinted the same year by Mathew Carey in his *American Remembrancer*, II. 61–72, 95–103, 228–265. The final allusion to "defending the treaty here in the summer of 1795" must be a reference to *A Candid Examination*, etc., which is No. 9 in my list of Mr. Smith's writings.

[1] *Porcupine's Works*, London, May, 1801, XII. 192–217.

[2] *Cobbett's Annual Register*, London, 1802, I. 961–972.

[3] *Catalogue of Printed Books in the New York Historical Society*, 1859, 552, 645.

[4] Sabin, XV. 457. It is also attributed to Smith and Wolcott in the Library of Congress cards.

[5] *Bibliotheca Jeffersoniana*, p. 153. Mr. Tompkins does not say who attributed the pamphlet to Noah Webster, but adds: "Callender, in the *American Annual Register, or Historical Memoirs of the United States for the year 1796*, at pages 205 *et seq.*, defends Jefferson against Phocian's attacks." Callender (pp. 205–212) says nothing about the authorship, but in the next paragraph (p. 212) returns to Noah Webster, whom he had mentioned on an earlier page — thus, perhaps, giving the erroneous impression that he attributed the pamphlet to Webster.

[6] *A Contribution to a Bibliography of Thomas Jefferson*, p. 26, in Jefferson's *Writings* (Jefferson Memorial Association edition, 1903), XX.

that neither of the two copies of the pamphlet which once belonged to Mr. Smith and are now in the Charleston Library Society contains any note as to the identity of the writer, the authorship must be left undetermined.[1]

15

Phocion's Examination of the Pretensions of Thomas Jefferson and his Refutation of the Charges against John Adams.

This I have not seen, the title being taken from an advertisement in *Porcupine's Gazette* (Philadelphia) of July 25, 1797, and succeeding issues. The title is preceded by the words "Published Complete, And for sale by William Cobbett, opposite Christ Church," and is followed by a longish statement which reads in part as follows: "The above most interesting work contains a satisfactory refutation of the absurd charges of the Jacobins against the President of the United States, with a correct analysis and vindication of his defence of the American constitutions. . . . These papers were originally published with a reference to the late important election of president, but the valuable information they contain must recommend them at all times to the attentive perusal of American citizens. . . ." Presumably the work is merely a reprint of Nos. 13 and 14.

[1] The Pretensions, etc., was replied to as follows:

The / Federalist: / containing / some Strictures / upon a pamphlet, entitled, / "The Pretensions of Thomas Jefferson to the Presi- / "dency, examined, and the Charges against / "John Adams refuted." / Which pamphlet was first published in the Gazette / of the United States, in a series of Essays, / under the signature of / "Phocion." / Philadelphia: / Re-published from the Gazette of the United States, / by Mathew Carey, No. 118, Market-Street. / November 1796.

Title, 1 leaf; Remark, 1 leaf; The Federalist, &c., pp. [5]–48.

Contains Nos. I–VIII, each signed "A Federalist." Colophon on p. 48 reads: "End of the First Part."

The / Federalist: / containing / some Strictures / upon a pamphlet, entitled, / "The Pretension of Thomas Jefferson to the Presi- / "dency, examined, and the Charges against / "John Adams refuted." / Which pamphlet was first published in the Gazette / of the United States, in a series of Essays, / under the signature of / "Phocion." / Part the Second. / Philadelphia: / Re-published from the Gazette of the United States, / and the New World, / by Mathew Carey, No. 118, Market-Street. / November 1796.

Title, 1 leaf; The Federalist, &c., pp. [3]–27.

Contains Nos. IX–XII.

These articles by "A Federalist" were originally printed in the *Gazette of the United States* of November 9, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 24, 25, 29, 30, when they suddenly ceased. My guess is that the remainder of the series, judging from the title-page of the Second Part, appeared in the *New World*, a Philadelphia publication which I have not seen — not in "the *New York World*," as R. H. Johnston has it (A Contribution to the Bibliography of Thomas Jefferson, p. 26). Hints as to their author are given in the *Gazette of the United States* of November 17, 1796.

16

The Numbers / of / Phocion, / which were originally published / in the / Charleston Courier, / in 1806, / on the Subject of / Neutral Rights. / Revised and Corrected. / Charleston, S. C. / Printed at the Courier Office, / No. 1, Broad-Street.

Title, 1 leaf; Introduction, pp. [3]–4; Phocion, pp. [5]–64; Appendix, pp. [65]–70.

The Boston Athenæum has two copies, one having "Ben: Merrill" written in ink on the title-page and on p. [3] in the same hand the words "Hon: William Smith of South Carolina is the reputed Author of these Letters."[1] Mr. Smith's own volume of pamphlets, now owned by the Charleston Library Society, has this note in his hand: "Phocion, on Neutral Rights, Amer. Ed."

These articles were first printed in the *Charleston Courier*, beginning February 18 and ending May 31, 1806. In the issue of May 31st, p. 3/4, was advertised "Proposals for publishing by subscription The Numbers of Phocion." On September 26, at a meeting of the Anthology Society, "M^r^ [W. S.] Shaw read M^r^ Merrill's review of 'Phocion' which was accepted;"[2] and the review duly appeared in the *Monthly Anthology* for September, ending as follows:

" The reputed author of this pamphlet is William Smith of South Carolina, an eloquent and honourable gentleman, who adorns his country, and who is one of those of whom Bolingbroke says, that 'if they retire from the world, their splendour accompanies them, and enlightens even the obscurity of their retreat.' "[3]

17

American Arguments / for / British Rights; / being / a Republication / of / The Celebrated Letters of Phocion, / on the subject of / Neutral Trade. / Printed at Charlestown, South Carolina; / Reprinted for J. Butterworth, Fleet Street, London, / by G. Auld, Greville-Street. / 1806.

Title, 1 leaf; Preface, by the English Editor, pp. [iii]–xii; Text, pp. [1]–68; Appendix, pp. [69]–74.

The preface reads in part as follows:

" The ensuing Letters were first published in a newspaper of South Carolina, but attracted so much notice, that they were soon afterward republished in a pamphlet, . . .

'As the able and intelligent writer used the signature of PHOCION, it has not been thought proper to put his name in the title-page; but he has not affected to disavow or conceal his being the Author of these Papers; and it may therefore, without scruple, be mentioned, that America and

[1] Benjamin Merrill was born at Conway, N. H., in 1784, graduated at Harvard College in 1804, practised law at Salem, Mass., and died in 1847: see 1 *Proceedings*, II. 390–392.

[2] *The Anthology Society* (1910), 89: cf. pp. 301, 321.

[3] *Monthly Anthology*, III. 494–495.

Europe are indebted to the Honourable William L. Smith, a native of South Carolina, late one of the Representatives of that State in the General Congress, and Ambassador from the United States to the Court of Portugal' " (p. iii).

Sabin attributed Nos. 15 and 16 to Hamilton, an error not easily accounted for since Hamilton was killed July 12, 1804.[1] Henry Stevens in 1885,[2] and P. L. Ford in 1886,[3] correctly assigned them to Mr. Smith.

18

Select / American Speeches, / Forensic and Parliamentary, / with / Prefatory Remarks: / being / a Sequel to Dr. Chapman's 'Select Speeches.' / By S. C. Carpenter, Esq. / Vol. I. / Philadelphia: / Printed for and published by J. W. Campbell. / William Fry, Printer. / 1815.

The "Speech of William L. Smith, on Mr. Madison's Resolutions" — that is, Mr. Smith's speech delivered January 13, 1794 — is printed on pp. 351–417, with prefatory remarks on pp. 346–350.

19

A / comparative view / of the / constitutions / of the / several States with each other, and with that / of the / United States; / presenting the most prominent features of each constitution. / By William L. Smith, L.L.D. / formerly a member of Congress from South Carolina. / Revised and extended / by E. S. Davis, / of South Carolina. / City of Washington: / Published by Thompson and Homans. / 1832.

O., pp. 135.

This I have not seen, the title and collation being taken from Mr. Salley's article.[4]

Remarks were made by Messrs. Rhodes, Bowditch, Storer, Clement and Grant.

[1] *Monthly Anthology*, I. 132, VIII. 225.

[2] Stevens's *Historical Nuggets*, No. 3262, III. 78–80.

[3] *Bibliotheca Hamiltoniana*.

[4] In 1795 Thomas Greenleaf published at New York *Examination of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation between the United States and Great Britain. In Several Numbers*: By Cato. In his *Bibliotheca Hamiltoniana* (p. 47), P. L. Ford says that "The authorship of this pamphlet has been ascribed to Hamilton, and to William Smith," but states that it was by Robert R. Livingston.

NOVEMBER MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., the PRESIDENT, Mr. LODGE, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Corresponding Secretary, in the absence of the Librarian, reported the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From Percy Mortimer Blake, of Newton, two relics from the collection of his father, the late Rev. Mortimer Blake, D.D., of Taunton; one, a daguerreotype of the Dighton Rock, taken probably in the 50's;[1] and the other, a pitch-pipe, made about 1785, and used in the old Orthodox Church in Franklin, Mass., during the pastorate of Rev. Nathaniel Emmons, and until the organ was installed in the Church, about 1835.

From Mr. Lodge, twenty-two posters of the first and second U. S. Liberty Loans.

From Mr. Edes, three posters of the second Liberty Loan.

From Mr. Lord, his bookplate, engraved by Edmund H. Garrett.

From Ellerton James, of Milton, a collection of forty-two photographs of persons concerned in the trial of Arthur Orton, the Tichborne claimant.

From the Food Facts Bureau, of Boston, six posters issued by the Bureau.

From Charles C. Jackson, the agricultural badge of the Boy Scouts.

From Dr. Morton Prince, a bronze copy of the medal given by the City of Boston to the Japanese Commissioners on their recent visit, 1917.

From Grenville H. Norcross, the Allied Relief Medal, and three pieces of Confederate currency.

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, the badge of the Unitarian General Convention in Montreal, Canada, September, 1917.

From H. A. Gray, of Roxbury, a photograph of the interior of the Baldwin Place Church.

[1] Professor Delabarre, of Brown University, who has made a careful study of the history of Dighton Rock, points out that the daguerreotype is similar to that in Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, IV. 120, taken in 1853.

The Cabinet-Keeper also reported that Mr. Appleton had defrayed the cost of restoring the oil portrait of Samuel Appleton in the Society's Collection.

The Editor reported the following gifts:

From William Keeney Bixby, a Corresponding Member, a letter of Fletcher Webster to George Harrington, dated, Boston, April 21, 1851.

From Edward D. Harris, a Corresponding Member, sixteen manuscript sermons preached by Rev. Samuel Kendal of Weston, Massachusetts, 1794–1812.

From Mrs. George W. Nichols, of Amherst, New Hampshire, a notebook containing ninety-seven pages of notes taken by Rufus Choate of testimony in a suit in which he was counsel.

From Clarence Winthrop Bowen, of New York, eleven letters of Samuel Dexter, Sr., 1780–1803, addressed to Rev. Eliphalet Lyman of Woodstock, Connecticut.

From Henry F. Tapley, of Lynn, a letter of Brigadier General Draper on the first troops to enter Richmond after its capture. See page 107, *infra*.

By purchase: A summons for a session of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace for Cumberland County to permit the erection of one or more inoculating hospitals in the county. The document is dated July 25, 1776.

Mr. Morse read a paper on

Lord Charnwood's "Life of Abraham Lincoln."

I have to speak to you this afternoon about a book, no longer new, and yet by no means old — which indeed cannot for many generations to come grow so old as to be superseded, or to cease to be read and studied with lively interest. It marks in a way a milestone in American history.

When I was an undergraduate in Harvard College — 't is sixty years since, in the familiar language of Waverly — American history had not been discovered. We knew that Washington, the eponymous hero of countless municipalities, streets and public squares, the only morally perfect man on record, had brought our country into existence; also that a grand and grandiloquent document called the Declaration of Independence had borne joyous fruit in a noisy and hilarious holiday. It would have

been dangerous to seek, even among the first dozen scholars in any class of that time, for much more detailed knowledge concerning the career of the still new nationality. Mr. Bancroft had written a history of ponderous proportions, and Irving had given a pleasant narrative biography of Washington; but Mr. Prescott had sought the more picturesque fields of Peru, Mexico and Spain, and Mr. Motley was busy with the exciting story of the Netherlands. The United States had not stirred literary ambition. The Civil War changed this condition. Thereafter it seemed that a country worthy of preservation by such an expenditure of human and financial sacrifice ought also to be worth knowing about. Books, chiefly instinct with the personal interest attaching to biographies, began to appear. For the most part, as no one has better reason to know than I, they were rather crude and simple, and not very scholarly performances. But they were cordially welcomed, and they made a beginning. The first really great and valuable work came later, in Mr. Rhodes' noble history. Thus instructed, we learned that we must be "a world power"; and with infinite gratification we announced the fact in our newspapers and in gratulatory private conversation. It was desirable, however, that this, our own opinion of ourselves, should be recognized beyond our own border. The stories of the lives of our statesmen should be of interest to the historical writers and the reading public of other countries. Of this important condition evidence was sadly lacking. When a series of biographies, known as the American Statesmen Series, was inaugurated, now about a generation ago, the publishers had sought to interest their English correspondents in introducing the books into England. They were met by the not over polite, but very significant reply: "American Statesmen! Why, we did not know that there had ever been any. Who were they?" Now, at last, in due course of time, this condition also has passed, and an English historical scholar of the highest grade of ability in this department of literature, has thought it worth his while to devote exhaustive study to an American subject, with the gratifying result of a volume of remarkable merit. Lord Charnwood has given us a *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, so good that I know of no historical biography published in any age or country, which surpasses it in excellence. In fact, I

esteem it so highly that I hardly venture to express my opinion fully, dreading lest such expression should excite that reaction which is apt to follow praise that seems extravagant.

A priori such a success was not to be anticipated. It would have seemed incredible that any European, bred amid the traditions, the cultivation, the prejudices of European politics, society and scholarship could get at the widely different conditions prevalent in this country three-quarters of a century ago — above all else incredible that he could have understood so singular a personality as that of Lincoln, strange and puzzling enough even to ourselves. But the marvel has been performed; no other portraiture in historical literature is more profoundly and vividly appreciative and satisfying than is that presented in this new English biography, in which sympathy and understanding are present; hero-worship and extravagant laudation are happily absent.

It is always an interesting speculation to ask one's self what the subject of any standard biography would think of the life of himself, if he could read it; and especially is this so in the cases of men engaged in public affairs. Imagine such a critical review sent by Caesar or Napoleon from the Elysian fields to the *Atlantic Monthly!* Mr. Lincoln's review of Lord Charnwood's volume would, I believe, be eminently satisfactory. "This man," he would say, "has upon the whole understood me; he has been just to me throughout; and, thank Heaven, he has offended me by no rhetorical flattery which I inwardly know to have been undeserved." For Lincoln, the most honest of men, would have been pleased only with an honest biography, and it is rare good fortune that has secured it for him. For while historians are morally bound by the obligation expressed in the oath of the witness: To tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, biographers generally take the privilege of exemption from the middle term of this oath. Suppression weighs lightly upon their consciences. Lord Charnwood however takes a different view. We learn this at an early page; for surely if anything were to be held back it would have been the odious anecdote of the Chronicles of Reuben, knowledge whereof has been forced upon a reluctant world by Lamon, that most ready and lively retailer of yarns. But "the whimsical fancy of its unseemliness," as Lord Charn-

wood puts it, does not prevent him from narrating it; and thus at the outset we are assured that nothing unfavorable will be omitted. This characteristic prevails throughout. On some few occasions, in some minor matters, Lord Charnwood does not altogether approve of Lincoln's actions; he always says so in straightforward fashion, and gives his reasons. His standard is high, higher indeed than is convenient for application in the game of politics as that game is played in this country — or perhaps I should say, as that game *has been* played in this country, for improvement seems of late to be visible here in such matters. In a few instances this exacting rule for conduct bears a trifle hard upon Lincoln.

The forty-six pages of the second chapter, entitled "The Growth of the American People," show at once the clear and independent historical vision of the writer. They constitute a setting of the stage, preparatory to the appearance thereon of the great actor, an introductory résumé of earlier history necessary for the English reader, and by the manner of its execution made most instructive also for the American. With fine courage Lord Charnwood shatters some of those popular beliefs which have been such useful fuel for the flames of Fourth of July oratory. Thus he dares to say that the period of the American Revolution was no "heroic age"; that in the Civil War, the people North and South displayed "far more heroic qualities." Further, that the Constitution of the United States and its adoption were "altogether the work of a few, to which popular movement contributed nothing." Now I say that we may trust the man who had the insight and the nerve to write these things, who could see and say that American independence was the gift made by Washington and his gallant soldiers to an almost indifferent people, and that the Constitution was really forced upon the unappreciative citizens of the ex-colonies by a few wise and resolute men. To give the credit to the general multitude of the citizens of that day has been one of the worst deceptions which democracy has palmed off upon an ill-informed and conceited people.

The foreign writer's disadvantage of imperfect familiarity with the characteristics of the people whose history he treats is offset by one advantage. He is likely to be free from political affiliations, from transmitted party faiths, and perhaps also from

family traditions. In a broad way, of course, he must have the sympathies of his temperament; for as Gilbert and Sullivan tell us:

> . . . Every boy and every gal
> That 's born into the world alive,
> Is either a little Radical
> Or else a little Conservative.

But such bias is not partisan prejudice, and does not necessarily prevent a writer from being just and dispassionate. As between the Northern and the Confederate States, Lord Charnwood holds the scales evenly. The old-time English leaning towards the Confederacy does not control his views. On the contrary, he says that the cause of the South was the "wrong cause," the "evil cause"; while at the same time alleging that it was not lacking in dignity or human worth. He says that the men "to whom the relation of owner and slave had become natural" were, as a class, "reputable, public-spirited and religious men; they served their cause with devotion, and were not wholly to blame that they chose it so ill." So, or very nearly so, say even the old men among us, in whom the feelings which accompanied those dissensions still smoulder; and quite thus is saying the posterity which is already around us.

A more difficult test of Lord Charnwood's judicial temper is furnished by the relations between Great Britain and the United States. I fancy that he rather wanted to say a word on this subject, for his discussion goes beyond what was strictly required to be said in a biography of Lincoln. But be this as it may, certain it is that an especial interest attaches to what he has written very wisely and fairly. England inflicted upon us some grave injuries, as we all know; on the other hand, as we are apt to forget, she did us great service in blocking Louis Napoleon's scheme for intervention. She kept the ring clear for us, and left the combatants to fight out their fight for themselves, on the principle of let the best man win. The North, however, expected more than a fair ring; she demanded manifestations of good-will, the encouragement of sympathetic expressions; and instead of this she got only abuse, while the friendly feeling all went to her opponent. This angered her, and developed very bitter feeling. These conditions Lord Charnwood discusses, not in an apologetic tone, but in a reasonable,

explanatory way. He states why we expected what we did not get; and why we did not get what we expected.

Our feeling was that English civilization and American civilization were like sisters, issuing from the same household, bred under like influences, and bound to stand by each other in times of stress. We were amazed to find England showing friendship towards the cause of human slavery, coldness towards human freedom. But were we quite right in thus describing either the English attitude, or the issue upon which that attitude was taken? Was the North fighting against human slavery and for human freedom? Englishmen, says Lord Charnwood, at that time and since have found a "difficulty in grasping the precise cause of the war." I may say that Americans in turn may find some difficulty in clearing up this English difficulty. "How it came to pass," says Lord Charnwood, "that a business community, which had seemed pretty tolerant of slavery, was now at war on some point which was said to be and said not to be slavery, was a little hard to understand." In good truth it was so hard to explain that no American could explain it. With one breath, we demanded the sympathy and good-will of England on the ground that we were waging a war for human freedom against human slavery. With the next breath we asserted that the war was wholly for the Union and that slavery was altogether outside of the question. Mr. Lincoln distinctly said so; and when he said that, if he could save the Union with slavery he certainly would do so, no one could imagine that he did not mean it, or that he was putting forth a statement designed, in the slang of today, for home consumption.

The truth is that slavery was put in or pulled out as suited the convenience of the immediate emergency; we were like children playing the game of "now you see it and now you don't." Lookers-on had a right to be bewildered when they were asked to say whether they saw it or not. They might say, Yes or they might say No, and justification was at hand for either answer. The fracture of the Union was the legal cause of the war; the conservation of the Union was the lawful purpose of the war; but the cause of the fracture itself was certainly slavery, without which secession would not have occurred. Yet the war was far advanced before it became even substantially certain

that restoration of the Union must, even as a consequence, bring about the abolition of slavery. The Proclamation of Emancipation itself did not put an end to the Institution. Lord Charnwood sees the issue as it really was. "The fact is," he says, "that this imposing movement [secession] . . . was undertaken simply and solely in behalf of slavery. . . . The English suspicion that there must have been (on the part of the South) some cause beyond and above slavery for desiring independence never had any facts to support it." This is sound doctrine, but it is much easier to see it after 1865 than it was to see it when the Englishmen were contemplating the problem before that date. If slavery were not the crucial question in issue, the North had no real right to demand English good-will, for in that case the Southern States were playing against the Northern States precisely the game which all the States, then Colonies, had no long time before played against England. Apart from this the quarrel, involving the lawful right to secede, was merely like that between two partners as to the construction to be placed on the articles of copartnership. "It is impossible," Lord Charnwood says, "to avoid asking the question whether on this question of constitutional law the Northern opinion or the Southern opinion was correct." The result of the war decided it, we say. Yes, practically that result did decide; but military arbitrament is by no means judicial decision, and Englishmen had a right to be in doubt until victory pronounced judgment.

In my opinion it is certain that the relations between Great Britain and the United States might not have been more strained than is often the case between a belligerent and a neutral, had there not been at work another influence quite outside of official and governmental action. This other matter, which infused a bitterness that flavored American feeling for more than a generation, is stated by Lord Charnwood in restrained and conciliatory phrase as follows: "It is impossible not to be ashamed of some of the forms in which English feeling showed itself and was well known at the North to show itself. Not only the articles of some English newspapers, but the private letters of Americans who then found themselves in the politest circles in London, are unpleasant to read now." This very mild and measured statement seems to me

not to present the case sufficiently; it gives an entirely inadequate idea of the storm of insulting and vituperative abuse which beat and stung like a downpour of hailstones upon the people of the North. English speeches, addresses, newspapers, and letters, the reported remarks and conversation of Englishmen in public and private life, of men prominent and men obscure, were exuberant in words of excessive abuse. I do not think that I state the case too strongly. A few years ago I talked it over with a gentleman, who also had contemporary memories of that period, and whose opinions would justly carry much more weight than mine, and he fully took the same ground. I agree that such unpleasant memories should only be exhumed from oblivion for the passing occasion of historical accuracy, as at present; but in historical work the truth must be set forth, and therefore I say that I am sure that nouns and adjectives did more than the *Alabama*, the *Florida*, the *Shenandoah*, to put bitterness into the anger which Northerners undeniably long cherished against Englishmen.[1]

As to the cause of this abusive tone, I would say a word. It cannot reasonably be attributed to reasons of state, to commercial rivalry, to the real or supposed mercantile interests of Great Britain, or to a desire to see the United States politically weakened. I believe that its real tap-root was the ancient and absurd myth of a Southern aristocracy, a myth which painted the Southern planters as aristocrats and gentlemen, the Northern merchants as commonplace, middle-class, money-getting people. For long years the Southerners, ignoring the fact that the last thing which a gentleman does is ostentatiously to assert his quality, had been sedulously alleging this social differentiation; many Northerners, with a meekness not often characteristic of the old-school Yankee, had almost admitted the assertion to be well founded; Englishmen had accepted it in full and without question. The theory still survives and has been so often reiterated that it is likely to pass into history as a fact. Yet it was not a fact. The only foundation for it was that

[1] In writing these paragraphs, I do not wish to ignore the agreeable fact that the Northern cause had many individual well-wishers in England, notably John Bright and the multitude of weavers in Lancashire, who gave gallant evidence of their friendship. I speak of what was certainly the attitude and sentiment of the governing class and of preponderant numbers in the nation at large.

the rich Southern planters held permanently an uncontested supremacy in political affairs in their quarter of the country, and so constituted a ruling class; whereas when the Northerners looked around for their gentlemen, their search was not conducted among the politicians, where fortunately a few such characters would have been found indeed, but unfortunately not very many. (This remark applies only to pre-war conditions.) On the other hand, if education, cultivation, good breeding and the honorable obligation growing out of good social station were to be taken as tests, the North had nothing to fear in the competition. The consequence, however, of the prevalent belief in this myth was that the upper and ruling class in England entertained in good faith, and uttered much too frankly, contemptuous opinions concerning Northerners; and the secondary consequence of this position on their part was very disastrous. For the whole body of snobs, at that period numerous and exceedingly noisy, ranged itself ostentatiously and with infinite self-gratification upon the side of that aristocracy which they worshipped. Charles Dickens lent them his fellowship and prestige, and by dint of their far-reaching clamor they achieved a lamentable amount of international mischief. All this is unpleasant to say or to remember; yet if history is to be truly and fairly written the fact must find in the historian's pages a recognition somewhat more adequate to its real value than would seem to be accorded to it by the brief and moderate sentence of Lord Charnwood.

I suppose that most of us have about reached the saturation point so far as the history of the campaigns and battles of the Civil War is concerned; we can lead happy and contented lives without further perusal of the thousand-times-told narrative of the fighting. Thus we incline to shrink a little from a new life of Lincoln. In this matter, however, Lord Charnwood shows a high order of literary skill. He lets the military events of the war run through his volume like a river, but never permits them to spread like an inundation. He concentrates interest upon the actors. He has keen insight into character, and gives delight by vivid portrayals couched in the happiest expressive phrases. This we found out in the chapter already mentioned, on the "Growth of the American People," wherein occurs a sketch of Jefferson which is much the best that I have ever seen. The personal un-

popularity of Jefferson with our educated upper class obscures the magnitude of his achievements. This foreign writer, more unbiased, can tell us truly that Jefferson's personality "impressed itself during his life and long after, upon all America more than that of any other man"; that he "constructed a great party, dominated a nation, and dominated it mainly for good"; that in this new country, "by imbuing its national consciousness — even its national cant — with high aspiration," Jefferson may well have done "more than any strong administrator or constructive statesman to create a Union which should thereafter seem worth preserving." I judge from a sort of suppressed tone, of which I seem to be conscious in his admirable valuation of Jefferson, that Lord Charnwood does not like him; in fact no gentleman ever has quite succeeded in liking Jefferson personally; he could do mean things; and more than once we see that Lord Charnwood does not tolerate men of that stamp. For the same reason he could not like Chase, though doing full justice to his ability and usefulness; I think Lord Charnwood and President Lincoln could have discussed Salmon P. Chase with gratifying agreement.

Among these earlier pen-sketches there is one which makes us good New Englanders gasp. We are told that our Daniel Webster, our Olympian Zeus, was "nearly a great man"! But we recover from this startling announcement to chuckle at the happy phrases when we hear of the "ferocious and, in the literal sense, shocking, character" and the "perpetual fury" of Andrew Jackson, surely the most grotesque figure head that ever appeared as the apex of a civilized nation. We hear a truth, not the less true because not generally accepted, when we are told that Van Buren was "a sound economist . . . of the old school," who "on a financial issue . . . deliberately sacrificed his popularity to his principles." We smile when we learn that the doctrine "To the victors belong the spoils" was formulated by "a certain respectable Mr. Marcy." We agree, without astonishment, that J. Q. Adams was "sour, upright and able"; that President Harrison, glorified as a sort of Cincinnatus, was elected after "an outburst of enthusiastic tomfoolery"; that Franklin Pierce may claim the palm for "sheer deleterious insignificance." We admit that the distinguishing characteristic of American politics, for many years

preceding the war, was "flabbiness." Who else would ever have used the word, and what other word does the Dictionary hold which can so well describe the days when Fillmore and Pierce and Buchanan presided over an active and growing nation?

Lord Charnwood deals mildly with Stanton. He compares him to a tiger. In any properly stocked menagerie other animals might furnish more apt comparisons, and the tiger has a right to protest; for though the tiger is a savage and disagreeable brute, he is at least courageous and will fight any antagonist to the death. This was never said of Stanton. He was honest and did great service to the country, of course; yet among Americans he remains the most unfriended of public men, because we can never forgive the outrageous insolence with which he continually treated Mr. Lincoln. It is true that he thus brought into strong relief Mr. Lincoln's magnanimity; but this is not to his credit, for it was not his purpose to do so. From Stanton and from McClellan Lincoln bore such slights that at times we almost feel that he was lacking in the dignity of proper spirit. But the conclusion of these outbursts is odd, interesting and enlightening. There never, or very rarely, was any clearing of the troubled situation by explanations or understandings between the President and the Secretary or the General; there were no regrets or apologies, no forgivings and forgettings, none of those adjustments so apt, even when sincere, to leave a sense of irritation. Lincoln simply ignored the whole matter; it was as if the occurrence had never occurred. That was all. It was a singular and unique method of disposition; and perhaps Lincoln was the only man who ever adopted it, or who ever could have adopted it with practical success and without loss of dignity. It was the more creditable to him for two reasons: first, because he was really sensitive to unjust and unreasonable strictures; second, because he had the ability in controversy or retort to do much more than merely answer his assailant. Note two instances: One was where a body of clergymen waited upon him and were so ill-advised as to endeavor to instruct him as to the will of God, and to demand that he should conform his conduct thereto. To their impertinence he pertinently, but quietly, suggested that, if God were inclined to reveal his will

to anyone, it seemed probable that he himself would be selected as the person to whom the revelation might most profitably be made. Carl Schurz, an able man, and often a useful public servant, but also a professional reformer, and as such endowed with an astonishing capacity for knowing just what other people ought to do, and an ungovernable propensity to impart the information to them, once rashly favored Mr. Lincoln with a very critical and instructive letter. Evidently it hurt severely. Mr. Lincoln's reply, brief, moderate and crushing might well have inclined Mr. Schurz to pack his trunk and seek the seclusion of Alexander Selkirk's island. But in and after all such personal clashes Lincoln practised the same self-restraint which had induced him to hold back his powerful hand from physical encounter in his youth. Neither Stanton, nor McClellan, nor Schurz, nor any one else, ever suffered because he had hurt Lincoln. Mr. Schurz, indeed, lived to make the *amende honorable* in the shape of an eloquent tribute to the dead president's memory, plainly indicating his appreciation of the treatment he had received, if not deserved. With Lincoln it was always the country first and himself nowhere. Though he was eminently able, as the phrase goes, to take care of himself, yet his strength was never put forth except to take care of the country.

The like motive of impersonal patriotism ruled in the matter of appointments. The principles, if principles they can be called, upon which appointments to office are made have never been very high in the United States; they were very low in Lincoln's day. His military appointments were of necessity for a long while experimental. Many of them were unfortunate. He himself alleged that in considering military merit he had always disregarded politics. If he had been a hypocrite he would have omitted the word "military." Lord Charnwood decisively accepts this statement as true, and his opinion is made valuable by his appreciative portrayal of the many commanders whom he passes in review. McClellan stalks through his pages much as he stalks through the pages of all other writers. His characteristics are established by universal consent. To draw his portrait is really to photograph a statue; but there are good photographs and bad; and this photograph by Lord Charnwood is one of the best. General Pope was probably Lincoln's

most conspicuous mistake, because his utter failure occurred with such theatrical suddenness after his promotion; and because he made himself such a laughing-stock with his famous "headquarters in the saddle." This ill-starred appointment has seemed, by reaction, almost to cast discredit upon Lincoln himself. But Lord Charnwood shows plainly that the experiment was entirely reasonable. Burnside was really a worse case; but the high personal esteem in which he was held modified criticism. Hooker was a *pis aller;* taken because his nickname was "Fighting Joe." "He cannot have been very clever," Lord Charnwood remarks, "for the handsomest beating that Lee could give him left him unaware that Lee was a general." Reviewing this whole department, after reading what Lord Charnwood has to say, we remain thoroughly satisfied that Lincoln's appointments were in nearly all cases justifiable experiments — which has not always been admitted.

Lord Charnwood's chapter on Emancipation is the best statement of the confusing struggle between rival aims which I have yet seen. Lincoln entered upon and held his office with one duty and with one wish. The duty was to preserve the Union. The wish was to abolish slavery. The duty was supreme and paramount; the wish was secondary and subordinate. Had he not been prepared to respect this precedence of the duty he would have had no right to assume or to hold his office. He saw this distinctly and announced it decisively; yet for so doing he was cruelly harassed by a numerous, contentious and noisy faction of the Republican party. These were good men enough; but their brains were obfuscated by the warm vapors which arose from their hearts. Lincoln, on the other hand, never showed better his capacity for clear thinking than in this especial matter. No pressure stirred him, but what this steadfastness cost him in effort has not always been fully appreciated. After his decision to maintain the Union, with or without slavery, had been definitely announced, the insistence that he should declare abolition to be at least at stake in the struggle, and an integral element in any conclusion of peace, was a more alluring proposition; for no man was more ardently desirous than he was to accomplish abolition. But again his head was clear and his resolution was firm. Lord Charnwood truly says that, after the summer of 1861, when he annulled Fremont's

reckless declaration of partial emancipation, "he continued for more than a year in a course which alienated from himself the confidence of the men with whom he had most sympathy," and that he did this "deliberately, rather than imperil the unanimity with which the North supported the war." In other words, he kept his duty supreme over his wish. But as Lord Charnwood well adds: "He would at first rather not have played the historic part which he did play as the liberator of the slaves, if he could have succeeded in the more modest part of encouraging a process of gradual emancipation." "Gradual and not sudden emancipation is better for all," he said. Here again his sagacious practical sense appears. He did what most abolitionists were not able to do, he differentiated the Institution of Slavery from the aggregation of individuals who were its victims. He could not rest content with a spectacular smashing of the Institution; he had the humane desire to care for the welfare of the emancipated men and women. As Lord Charnwood says: "They were actual human beings to him, and he knew that the mere abrogation of the law of slavery was not the only thing necessary to their advancement;" and he adds: "Lincoln, perhaps alone among Americans who were in earnest in this matter, looked at it very much in the light in which all men look at it today." Could higher praise be given? I think not, for Lord Charnwood thus says in substance that amid all the hurly-burly of that time of passionate discussion, concerning as difficult a problem as ever perplexed the intelligence of men, Lincoln saw plainly that which the painful and blundering experience of over half a century has at last shown to have been true. "Throughout this matter Lincoln took counsel chiefly with himself," says Lord Charnwood. The charge that he was slow in action is disproved by the fact that when he saw the door of exit, through the exercise of his war power, he was so eager to pass through it that he narrowly escaped doing so too soon. Had it not been for the shrewd suggestion by Seward, which Lincoln at once had the good sense to act upon, the great Proclamation would have been put forth before the situation was ready for it, and would have had a precarious fate.

After the Proclamation, it remained only to pass the Constitutional Amendment, abolishing slavery throughout the

country. In his message to Congress in 1864 Lincoln urged this step. The resolution was introduced, and passed by the Senate; but in the House its fate hung in most doubtful balance. During the contest which ensued, Lord Charnwood says that:

> In the efforts made on either side to win over the few doubtful voters Lincoln [took] his part. Right or wrong, he was not the man to see a great and beneficent act in danger of postponement without being tempted to secure it, if he could do so by terrifying some unprincipled and white-livered opponents.

So he told two Democrats, in very clear language, that he looked to them to get him the votes; and they did so. Lord Charnwood calls this a "wrong manœuvre," but he does not seem able to make up his mind seriously to condemn Lincoln for it; and the closing sentences of his chapter on Emancipation are:

> He redeemed the boyish pledge, which has been, fancifully perhaps, ascribed to him. Each opportunity that to his judgment ever presented itself of striking some blow for human freedom was taken; the blows were timed and directed by the full force of his sagacity, and they were never restrained by private ambition or fear. It is probable that upon that cool review, which in the case of this singular individual is difficult, the sense of his potent accomplishment would not diminish but increase.

Lincoln, happily for himself, had not to resolve the subquestions which arose to be settled after the fundamental question was disposed of. But there has long been heated controversy as to what would have been his position concerning negro suffrage. Lord Charnwood, having studied Lincoln with more profound intelligence and understanding than any one else has ever done, might give an interesting opinion; but of course he has not done so. We can only guess what he guesses that Lincoln would have thought. I in turn cannot resist the temptation to guess what Lord Charnwood's guess would be; and I cannot but believe that he believes that Lincoln would have strongly disapproved of the wholesale step which Republican politicians and old-time abolitionists insisted upon taking. All Lincoln's humanity and sympathy never sufficed

MHS

John Adams

From the portrait by Mather Brown
in the Boston Athenaeum

to cloud his perfect judgment. He never pretended that the black race and the white race constituted an equation in mental endowment. This obvious truth Lord Charnwood makes clear enough in his comments on Lincoln's address to a negro audience, urging upon them colonization. On another occasion also he expressly urged giving suffrage to the "more fit and intelligent." That this would have been his ultimate and most wise attitude seems to me almost as sure as if it were actually susceptible of proof.

I have taken too much time, and I must stop, though leaving untouched one or two topics which tempt me. Notably I should have liked to comment upon and perhaps somewhat to develop what Lord Charnwood has to say about Lincoln as a writer and speaker of English. It is a striking fact that this scion of the unlettered frontier became the only candidate whom this country, in nearly three centuries since the *Mayflower* brought the language to these shores, can offer for membership in the small group of masters in the use of the English tongue. The qualities and characteristics of his style are, by natural consequence, a most interesting subject of study. But I ought to release you, and I will.

Mr. LAWRENCE PARK submitted a note on

MATHER BROWN'S PORTRAIT OF JOHN ADAMS.

In 1786, Mather Brown, then twenty-five years old, painted a portrait of Thomas Jefferson, who had come to London to visit John Adams. In Jefferson's accounts he entered on April 25, 1786, "Pd. Brown for my picture, £10." At about the same time he painted a replica of this portrait for John Adams, which is now in the possession of the Adams family, and for which he charged six guineas, as is shown by his receipt attached to the back of the picture. The original portrait seems to have disappeared. Jefferson gave an order to Brown for a portrait of John Adams, and the receipt for its cost, £10, dated July 2, 1788, is reproduced in *Proceedings*, XLVII. 33. Trumbull writing from London to Jefferson in Paris in 1788, and referring to the two portraits says: "Mr. Adams is like — yours I do not think so well of." The Adams portrait of Jefferson was engraved for Bancroft's *History of the United States*, and has been

several times reproduced. It is the earliest-known likeness of him.

The portrait of Adams I think has never been engraved or otherwise reproduced in any book. It remained in Jefferson's possession until his death in 1826 and in May, 1828, was, with many paintings from his estate, exhibited at the Boston Athenæum, numbered 311 in the catalogue and offered for sale. It next appears at an auction of Jefferson's pictures held in Chester Harding's Gallery on School Street, Boston, July 19, 1833. Since that date it has been lost sight of. The picture itself is owned by the Boston Athenæum and hangs in the delivery room of that building. It was received by bequest in 1908 from the late George Francis Parkman of Boston, who doubtless inherited it from his father or grandfather, who in turn probably purchased it from the Jefferson estate. During the past I have made some study of the work of Brown, and having compared this portrait with others of Adams, I am now convinced that it is the long-lost portrait of Adams by Brown. The introduction in the right of the picture of a folio volume labelled "Jeffersons Hist. of Virginia." implies a delicate compliment to Jefferson.

Mather Brown had an earlier connection with John Adams. Writing in September, 1784, to his aunts of his commissions, Brown states that he had painted "Miss Adams, Daughter of the famous Ambassador," who had touched in England while on her way from Quincy to Paris. A year later, September 13, 1785, he wrote that "among other great people 'he had painted' the illustrious J. Adams, Esqr. (Ambassador from the States to His Britannic Majesty) and his Family, which will honour the next Exhibition." [1] The catalogues of the Royal Academy [2] do not however show that these pictures were exhibited there. Miss Adams was Abigail Adams who married in 1786. Her portrait and that of her husband, Col. William Stephens Smith, both by Brown, are owned in the Adams family. Another portrait of her, destroyed by fire many years ago, was engraved by H. S. Sadd for her *Journal and Correspondence* published in 1841. The engraving attributes the portrait to Copley, but I am not able, lacking further evidence, to state that it is not

[1] From Mather Brown letters in the Frederick L. Gay Transcripts.
[2] *Royal Academy Exhibitors*, by Algernon Graves, I. 310.

correctly attributed and that Brown and not Copley was the artist.

On behalf of Mr. Henry F. Tapley, of Lynn, the Editor exhibited a copy of the Vicksburg (Miss.) *Daily Citizen*, July 4, 1863, printed on wall-paper.[1] Also the following letter which he presented to the Society:

Alonzo G. Draper to Ben Perley Poore.

Hd. Qrs. 1st. Brig., 1st Div. 25th
A. C. Near Petersburg, Va., Apr. 29, 1865

Friend Perley: There is considerable dispute as to what troops first entered Richmond. I do not wish to be quoted as a party to the controversy, but the facts are simply these:

The 36th U. S. C. T. of my Brigade was the first organization to enter Richmond; the Regiment was immediately preceded by about fifty skirmishers of the 24th Corps, who marched with the 36th for miles, but who as skirmishers properly belonged in front of the heavy infantry, and were therefore allowed to remain there without competition.

After entering the city limits, my Brigade was ordered to halt, and afterwards to file around into the fortifications, while a single white Brigade would enter the city to do guard duty. The 36th formed lines of battle, stacked arms, unfurled their flags, and waited for the other troops to come up; soon the 22d and 38th of my Brigade joined them.

It was at least ten or fifteen minutes before a single white Regiment came in sight; and when they did pass, the black troops cheered them lustily, but elicited no response. Every officer and soldier of the white Brigade will recollect this circumstance, for some of the officers swore heartily at the presumption of the negroes in outmarching them and entering the city first. At the start, the white troops were two or three miles nearer to Richmond than my Brigade. At the junction of the Osborn and Newmarket roads, General Devens claimed the right of way for his troops which had not yet come in sight on the Newmarket Road, although we could hear them cheering. We gave them all the room they needed by taking the double quick step and maintaining it all the way to Richmond.

Now that the war is about to close, many regular officers are striving for the best positions in the colored troops, and I suppose

[1] See *Proceedings*, xlvi. 241.

that pioneer officers in this branch of the service who have organized them, protected them, and fought them, and who have been subjected to insults and persecution from officers of the Regular and Volunteer white organizations, must now stand aside, or even quit the service, to make way for these same officers to obtain promotion, or even to secure the rank which they now hold in the volunteer service.

I know several notable examples of this sort.

Please consider this confidential. I remain, very truly and Fraternally yours

A. G. DRAPER,
Brev. Brig. Gen.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Col. T. L. LIVERMORE and Mr. THAYER.

SYMMES' LECTURES.

Perpetual Ticket

Admit the Bearer to the Lectures on the New Theory of the Earth.

JOHN CLEVES SYMMES.

MHS

Ruth Paine

MEMOIR

OF

NATHANIEL PAINE.

By LINCOLN NEWTON KINNICUTT.

Nathaniel Paine was born at Worcester, Massachusetts, August 6, 1832, and his whole life was identified by the growth of the city. He was the son of Gardiner and Emily (Baker) Paine, and his ancestors, prominent in the county, had been loyalists in the War for Independence. He married, June 14, 1865, Susan M. Barnes, of New Haven, Connecticut, who survived him. He died in Worcester January 14, 1917, leaving no children. He was elected a resident member of the Massachusetts Historical Society March 14, 1901.

By the death of Nathaniel Paine, Worcester lost a citizen she could ill spare and who was almost the last remaining tie which bound it closely to its early city life. The Massachusetts Historical Society lost a member upon whom it could always rely for information pertaining to historical events of Worcester County, and also for information regarding Worcester's noted men of a large part of the ninteenth century. His knowledge of men and events was not only reminiscent and traditional but absolute, for he possessed tangible evidence of its accuracy through his collections of personal letters, collections of documents, prints and photographs, and of files of newspapers which expressed the public opinion of the day.

As Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis stated in his tribute to Mr. Paine, published in the *Proceedings* of this Society of last February,[1] he was "a born collector."

He was not merely a collector, however, as is usually under-

[1] *Proceedings*, L. 180.

stood by the use of the word, for his collections were assembled not for the objects themselves, but for the use he could make of them in completing or illustrating previous publications, or in substantiating ideas which interested him. It was his purpose also to preserve a more intimate knowledge of men whom he honored, and to record the soon-forgotten details of events which very often, if remembered, are exaggerated or distorted, and in respect to which, as time passes, accuracy becomes historically very valuable and interesting. His varied interests in many subjects almost always compelled him to undertake simultaneously many collections quite varied in their nature. History, art, literature, biography, prints, autographs all lured him to investigation, and tempted him to collect material which often had been neglected or overlooked, either for the purpose of elucidating some fact which personally interested him, or for proving some previously accepted tradition. The surgeon's skill he applied in dissecting, repairing, and restoring printed matter, letters and manuscripts, his proficiency in the use of photography, and, above all, his recognition and realization of the value of preserving minor items of information when first seen or noticed, added much to the completeness and value of his collections. In this way Irving's *Life of George Washington* was extended from five to ten volumes by the insertion of over one thousand letters, portraits, maps, and broadsides, and *The Signers of the Declaration of Independence* became two volumes and contained nearly a complete set of letters of the signers. His *Carl's Tour of Main Street* included about three hundred Worcester portraits and views, after its extension from one to three volumes. The *Diary of Christopher Columbus Baldwin* became three volumes, with about two hundred and fifty insertions, and George F. Hoar's *Autobiography of Seventy Years* was extended from two to four volumes, and contained many portraits and letters of the last century.

He was a most interesting talker about his collections, if you could convince him that you were truly in earnest and wanted information; but otherwise he was rather reticent, and never intruded his own work or volunteered to show its result. If he had been possessed of an independent fortune his acquisitions would have been of even greater value to any museum or

historical society, for he had good judgment and had acquired much valuable knowledge in the fields which pertained to his collections. He always wished to possess the best and the rarest. He bequeathed to the American Antiquarian Society his Irving's *Life of George Washington* and the *Signers of the Declaration of Independence*, and as he also made the Society his residuary legatee it will come into possession of much valuable historical material. His connection of over half a century with that institution, of which for many years he was a member of its council and of the library and publishing committees, and also the Treasurer for over forty years, is very convincing proof of the recognition of the value of his work.

Although possessed of only moderate means he yielded but once, I believe, to the temptation of parting with any of his collections except by gift. In his early married life he was offered five hundred dollars for his collection of postage stamps, which was a large price in the early days of stamp collecting, and this he finally accepted after a hard struggle. He immediately began again, and at the time of his death the second collection was of much greater value than the first. He bequeathed it to two young men whom, as boys, he had interested in philately.

The diversity of his interests is rather strangely marked by his extending Spooner's *Dictionary of Art* from two to ten volumes, inserting many photographs of the best pictures of the acknowledged masters, and at the same time devoting himself to the study and illustration of *The Pickwick Papers*. By inserting many quaint sketches and items of interest of the different characters and of many of the interesting localities mentioned by Dickens, he made almost an historical picture of an interesting work of fiction. In the latter part of his life, whenever he wished for complete rest from his business duties, or from his antiquarian work, he would turn to *The Pickwick Papers*, not only for its humor but probably also for its underlying good-natured satire partially directed toward the aimless work of many would-be antiquarians and historians. Any new idea of the Pickwickians, expressed by pen or pencil, was always a welcomed find.

He published comparatively little, but his authorship of "Early Paper Currency of Massachusetts," "Early American

Imprints," "Random Recollections of Worcester," "Early American Broadsides" is evidence of the good work he might have done in this direction.

Various interesting papers relating mostly to New England history, contributed to the many historical and antiquarian societies of which he became a sought-for active or honorary member, are to be found in their *Proceedings*. He was given the honorary degree of Master of Arts by Harvard University in 1898.

When it is remembered that his daily life was devoted to business interests, and that he held many offices of responsibility and trust in his native city, which demanded his constant attention, we may wonder at the amount of work he was able to accomplish in other directions.

Entering the City Bank of Worcester at the early age of seventeen he reached the highest round of the ladder and became President of the same bank after forty-eight years of uninterrupted service. He was Vice President of two other banking institutions of the city, a member of the City Council, a trustee of the Worcester Art Museum, a director of the Worcester Public Library for eighteen years, and held many positions of trust which can be held only by men of undoubted fidelity and integrity.

Nathaniel Paine was one of those fortunate men who finds early in life an alluring path which, when tired of the hard and dusty road of everyday life, he may take for rest, for diversion, and for new enjoyment — not alone for self-enjoyment, but for discoveries by which he may contribute to the pleasure and knowledge of others. It may be a path that leads back to the highway, but by finding it the common road seems much less commonplace and less difficult. Only a few are able to obtain from life what was granted to him. Accepting the occupation which was probably determined by accident, or was selected for him by others, he made the very most of his opportunities; but realizing that his tastes and inclinations pointed in other directions, he possessed the ambition and character to refuse to have them smothered by his necessary business duties. He found his recreation and pleasure in pursuits which never become impossible or flavorless in later life, but which rather do become more and more

interesting and attractive as time passes. His home life was a most happy one. Married at the age of thirty-three he found a companion who was much interested in his work and who encouraged and stimulated him in his favorite occupations. A useful and happy life, a life that contributed something to the world's knowledge, an honorable life, a life without stain and without reproach — what more is to be desired?

DECEMBER MEETING, 1917.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. In the absence of the PRESIDENT, the first Vice-President, Mr. RHODES, occupied the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Corresponding Secretary, in the absence of the Librarian, read the list of donors to the Library during the last month.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Charles E. Deane, of Chicago, six original drawings of views in Europe, in 1856–1858, made by Robert C. Waterston.

From William B. H. Dowse, a bronze medal struck to commemorate the opening of the Cape Cod Canal on July 29, 1914.

From Mrs. Caroline M. Jones in accordance with the written request of her husband, the late Benjamin Mitchell Jones, a cellaret formerly belonging to Peter Faneuil (1700–1742). This descended to him, a direct descendant of Benjamin Faneuil (1701–1785), a brother of Peter, through Mary (Faneuil) Bethune, Ann (Bethune) Lovell, and Mrs. William P. Sampson, of Cambridge, aunt of Mr. Jones.

From Charles Stearns, a photograph of Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, a former member of the Society.

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, three postal cards printed by France when news of the entry of the United States into the War first arrived there.

From Charles Torrey, three photographs of the model of the ship *America* built at Portsmouth, N. E., for the Royal Navy in 1749.[1]

By deposit, a daguerreotype of Horace Mann, and an engraving from it by J. C. Buttre, from George C. and B. Pickman Mann, his sons.

The Editor reported the following accessions of MSS.:

By gift: From William Keeney Bixby, a Corresponding Member, a broadside announcement, from the Thomas Jefferson collection, of a magazine to be issued at Washington, D. C., to be known as

[1] This ship, pierced for fifty guns, was built at the north end of the town, under the superintendence of Col. Nathaniel Meserve. Brewster, *Rambles about Portsmouth*, 1st ser., 176.

"The National Magazine; or Cabinet of the United States," 1801. Also a transcript of a letter from Abigail Adams to Elbridge Gerry, December 31, 1796.

From Joshua C. Hubbard, of Boston, returns and reports of his uncle Major Channing Clapp, who was 1st Lieutenant in the First Mass. Cavalry, a captain in the Volunteers, and before his resignation in 1865, a brevet major, "for faithful and meritorious service." Charles Francis Adams was commissioned a 1st Lieutenant in the same regiment nine days after Mr. Clapp.

From Charles Stearns, of Dedham, papers of the mercantile firm of Raymond and Company, of New York, 1849–1858. Mr. George C. Stearns, grandfather of the donor, was a member of the firm.

From J. F. Whiting, of North Attleboro, Mass., seven documents, legal and other, among which is a curious pictorial and manuscript ballot used in the Massachusetts election of May, 1814.

From Harold Murdock, a letter from Lord George Germain, dated at Stoneland Lodge, July 27, 1775, on the Battle of Bunker Hill.

By purchase: Two letters of Edmund Quincy, Tertius (1733–1768), to Benjamin Dolbeare, of Boston, asking for the hand of his daughter.

Two poems, one in French, on the Battle of Bunker Hill. The poem in English appears to have been written about the time of the battle, if the watermark of the paper may be taken as evidence. Neither affords any clue to the authors.

The town rate of Watertown East Precinct, February 6, 1729–30, signed by John Coollige, Daniel Benjamin, and Nathaniel Harris, assessors, and directed, for collection, to Josiah Perry.

Two broadside poems, probably printed in Boston: "Shewing the Harmony of the Divine Attributes, In the Way of Man's Salvation," and "Love in a Tub: or The Merchant outwitted by a Vintner." They might have been issued before 1800.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from the Earl of Rosebery accepting his election as a Corresponding Member of the Society.

The Vice-President reported the death of our associate, Edwin Pliny Seaver.

Mr. Charles P. Greenough said:

Seaver was a classmate of mine in the class which graduated from Harvard College in 1864. He entered College in the Sophomore year, having fitted himself while a teacher in a New Bedford school and partly at Exeter. He was a good scholar

and stood very high in his class, and I believe graduated in the first four. He was very nearly the oldest man in the class one only being a few weeks older. I did not know him well before our Senior year when we had rooms in the same building, old Massachusetts, and I saw him then constantly and became intimate with him. I also met him at the meetings of the Hasty Pudding Club. He was so much older than his classmates and already so mature that he had little in common with them. Since graduation I have met him only at our annual class meetings and class suppers, and occasionally at meetings of this Society; although always cordial in his greetings all intimacy had gone. He was a man of high character and considerable learning, and very reserved. He was a born teacher and he early adopted that profession. After graduation he was a teacher in New Bedford, a tutor in Harvard College from 1865–1869, and Assistant Professor of Mathematics 1869–1874, Head Master of Boston High School 1874–1880, and Superintendent of the Public Schools of Boston 1880–1904. He also prepared various mathematical books for use in the schools. He was very successful in each of his positions, and was only retired from his position as Superintendent of Schools when the government of the city began its downhill course. Since his retirement he has lived away from Boston. He was elected Overseer of Harvard College in 1879–1891, re-elected in 1896 and in 1902. He was also a member of the Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Mr. BIGELOW read a paper on

MEDIEVAL ENGLISH SOVEREIGNTY.

Has medieval history anything to say in regard to the stability of human government? To be specific, has the history of medieval English sovereignty any particular interest for us moderns touching the State? What I am to try to tell is the tale of the attainment by a people of a high degree of self-discipline, followed slowly but finally by lapse from and loss of it.

In the absence of direct evidence of government among the Angles, the Saxons, the Jutes and the Frisians, before they established themselves in Britain, we have to go to Caesar and

Tacitus[1] and turn their statements in regard to the Germans with whom they were acquainted to the account of the more primitive Germans farther north, of whom they knew and tell us little. This appears, however, to be safe enough, for Caesar and Tacitus, in their accounts of the Germans, deal much with what in their day was still primitive; and there is reason to believe that what they tell us of the peculiarities of the neighboring Germans was true of those farther north who migrated to what came to be called England.[2]

What our Roman authorities tell us of the Germans may not indeed be verified in detail of every one of the different tribes or peoples spoken of, but what was wanting in one tribe might probably be supplied by some other; and in the same sense what Caesar and Tacitus say may be taken as fairly true of those also who crossed the North Sea. In other words, Caesar and Tacitus present us with a sort of composite picture of the Old German races of the North at the time of their chief appearance in the migrations of the fifth century, as well as of those near by in the first century before and after the Christian era.

Using then the term "Old Germans" to denote the Germanic peoples of the period extending from the century before Christ to the migrations to Britain, we have a number of political companies, every member of which forms a component part of the whole — companies of shareholders in a common political enterprise. Individualism has already given place to a collective or corporate consciousness and life. Folklaw, law common

[1] Other writers, Roman or Greek, throw no special light upon the subject of this paper. The careful student can satisfy himself, if he will take the pains, of the accuracy in all important particulars of Caesar and Tacitus; the one or two small discrepancies between them can easily be settled. A sufficient test may be found in a matter calling for technical knowledge. Tacitus says that actions for delict may be brought in the council. "Licet apud concilium accusare quoque, et discrimen capitis intendere. Distinctio poenarum ex delicto" (between greater and smaller offences). *Germania*, 12. "In the council" means in the assembly of the people. Now the Lex Salica makes distinction between delicts to the person in which there must be summons to and judgment by the assembly, and other causes, which were wholly or partly extra-judicial. See Sohm, *Process der Lex Salica*, 9, 121. Note also what Tacitus says on mulcts, that is, payments, in horses and cattle and on the division of mulcts, following the quotation *supra;* and further the remarks *infra*, in this paper, on land allotments.

[2] The existence of the *comitatus* of Tacitus among the Anglo-Saxons of the middle of the eighth century is striking evidence; a matter of special interest here, as the *comitatus* was closely connected with the change of sovereignty dealt with in this paper. See note, p. 157, *infra*.

to all men, has come to pass. This means more than the mere statement may import; it denotes a social discipline working a fusion such as the world has seldom seen — a fusion more complete than any of modern times — of the individual, and of separate communities, into collective or aggregate political life, in a word, into a political unit. And the success of it is as striking as the idea is unique, if by success we mean the maintenance of domestic order, which I suppose is directly and indirectly the chief end of government; the State is made for the people, not the people for the State. By domestic order I mean of course order within a given unit, not order throughout the bounds of Germany. In that respect, whatever may be said of the Old Germans otherwise, their tribal State was a forecast of a "far-off, divine event," of which we are to-day in the throes. The Old Germans had the essential idea of effective and stable government, so far as what I am now speaking of is concerned.

How was this social discipline and fusion effected? But first, what was there to fuse?

A remark may be made in regard to the word "fusion." This is as good a word as I can find to convey the idea I wish to express; and yet to one not familiar with the facts it might be misleading. Fusion implies an earlier state of solids, melted within assignable time and by observable method; but time and process among the Old Germans are veiled in antiquity. There was such a time; but inference alone tells us of it, and the inference has nothing to say of actual beginning in time or of particular occasion or process. Fusion was already of the past, in recorded history. The discipline which was undergone in the melting of individualism into common right or folklaw appears complete in the pages of Caesar and Tacitus. Still I repeat the question, what was there among our remote ancestors for political discipline and fusion? The answer is ready — a tameless people! Time and process are unknown, but the inference to the past from the pictures of the present, in the authorities, is unmistakable. Still more to the point, we know what the Germans were from the time they appear in history; aye, and every Roman knew!

The German foe was true to his name.[1] In battle he was the

[1] Gair, said to mean shouter, warrior. See Tatham's ed. of the *Germania*, 32, n. 18; *Annals*, I. 65; Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I. 96, 97.

"wild west wind"; in his warfare the very embodiment of terror,[1] yet "the trumpet of a prophecy" that men are naturally free and equal, with rights, as we should say, limited only by rights; that each man's rights extended to the very boundary line of his neighbor's; that, within the limit, every one might follow, to the fullest extent of his capacity, his own manner of life. There was an intensity of passionate devotion to freedom, which was a marvel to imperial Rome, an intensity unsurpassed in the races of men. These Germans declared that no mortal power had any right to constrain, and no mortal should be permitted to constrain them while they were able to prevent. They bent the neck to none but the gods.[2]

Modern apostles of freedom, if we omit the anarchists and nihilists, who in fact are not apostles of practical freedom at all, modern leaders, I say, have never gone so far. Struggling always against opposing tides, Jefferson and Herbert Spencer could hardly make headway; while the Old Germans rejoiced in the very sweep of the full tide of freedom which they created. They gave themselves to freedom in what was a veritable abandon. Pitting soul and body against fate in the last toss of the dice, they freely gave themselves, on losing, into slavery, treating the act as a simple matter of "honor."[3]

Such things were a marvel to Tacitus. He gives us specific evidence. A council, as he calls an assembly of all freemen, is summoned for an appointed day. The people come to the Malberg — the Hill of Laws — at their leisure, purposely passing by the set time for several days, in manifestation of their freedom, and when they do finally take their seats, sit in arms. Even now no one but some god of silence can bid them cease their tumult.[4] They sit in arms as naturally as they pitched their separate abodes by "brook, or plain, or grove." It is every man's own affair; it is no conformity to another's will. It is as if each one had declared, "I do as I please; I please to follow the customs of my tribe. These weapons I bear are no

[1] German victory was *ob metum*, says Tacitus, *Germania*, 2. Schrecklichkeit is no modern idea of Germans.

[2] "Bend thy neck, Sycamber," said no one but a bishop to Clovis. Gregory of Tours, II. 31.

[3] Tacitus, *Germania*, 24.

[4] Tumultuary Germans, Tacitus, *Annals*, I. 57.

lictor's rods and axes, to frighten to submission." [1] Indeed, arms to these simple freemen were as comrades to the chieftains, an adornment and a warning. By them, by way of the courts, the man helped himself to justice, in case of need.

To this fusion of personalities must, as has been intimated, be added that of one local community with another, separated as communities were apt to be by worship of different ancestors, which made them essentially individualistic.[2] Such were the constituents to be disciplined and fused into the common will for the common weal. How did the contradiction come to pass — how did order arise out of the promise of disorder?

Plainly it was not by any direct, single intent and action; no grant or surrender of rights ever took place. No formal constitution, before the Salic Law, was ever adopted or thought of. Formal confederations there were, and union of tribes; but the tribe itself, except in branches it gave off, was the result of slow, organic growth; it came about through indirection, or rather through processes direct enough, but not directed to the result, which indeed was a resultant. People did not come together to form the tribe. The fusion of the members into a unit came of four different constituents or factors, each of which played an essential if unintended part towards the end. I speak only of permanent, necessary factors, passing by temporary ones, such as the leadership of some great king or chieftain, Ariovistus or Arminius.

The first of the greater constituents was a common home life.

I would call attention not so much to the external side of the family as to the internal. Externally there was the housefather, as Hearne calls the head of the Aryan household; there was the *privata lex*, or domestic sovereignty; there was worship of ancestors — all this in common with the other branches of the Aryan race. This has of course its own significance in the fusion; but the internal side has greater significance. By the internal side I mean the relation between the men and the

[1] "If, between the Elbe and the Rhine, rods and axes and the toga had been seen, the Roman eagles had been captured and hung up in the German groves, as trophies to the German gods," said the hero of Cheruscan freedom. Tacitus, *Annals*, I. 59.

[2] On the lack of fellowship between neighboring village communities of the Old Germans, see *Lex Salica*, c. xlv, de migrantibus; *ib.* c. xiv, 4, 5; Sohm, *Process Lex Salica*, I. 94.

women. That was perhaps the most outstanding feature in German life.

Tacitus gives little more than a glimpse of this life; but that glimpse has in it the mystery of suggestion. He has indeed much to say of the spindle side of the family; of the spear side — such is the historian's "unpremeditated art," or was it meditated? — he has much to leave to the kindly imagination. Of men in their outward relations — relations towards their neighbors and towards their foes — Tacitus speaks plainly enough; of men as members of the family he speaks in enigma — by speaking of the women.

One need not complain of that; one can understand the effect upon men, one can understand the quality of manhood, by man's estimate of woman.

As every one knows, Tacitus praises the domestic virtues of the Germans without stint. This in particular of women; but the inference in regard to the men is plain. If the women were models of domestic life, the men, so far as their relations towards the women were concerned, must have been like them. The illustrations given by Tacitus show this to be true. Chief among these is marriage; the marriage bond was severe; it was a union to one wife and to one husband, though some of the chieftains were permitted to take plural wives, to strengthen alliances. Ariovistus, so well known to readers of Caesar, had two wives, from different peoples. We may notice this regard for the marital relation the more from the fact that the wife was a subject of purchase.[1] The marriage rite is suggestive. The parents and relations assemble, Tacitus tells us, and give their approval to the gifts — which were mutual. Those to the wife were hardly of a kind to appeal to the taste of a young woman; they were not adornments, but oxen, bridled horses, a shield, a spear, a sword.[2] On receiving such gifts the wife makes a gift of some sort to her husband. The marriage bond was further strengthened by the mysteries of the rite; these were

[1] Gregory of Tours, IV. 46 (earnest money paid by the man at the betrothal); Ine, 31 ("If a man buy a wife," etc.).

[2] This is perhaps the only touch of humor in the *Germania*. To tap a vein of humor in Tacitus is to draw "fire from a flint when there was no fire in the flint." *Year Book*, 9 Hen. 6, 24 b. There is another instance in the *Annals* (II. 10), where Tacitus depicts Arminius and his brother brandishing arms at each other on opposite sides of the river Weser (Visurgis).

sacred — they had the sanction of the gods of marriage. And then, lest the woman think herself beyond the need of fortitude, beyond the casualties of war, she is admonished in the ceremonial that she must be a real companion of her husband, in toil and peril, resolved to suffer and to dare, as well in war as in peace. Thus, says Tacitus, she was to live, thus to die; returning to her children at the close of life what she had received, inviolate, as held in trust.

Sins of the sexes, we may now well believe, were almost negligible; adultery was very uncommon; prostitution is spoken of in a way to indicate that the same was true of that evil. Such offences, so far as they existed, were, it may be supposed, found chiefly among the slave population, where the virtues were not so much inculcated. Tacitus further notices in particular that the relations of young men and maidens were exemplary.

How could all this have been otherwise — this wholesome life of the men — with the estimate men had of woman? For woman was esteemed not merely as wife and mother; she was held in honor even more, as woman. This went almost to veneration, but not quite; woman was not a goddess in the mind of the Germans — she was simply woman; they regarded her as standing apart, upon the heights,[1] where mystery marries desire to discovery. Men take counsel of woman; they give heed to woman's advice, asked or not. Woman is associated in a special way with the gods; woman alone is competent to interpret the divine will or wish.[2]

There can be no doubt of the good effect of all this upon the men. The sneer of Gibbon need not detain us; if the men had been insincere in their honoring of woman Tacitus would certainly have told us; Tacitus was not the man to suffer any half truths of goodness to cover up an unworthy side. The unwholesome in German life, of which there was enough, he fully exposes; but that was not found in the household.

All this was and must have been reflected and repeated in the life of the children. True, we are told that the children were brought up without restraint;[3] but that means that external

[1] One may well contrast all this with woman in Rome. See, *e. g.*, Tacitus, *Annals*, I. 14; II. 50, 85; III. 22, 23.

[2] Caesar, *B. G.*, I. 50.

[3] *Ib.* IV. 1.

restraint was not imposed. Apparently it could not have been necessary; restraint was self-imposed by the young who had passed out of tender years. It hardly could have been otherwise, under the laws of psychology — the laws of inherited disposition, of imitation, and of the group spirit or collective action of the association of the young in neighboring families. To speak of this group spirit, an influence less obvious in its effect than inheritance and imitation, reflection will I think justify the statement of an English psychologist,[1] that "the collective life of a well-organized society commonly attains a higher level, both intellectually and morally, than could be individually attained by its average members." Perhaps if modern parents would generally set the same sort of example of self-discipline it might be less difficult than it is to keep the children from falling away.

But what has family life, however admirable, to do with fusing the individual and local into the collective will? The point I seek to make is this: the housefather of the Old German family was no mere individualist there; his will as an individual was in full accord with the corporate idea of the family. In so far as he had supreme authority, in the *lex privata*, he had it, not as an individual, but as the priest of the family, in the religious observances of the household, in the worship of ancestors at the family shrine. In regard to secular affairs the housefather was not, I suppose, a sovereign; he was deemed amenable to custom. He could not indeed be removed; but he was liable to frowns and enmity if he made use of his position to justify conduct beyond the bounds of his admitted rights as housefather.

And then (for this is not quite enough to make my point) as the man was to the rest of the family, so were these family units to the mass of units forming the tribal State. All the people are more or less closely united by blood; each unit is but acting with, if occasionally against, a number of kindred units; association is constant; and thus fusion, beginning at home, extends throughout the tribe. The self-discipline of family life, the devotion of the family in its interior life and the association of families — that becomes a condition to and a prophecy of the higher, general self-discipline and devotion in village

[1] McDougall, *Psychology*, 243.

and tribe; making this result both natural and easy, and with the other contributions inevitable.

But there was another side of family life, which presents a discordant note. Family troubles, which included the troubles of the members of the family, were dealt with, not by the State unless they amounted to treason, but by the family.[1] That is to say, private warfare within the State was lawful, as a means of redress for injuries actual or supposed by one family or by some member of it to another family or some member of it. Of course that was distraction, which might work destruction, and sometimes perhaps did; a state of things, one need hardly say, which continued throughout the middle ages and prevails to-day, however unlawful. How far this distracting factor went is not clear; but it was probably only a partial offset to the contrary influence of family life as already set forth. It was a much milder affair clearly than what followed in medieval history. Quarrels were easily made up, and compositions limited them.[2]

Next among factors contributing to the end in question were common, or rather communal, economic interests.

There were no conflicting economic interests of a general nature to disturb the life of the Old Germans; the only general interests in their economics were of agriculture and pasturage under communal titles, with minor interests of hunting and fishing.[3] In such pursuits, at that period, there could have been no differences other than those arising from administration. The pursuits were everywhere the same in nature; and, assuming a just administration, the ends furnished no grounds of complaint. There was little trade, and disturbances of competition could not arise.

That imports, however, only an absence of friction; common pursuits and want of competition would of themselves have little to do with subordinating the individual or the local community to the general will. But there was in the economic life of the Old Germans a real subordination of the kind — a sub-

[1] Tacitus, *Germania*, 21.

[2] *Ib.*

[3] Whether before the migrations there was any such thing along the shores of the North Sea as communal fishing, turbary and the like (of Blackstone), is not known.

ordination more effective than that which took place in the family relation. In that relation there was, as we have seen, no subordination to a superior, human will; in the economic relation the contrary was true, though in fact this too was only a matter of self-imposed discipline. The freeman himself willed the appointment of superiors having authority to direct economic affairs; the power emanated from the freemen, and those who conferred power could take it away. Magistrates were chosen; chieftains were chosen; kings were chosen — all by the body of freemen.[1] Still there was a nearer approach to sovereignty in economic affairs than in the family relation, for the submission, as I have already said, was not to some representative of the gods, but to neighbors and equals. Ownership of the land was communal, and the community regulated the use of it.

When we come to the process by which, in economic affairs, this discipline of the individual will is effected, our authorities leave us somewhat in doubt. Describing the Suevi, the Swabians of modern times, in language applicable to the Germans generally, Caesar says that the people have no private or separate ownership in lands, and that they are not permitted to remain more than a year in one place, for cultivating the soil.[2]

This has been taken to mean that whole communities move from place to place every year; a new community moving in as the former moved out. The words of Caesar are of course patient of that meaning; but in the light of later history do they naturally mean anything more than what took place throughout Europe in the middle ages, in what is known as the open-field system of agriculture? This involved yet simple system consisted chiefly of certain molecular changes within the communities. The arable was divided into small, more or less parallel strips — acre strips, half acre strips and less — which changed hands annually, by allotment of the community administrators, varying in the number of strips, or in amount, with rank and station.[3] This was a very natural arrangement for a democratic people; indeed it would seem to be the only

[1] Tacitus, *Germania*, 7; Gregory of Tours, II. 12 (Franks), III. 30 (Goths), IV. 41 (Lombards), IV. 51 (Franks).

[2] "Sed privati ac separati agri apud eos nihil est, neque longius anno remanere uno in loco incolendi causa licet." *B. G.*, IV. 1.

[3] Plainly this was not socialism, in the form of equality in shares or amount. See *infra*, of reasons according to Caesar.

practicable one under primitive conditions. The lands varied in fertility and other points of usefulness, and advantages must be equalized by yearly changes in occupancy.

There is another well-known passage in Caesar, further on, where it is said that no one has any certain measure of land; no one has land bounds of his own; the magistrates and chieftains allot every year to the tribes (*gentibus*) and the families[1] (*cognatibus*), who assemble for the purpose, as much lands, in such places, as they think best, and the next year require the occupants to move to another place.[2] This seems to lend support to the view of removals by whole communities,[3] and some of the reasons gathered by Caesar for what he tells us may be thought to aid the interpretation. Many reasons, says Caesar, are given for these changes: First, that the people may not be disposed to give up the love of war for agriculture; second, that they may not wish to provide themselves with broad acres, and thus acquiring power expel the weaker from their possessions; third, that they may not build for themselves with too great care against heat and cold; fourth, that the love of wealth may not arise, with its factions and dissensions; [4] finally, that contentment may hold the people, as it will where each one sees that his own is equalized with the wealth of the most powerful.

All this, however, especially the last reason, is consistent with the idea of shareholding in agriculture, according to later practice.[5] Shares themselves in the arable, like shares in a modern corporation, are equal in value; and the modest, common freeman, with his single share, or few shares, is "equalized" with the chieftain with his many. It would be strange indeed if whole communities, contrary to later, known practice, were required, or rather consented, to pull up every year and seek

[1] One can hardly call *cognationes* clans; the latter word suggests too strongly relations in the male line. Germanic society was more closely constructed than Gallic, Welsh, Irish, Scotch, etc. But tendencies even among the Germans were agnatic. See Vinogradoff, *Growth of Manor*, 13, 14, 135, 136.

[2] "Neque quisquam agri modum certum aut fines habet proprios; sed magistratus ac principes in annos singulos gentibus cognationibusque hominum, qui una coierunt, quantum et quo loco visum est agri attribuunt, atque anno post alio transire cogunt." *B. G.*, VI. 22.

[3] Quite apart of course from the general migrations, which were not annual or systematic.

[4] "Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

[5] Vinogradoff, *Growth of the Manor*, book 2, ch. 3.

other quarters. The Germans built houses for themselves, if not for beauty at any rate to stand for some time. The rough materials of which they built were durable; roofs of houses were thatched; [1] even the eye was regarded — they covered portions of the house with a pure, bright kind of stain of earthen wash, which gave the appearance of picture-painting.[2] Would they be apt to do this for others, for strangers? Nothing is said of barter; such a striking picture annually recurring, as that of an incoming community bargaining for the possessions of the outgoing, would not have escaped the eye and ear of such keen observers as Caesar and Tacitus.

The language of Tacitus is not decisive of the nature of these land changes; but it tends to support the view which I have suggested. The public lands (*agri*), he says, are taken up universally in proportion to the number of tillers of the soil; [3] they are now allotted having regard to rank, the extent of plain making the division an easy matter. The arable land is changed yearly; and there remains plenty of that belonging to the public (*superest ager*). There is no suggestion here of annual movements of communities; and on the whole it is perhaps fair to suppose that Caesar was speaking, without special discrimination, both of community action, which of course did take place in changes of territory, caused by straightened borders [4] or the push of others,[5] and of internal changes yearly made.

But whatever view be taken of the facts on this mooted question, the result is the same for the present purpose.[6] The

[1] Caesar, *B. G.*, v. 43.

[2] Tacitus, *Germania*, 16. It was probably more durable than whitewash.

[3] The MSS., it is said, here add *in vices*, which is without any clear meaning, and hence has been considered a corruption. *In vicos*, suggested, is not much better.

[4] Like the swarming of Hooker's men from Cambridge to the Great River.

[5] Enemies had something to do with the abandonment of settlements. That was often the case on a large scale, as when one nation drove out another, *e. g.*, in the wars by the Franks and the Saxons, and deportations and expulsions by Caesar and others. It was also true on a small scale, as where part of the Cattians, after one of the defeats by Germanicus, abandoned their districts and villages and dispersed into the forests. Tacitus, *Annals*, I. 56. Germanicus burnt Mattium, the capital of the nation, and ravaged the open country. *Ib.*

[6] No action relating to lands is given by the Lex Salica (early fifth century); a fact pointing to the same subject, the communal open field system with title in the community.

changes, whether of a whole community moving to new parts, or only of the members of it internally, exchanging their holdings between themselves, was a matter of disciplining the individual will, and bringing it into subordination to the needs of the community. And thus this economic or other factor helped on the formation of democratic sovereignty, with one of the conditions fulfilled; the individual and the local community are so far in harmonious adjustment with the collective will of the tribe. Public action in economic matters which in our time have been regarded as purely private, was of the essence of Old German political life. The effect of the communal system of agriculture, in the absence of trade, was that economic competition could not arise, to unsettle the equilibrium of government by majorities.

There were two other factors, closely related, which played their part in bringing about this social fusion; namely, a common religion and a common military life.

The religion of the Old Germans naturally attracted the attention of Roman writers of the time of the empire. Here was primitive Rome, or something very like it, restored before their eyes — the Aryan worship, free from the rationalizing philosophy of the Stoics. The gods were the gods of Homer; nay, they were as their own deified ancestors, easily identified with the gods of Rome.[1]

To men like Tacitus the contrast between the German religion and that of Rome in his day must have been striking enough. When a religion becomes a philosophy, it becomes an intellectual product, with corresponding loss of native moving power. Pure intellect may supply a mild motive to the few; movement, serious movement, comes only when the motive is suffused with feeling; without feeling sufficient to "solicit" the will, there can be no action. The religion of the Old Germans was feeling urging the will, moving to worship. The gods were their own first ancestors[2] — real beings, not symbols,[3] ideas

[1] See Kemble, *Anglo-Saxons*, I. 12.

[2] See the genealogies of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, not only of Hengist and Horsa (*Annals*, 449), but of later leaders, Offa. (*Annals*, 755), and Ethelwulf (*Annals*, 855).

[3] Tacitus says that the Germans did not have idols — "neque in ullam humani oris speciem assimulare"; but that was not true of the Franks. Gregory of Tours, II. 29 (temp. Clovis, A. D. 481–511), VIII, 15 (sixth century. Perhaps Gregory here

or ideals. They lived and loved, or frowned and fought, in life, and none the less in that they now dwelt apart from men, whether in the deep solitudes of grove and forest, or in the heavens beyond, whence messengers of light stole quietly or tore in flashes through the watches of the dryads to the worshippers below.

And this religion affected all men alike, from men of the highest rank down — from those who planned to those who followed; all felt the power of the gods. It did more than that; it did not stop with building a shrine in every house, around every hearth [1] — it founded a shrine for whole communities, to which the people, hushing tumult, turned and entered — but entered in fetters.[2] To stand as a freeman in presence of divinity were blasphemy.

Could individuals or communities, passionately holding to their own rights, absorb themselves more completely in the common life? In the associations of worship in the sacred grove the Old Germans found the inspiration and the bond of society. Here was equality; here was universal self-abnegation; here was the source of power. "Community of worship was indeed the one mode by which in early times men were brought together and were kept together." [3] Disciplined individual feeling and organized mass feeling — these, so far as they extended, were capable of lifting life to heights of popular sovereignty and achievement.[4]

The last of the factors in this matter of self-discipline was supplied by the Old German military system. This was a system of universal service, with the well-known *comitatus* at the centre,[5] in which the arms-bearing population was divided into halves. One half was put into the field for a year, while the other was put to the double duty of supporting the first half and those remaining at home; the divisions changing places at the expiration of the year. Sharing the common burden, all men thus

speaks of Gauls). Nor was it true in England. Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, I. 30, 32; II. 13; III. 8.

[1] See Hearne, *Aryan Household*, 43–45.

[2] Tacitus, *Germania*, 39.

[3] Hearne, *Aryan Household*, 26.

[4] On the religion of the Anglo-Saxons see Kemble, I. 12; see also chapters 1 and 2 of Hearne, *Aryan Household*.

[5] Tacitus, *Germania*, 13, 14.

shared the common life — individuals and localities alike, to which result the camp and the march were specially suited.

But the burden was light. A year's labor on the one hand, by half the adults, under a mode of cultivating the soil which called for but the smallest effort, sufficed for supporting the whole population, including the army.[1] Campaigning, on the other hand, simple as it must have been, could not have been hard or (except in actual war) dangerous. And alternation put the whole business upon a footing of perfect equality. Indeed, it is fair to believe that where duties and opportunities were few and slight, this alternation of home and camp life, bringing into familiar association, as it did, people otherwise isolated, in different places, was in the main enjoyable for body and mind. Its duration proves that. As for the non-combatant part of the community, the wives and children, these, so far as they could be spared from the household, chose and were permitted to follow the men in their campaigns, to attend to their wants and to encourage them in the fight. Altogether it was changeful and exciting enough; and the melting of the local into the common feeling went on easily and naturally.[2]

And so military life helped the process of welding Old German society and government as indeed it has in our time. Each fearless, willing freeman poured his life into the common channel. Individuality thrives alone by spring and fold and fen; it cannot, to the same end, live in the abounding life of camp and campaign. Chaotic in tendency if isolated, it becomes an unequalled support when all is gathered and converged by the multitude upon public service, as it was among the Old Germans. No government is safe without it. The Old German suffered no delusion about personal independence; he put the whole weight of his energy into the scale, and "played the man" in the most telling way, by fighting under communal power for

[1] Compare the loss and waste under the later individualistic State — the compulsory system of the English manor. Hard work most of the year was necessary even to eke out a poor existence; while under the Old German free communal system lands must have been empty most of the time. Probably a third of a year would have sufficed to support the whole population, including the army, with such effort as was required on the manor.

[2] I urge the significance of this for our day. "The simple life," says a military writer in *Collier's* (June 30, 1917), "is obligatory at the Officers' Training Camp at Fort Meyer; under it Yale, Harvard, or Princeton spirit melts into company spirit."

the common cause. He had a very disagreeable way of treating any who failed.[1] So much was added to other influences favoring the union of the individual in the collective will, and of local feeling into that of the whole body politic.

But there was another side to this military system of the Old Germans. The system, as practised in the *comitatus*, called for constant stimulus of the fighting spirit as such, lest the idea itself get dulled and die out. That is of the very substance of the *comitatus*, as understood by the contemporary historians; of which the Cheruscan State is given as a fitting example,[2] the people who under Arminius, at Teutoberg forest, destroyed the legions of Varus and gave the death blow to Roman hopes.

Private warfare, with its disintegrating tendency, to which I have already referred, was of course a different thing.

The contributions spoken of fairly complete the process of fusion; fusion which raised the social instinct almost to its highest possible attainment. Using the term "internal sovereignty" in the somewhat accommodated sense of popular, democratic government arising from custom, we know that this prevailed to the fullest extent among the Old Germans; and I think we know how this came to pass. We know the ingredients.

But germ and promise of a wholly different state of things are present in Old German government, whether of the single tribe or of the confederation. The social instinct does not quite reach its highest summit. The harmony of forces is marred on what has well been called the moral side; the problem is solved within and for the particular tribal State only. Beyond the confines of the tombs of his own ancestors, the Old German had neither interests nor scruples; except of course as different communities were drawn together for war. For the tribe, towards others without, individualism prevailed as fully as collectivism prevailed within. At home collectivist, abroad individual, with all that the two contradictory ideas import; collectivist, with unity and equality as objects of self-discipline; individual, as making power against the outsider the object of life. There is a pure, clear note in collectivism which in individualism would

[1] Tacitus, *Germania*, 12.

[2] *Ib.* 36. *Ib.* 14. "Si civitas . . . longa pace et otio torpeat, plerique nobilium adolescentium petunt ultro eas nationes quae tum bellum aliquod gerunt."

be tame and unmanly — the note must be Phrygian, wild, harsh and jarring.[1]

The point deserves emphasis — has it not its modern counterpart? Aside from confederations, members of a particular community looked upon those of other communities, though of the same race and speech, as strangers and aliens; and to suppose that there could be any consideration for them was foreign to all Teutonic ideas of life. Aggression against them, unprovoked, was as natural as defence under attack. The Old German religion was at once a strength and a weakness; it drew men together, and then encouraged them to plunder men of other gods.[2]

To this bar sinister I shall find it necessary to return a little later. Meantime of classes and government.

Of classes among the Old Germans much has been said, and some things surmised. Above the plain rank of common freemen, composing of course the bulk of the population, some of the tribes had what the Romans, with a touch, I suppose, of satire, called kings; all probably had chieftains (*principes*) and magistrates (*magistratus*). There were priests,[3] and there were, of course, men holding military, judicial and administrative office, with their aids. And then there were men spoken of as the nobility. All men of the classes named, except the nobility, from king or chieftain down, held their places at the pleasure of the people. The king himself — no Roman king — had little more power than other men,[4] and that little more he held in

[1] Plato's "Laches," 188 D (Tatham ed., p. 68).

[2] On the other hand, when their own gods failed them, these were reviled and set aside as worthless. See the instance of Coifi, pagan chief priest at a council of King Edwin of Northumbria. Telling the king that he (Coifi) had served his gods most faithfully, he said that he had not received the benefits he was entitled to, and he and his people now repudiated them, destroyed their idols and adopted Christianity. Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* II. 13 (A. D. 627). See also Gregory of Tours, II. 30, of King Clovis (*circa* 495).

I do not in this paper have to consider mere weaknesses affecting government, such as domestic slavery; the question is of energies which were individualistic in operation — energies tending to turn collectivism into privilege, creating a privileged class or a privileged monarch.

[3] Tacitus, *Germania*, 10, 11; *Annals*, I. 57.

[4] Speech of King Ambiorix, Caesar, *B. G.*, V. 27; Tacitus, *Germania*, 7. Even the generals prevailed more by example than by authority. *Ib.* The priests (*i. e.* the gods) alone commanded. *Ib.* But royalty was desirable and dangerous. Arminius was slain for aiming at it. Tacitus, *Annals*, II. 88.

trust; he held no lands of his own; he got the most of his goods as other men got theirs, though in virtue of his office much went to him by mulcts, by a larger share in plunder than others had, and by voluntary gift; and though, if a warrior, he was, like the chieftain, entitled to a personal following of comites, with what that implied.

What nobility among the Old Germans was has been a subject of discussion. It is clear that it was hereditary, and that it carried social and to a certain extent legal privilege, as for instance in the allotment of lands.[1] But it conferred no power of one man over another, In origin religious, it was not individualistic; it was regularly tribal, in the sense that at first, and always in theory, it was possible to all; for it was only a matter of genealogy, so far as membership was concerned. All members of a particular tribe, who were native to it, were considered to have sprung from the same male ancestor; but some could prove the case by direct evidence, in the male line, or could trace their lineage for the customary number of generations, in that way; while others could not. And although it is by no means clear that among the Germans relationship for tribal purposes was agnatic alone — probably it was not, though a preference for agnatic over cognatic relationship appears[2] — it is probable that nobility of blood was usually put upon agnatic footing.[3] One whose ancestry must be traced through cognatic lines, one whose male ancestor was not of the tribe into which he may have come, could not be held to belong to the nobility, unless the break in the line was far enough back.

But nobility was no anomaly in any respect among a people of the Aryan race, though it was to some extent a departure from what we should consider democracy; as has already been stated, it was an organic, religious side of tribal custom; it was harmless in nature and probably in fact, and it perished; genealogy finally broke down. Lineage alone did not suffice for anything beyond nobility itself. Arminius was the idol of his

[1] But the shares being equal, the common freeman considered that he stood upon a like footing with those who had more shares than he. See *supra*.

[2] See Vinogradoff, *Growth of the Manor*, 135, 136. That, however, is immaterial for this paper.

[3] Ancestry of Hengest and Horsa, *Ang. Sax. Chron.*, *an.* 449, and later kings, *supra*.

people, because to noble birth he added leadership. This latter factor, leadership, created indeed a sort of nobility of its own; but leadership in its earlier stage was a trust and temporary, and only in its ultimate tendency individualistic. It was the case of king, chieftain, magistrate,[1] or administrative officer.

Here, however, was the danger; leadership was the means by which, under tribal insularity and disregard of others, the downfall of the democratic era among our ancestors came to pass. For this insular idea went to the extreme of individualism; fusion of the individual into any collective whole, except for some temporary purpose of attack or resistance, which was no fusion at all — fusion, I say, was unthinkable except within the tribal State. Hence raids and plunder, defeat and conquest, privilege and slavery.

And this could not stop with the stranger beyond the bounds; it contained the promise of bondage at home; the stout, unbending freeman of Caesar and Tacitus was to become a victim of the very policy he had gloried in. It was not the old, indigenous nobility, but the new self-made affair that killed internal, popular sovereignty, or collectivism.

But I must not go on to that part of my subject until I have spoken of government. This, I venture to think, is one of the most significant of the facts of Old German life. One phase of it is deserving of particular attention in these days, the more so because it disappeared, to reappear only in modern times; smothered meantime under a heedless individualism, and still smothering there.

Roman critics designated the several political entities of the Germans as *vici*, *pagi*, and *civitates;* the last named being supplemented as more or less synonymous by *nationes* and in the widest sense *gentes*. In later nomenclature, the terms used for the three respectively were and still are town or township, hundred and shire or county. The first (*vicus*, wick, tun, ham, hamlet, thorp, vill), as the Old German tun indicates, originally meant the abode and inclosure of a single family; this becoming, as new generations followed, a cluster of families around the

[1] Magistrates and perhaps chieftains appear to be the ealdormen of Anglo-Saxon times. The old Saxons (of the continent) had no kings, but men called satrapi by Bede (*Eccl. Hist.* v. 10). These were probably the ealdormen of England.

original one, and so giving the modern idea of town as the English, or village, as the Normans called it. The cluster might of course go on increasing indefinitely; but (to follow a suggestion which seems reasonable and natural for a people opposed by ancient custom to large populations closely united), — but, I say, when the number of families reached a hundred, or thereabouts, a favorite number in all Old German and early English history, the new accessions would begin to swarm off, for economic or other reasons, into nearby yet distinct localities, there either to join other friendly settlers or to form the nuclei of entirely new settlements.

It would now, by a common metonomy, be natural to give to the whole group, old and new, called pagi by the Romans, the name hundred as a territorial designation. This would be like the case of the hundred youth in Tacitus, who surrounded the chieftains, for ornament in peace and support in war, the band taking the name hundred as a designation of honor, without so much regard to the number.[1] They were hundred men, not one hundred men. The same was perhaps true of the aids to the judge spoken of by Tacitus.[2] These aids or assessors were in Latin called *centeni;* not, I suppose, that a judge settling ordinary disputes between men needed one hundred helpers, but that men of the district or hundred, who sat with

[1] Tacitus, *Germania*, 6, "centeni ex singulis pagis . . . et quod primo numerus fuit, jam nomen et honor est."

[2] *Ib.* 12, "Centeni singulis ex plebe comites . . . adsunt," for advice and support. Later, in *Lex Salica*, we find specific names of officials in litigation — "Thungin" (*supra*), "graf" (comp. *reeve*), "sacebaron," "rackinburg." As to sacebarons see Sohm, *Process der Lex Salica*, 231. The first syllable is the familiar "sac" (English sake), of sac and soc. Note the "socmen" of Doomsday Book and other records.

The sacebarons were, it seems, officers of the king, appointed to look after his interests in causes in which he was entitled to a share in mulcts. The rachinburgs were judges chosen by the "plaintiff" either for assessing values in the *fidem facere* or for declaring the medial judgment.

It is worthy of notice that looking forward to the time of Clovis and the following Merovingians, the *Lex Salica*, in its procedure, marks the close of the Old German folklaw; while looking forward to England it goes on for many centuries, indeed until Henry Second (1154–1189) introduced the royal process of the French inquest, or jury. This was individualistic, while the ancient mode was communal. The change has generally been overlooked, though it forms a large part of the movement from collective to personal sovereignty, which is the subject of this paper. The old popular sovereignty held out in procedure with the greatest tenacity, portions of it surviving until well on in the nineteenth century.

the judge, were called hundred men whatever their number.[1] So too the *centenarius* of the Salic Law was a hundred man, a man of the hundred; he was associated with the "thungin," the speaker-judge;[2] in the capacity apparently of an executive or administrative officer, perhaps in time of need as a substitute for the thungin.[3] One must have been a hundred man to be a presiding judge, as will presently appear.

The original entity, the township, was not suited for judicial purposes, except so far as the housefather, under ancient Aryan custom, had jurisdiction; and that could not extend beyond the town. The housefather could have nothing to do with other people, though they might be his nearest kindred. For dealing with complaints by or against such, jurisdiction could be found only in a group of towns, with townsmen from all, with chieftain or other head,[4] and inter-communal judges, in other words, in the hundred; which accordingly supplied the court for the trial of disputes in a judicial way. As for his own townsmen, the housefather was priest rather than judge. This is perhaps the explanation of what has sometimes been thought strange, to wit, that the township had no true court of justice. The tunscipesmot, once or twice mentioned, like the manor barton, was only an administrative officer.[5] And so, it may be remarked, our courts appear to have been inter-communal in origin.

The several hundreds within a district constituted the tribal State; this higher body, made up of all arms-bearing persons or voters of the tribe, was the general constitutive agency of the people. Here were determined all matters of general policy or action, all measures affecting the people as a whole, such as

[1] Like the "older men" among the free suitors of later times, who in the manor courts gave judgments; process itself taken from the folkmoot of the hundred. See *Court Life under the Plantagenets*, Hall, 23; *Hist. of Procedure*, 142.

[2] The judge of modern times was only presiding officer of the court in early times — the *tongue* or spokesman of all the others. The modern judge is born of the writ process temp. Henry 2; when the judge was the king's judge, and the (highest) court the king's court, in a literal sense.

[3] In *Salic Law*, xlvi, 1, 2, each appears, in the alternative, as an administrative officer, though the "thungin" is judge at the end.

[4] Priest, reeve and four best men, of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman times.

[5] *History of Procedure*, 144. Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, 1. 399; Vinogradoff, *Growth of the Manor*, 194–196. Thus combination ousted the housefather. The manor court was superimposed upon the town.

questions of war and peace, embassies, alliances, removals to other regions, expeditions, raids and rewards, and perhaps special arrangements for alloting lands.

The feature of most importance in the regulation of these tribal affairs, which I alluded to a moment ago as significant, was the mode of determining the public will. This deserves particular attention. In minor matters, Tacitus tells us, the chieftains decided what should or should not be done; in important matters, such as those just mentioned, the people were to decide, with this limitation, that the chieftains — themselves amenable to the people [1] — were first to thresh out the questions thoroughly, and then put them to the assembled tribe. The chieftains, a tried and responsible body, holding office, as we have seen, in trust, had alone the power of initiating public measures, that is, of framing them and then putting them before the people, to accept or refuse. Everything of the kind was done by and through the chieftains; though once the question was put before the assembly, other men might debate it.[2] Chaotic or dispersive tendencies, inevitable to unrestrained democracies, were thus checked; checked too in accordance with that self-discipline in affairs of government, now extended through the tribal State, which has already been spoken of as characteristic. We are thinking of such things nowadays, as perhaps the only way out of an *impasse* into which democratic government is drifting. The Old Germans had solved the question in the unknown past, by submitting to a degree and kind of discipline which, begun as it must have been in very trying effort, was persisted in until, under laws of psychology, effort passed over into activity which was virtually automatic. Discipline has become spontaneous and, as discipline, unconscious.

I cannot but repeat, and emphasize iteration, that this may not unlikely be considered a lesson in human government. Here was directness of action; here was unity, consummate realization of popular government; here, as result, was little waste

[1] The story of Orgetorix, though of the Gallic Helvetians, may be mentioned. Caesar, *B. G.*, I. 2–4. There was probably little, if any, difference in this respect between the Gauls and the Germans. The clan system prevailed in full among the Gauls, and the chieftain had a firmer hold than the German chieftain. See also the case of Segestes, Tacitus, *Annals*, I. 59, *infra*.

[2] Tacitus, *Germania*, 11. Then king or chief or other person, according to age, birth, military fame or eloquence, might be heard.

of time upon sessions and assizes; here, as all students of early German institutions know, was efficiency according to the times. The conditions were met. I venture to affirm that a better mode of bringing the collective will of a people into operation has not been found, and, assuming a single-handed administrative capacity for carrying it out, could not be desired.[1] The Old German State was in effect the organized energy of the people. Modern English government, of which the Old German system has sometimes been supposed to be a prophecy, is no more than an approach to it.[2] No democratic government of modern times has had any such unity.

A practical difficulty or two may be suggested in regard to the Old German method. Policies and measures of a general nature were determined by the whole body of freemen assembled, after proposal and debate. But the population of many tribes was large, generally too large to be addressed as a whole; people must be near enough to hear. Great part of the throng must, if all were brought directly together, have been too far away to hear. How could they decide the questions submitted? The matter could not be left to the "front row"; writing was not in use — not half-a-dozen, if any, could read or write.

The answer perhaps is that, like later practice in the English manors, the questions were submitted to townships separately, by the hundred men; the people of a single town not being so numerous that they could not all see and hear at the Hill of Laws.[3] In his efforts to arouse the Cheruscans against his romanizing father-in-law, Arminius flew from place to place, addressing the people in that as the only effective way; not trying to speak where but a small part could hear.[4] Some

[1] See the Report of Mr. Brooks Adams (through Josiah Quincy, chairman) before the Constitutional Convention of Massachusetts, now in session.

[2] English tenure too (passing by legislative initiative) is not title directly and powerfully in the State, as it was in the Old German system. But forfeiture to the State is a step, it may be a long step, towards dealing with competition. Under zeal of ownership America has lost her power.

[3] "I give notice in the hearing of all men at the Hill of Laws." *History of Procedure*, 312. "Speak up, Mord, so that all may hear you well." Dasent, *Burnt Njal*, II. 235. See also the following in the same book. Introd. lxv, lxxxviii, cxxviii, cxxxvi, cxlv, cxlvi, clxi; II. 78, 152, 236–238, 262. The references are all to lawsuits in Iceland. The Hill of Laws is of course the mallum of the *Lex Salica*.

[4] Tacitus gives his speech, and the whole story. *Annals*, I. 59. Segestes had betrothed his daughter to another, but the daughter now took the law into her

tribes had indeed a capital — the Catti had, at Mattium — perhaps all had a common meeting place; but in that case, when the whole tribe assembled, it would be necessary to divide the multitude and address it in sections, to enable all to hear.

And then suppose a division of opinion upon questions; could the majority voting for a project, in tribe or town, bind the minority? I doubt — I suppose not. Caesar speaks of leaders proposing expeditions, and asking for followers; only those who promised to go were bound.[1] But that is not a matter of majorities at all. Suppose one town agreed to a measure, and another refused; it is likely that only the former was bound. This seems to follow from the spirit of freedom which everywhere prevailed. Still, whether the collective will in favor of a project carried into effect extended beyond those who consented, I can only guess, in the way already indicated. It may be that the Old Germans practically understood and accepted the modern ground of the right of majorities to bind minorities, namely obedience to common needs and aims of the State;[2] for this seems to be fundamental. In that case the question would be whether the particular project was in line with common needs and aims, or not being so, was, as we should say, *ultra vires*.

This is all I have to say of the Old Germans on the continent, where men of our race were free and equal — unbending sovereigns welded in unity, masters in their day of the art of government making. I must now ask you to follow these ancestors of ours over the sea, in the fateful migrations of the fifth and succeeding centuries. How much of the old mechanism was to stand the shock? What changes were to take place? How, more and most of all, for that is our real question — how was popular sovereignty to fare through the change of conditions?

In the great upheaval of the migrations, which left the abode

own hands, ran away with Arminius and was married to him. Segestes captured her — in a delicate condition — in some scrimmage, and Arminius now turned upon his father-in-law, who had gone over to the Romans, as an enemy, and spoke with sufficient invective.

[1] *B. G.*, VI. 23. Decisions were reached between "murmurs" of dissent and "clashing of arms" in approval. Tacitus, *Germania*, xi.

[2] Herbert Spencer has put this very well in his essay on The Great Superstition (unlimited power of Parliament). It is familiar enough to lawyers as applied to charters and to legislation under written constitutions, at least in America.

of the people who were to give their name to the new country, a desert — what survived in the conquered land, to remind the conquerors that they were still Germans? Of the four pillars of Old German solidarity not one was for long left standing intact. The mechanism of government was more stable. It is clear that the political divisions of the mainland were taken over. The township was transferred; the hundred must have gone with it, for the reason already suggested, not to call later history in aid — the need of a jurisdiction over disputes between men of different towns, for the housefather could not have been left behind without abandoning the old religion; and the *civitas* went along in what was then or later called the shire. The conversion to Christianity, a century and a half after heathen men of the White Horse [1] brothers leapt ashore upon Thanet sands, had no occasion to disturb, and did not disturb, these divisions; on the contrary, the Church made use of them. "The town becomes the sphere of duty of a single priest, and later is called his parish; the kingdom [shire] becomes the diocese of a bishop; the whole land the province of the metropolitan." [2]

Accordingly the town reeve; the hundred man; the ealdorman, as the old chieftain and magistrate was called probably before as well as after the migrations; the comrades or *comites* — these all survived, though ealdorman and comrades were already becoming something more than chieftain and comrades of the Old Germans. The war-ealdorman of the continental Saxons, chosen from his associate ealdormen, in time of war, for the period of that business only, with powers accordingly, and afterwards falling back to his old place,[3] has now, in the wars with the Britons and others, become a permanent holder of place and power. In fact he has become later a great earl, and not infrequently from the outset, or soon after, a king, and that, not the feeble semblance of the article, not an Old German Ambiorix, whose people had as much right (*jus*) over him as he had over them,[4] but the real article, a king after the Roman pat-

[1] Hengest and Horsa. *Ang. Sax. Chron.*, *an.* 449. (Equi) "candidi et nullo mortali opere contacti." Tacitus, *Germania*, 10. And the giant White Horse scraped on the hillside near Uffington, mentioned in records of the twelfth century. *Chronicle of Abingdon*, I. 477; II. 125. The same object of heathen worship appears in other places in England.

[2] Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 8.

[3] Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, V. 10.

[4] Caesar, *B. G.*, V. 27.

tern; and hardly less as an earl, especially in the time of Cnut. And so of course of the continental king in his new surroundings; he who before, if warrior, had fought only for glory,[1] now in his spurs secure of his seat, begins to babble of divine right,[2] quite willing at the same time that men of the court and their retainers and the curious crowd, should ratify a foregone conclusion.

The king holds the conquered territory in his own right, by his sword;[3] in his own right he rewards his comrades, the chieftains or comites, by gifts out of the conquered lands. Retaining the greater part to himself, he is indeed willing to concede that the State, now a much narrowed political entity, has rights in the unappropriated parts, rights which the "wise men" of his entourage, with himself, are competent to grant to others.

The greater men get their reward for support given, or because of their rank, in tracts of land large enough for themselves and their followers; the common soldier, settling down to a life of agriculture, so far as such life appealed and was permitted to him, would receive no doubt enough land to support him — a hide, if he was a married man, a smaller portion if he was not and not likely to be. But after the common soldier, what of the rest? for there must have been many who came over as followers — Angeln was deserted. Some took possession where they could get it; others were landless freemen or freemen having small extents; many, including men holding considerable tracts, were driven to ask for help and protection by king or magnate. What then? Such men were on the way to villeinage and bondage, and the way might be short enough. Sooner or later, taking a broad survey of the field, which is all that my thesis calls for — bretwaldas and heptarchies and earldoms small and great only add to the tale of the downfall of internal or democratic sovereignty — sooner or later the whole body of typical freemen, the ceorls of Anglo-Saxon dooms and records, perish. Little by little, often by wholesale, gifts of settlements, towns and manors, and under danegelds, they sink

[1] Tacitus, *Germania*, 14. "Principes pro victoria pugnant, comites pro principe."

[2] Ic, Ine, mid Godes gifu, West-Seaxena kynig. A. D. 688–689.

[3] As William de Warren replied to Edward I, under the *quo warranto*.

into villeinage beyond hope. Before the tenth century is gone the descent of the class is becoming complete. The common ceorl, with his old wergeld, or value as a man, of two hundred shillings — the twy hynd man — is fast giving place to the uncommon thegn as the bottom freeman, with his old wergeld of twelve hundred shillings — the twolfhynd man.[1] The ceorl might indeed "thrive" to a thegn; but though God loved him,[2] the ceorl perished. The typical freeman of earlier times is now a bondman; most of the Teutonic population, still indeed far above the station of the native, is unfree; though by manumission on an ever increasing scale, by pressure of economic influences, and by surviving wreckage, there follows as time passes a growing number of freedmen and of freemen — small men, socmen, cottars, bordars, *liberi homines*, *coliberti*, of Doomsday Book. The freedmen however go to increase the rank of villeins, helping to the curious paradox, that while the number of bondmen increases, the number of freemen also increases, after, if not before, the Norman Conquest. But at best it is a sodden story; manhood, the sturdy trait of the Old German, has disappeared from the common people, giving way to the cringing, the obsequiousness in the freeman of the favored few which to this day may be seen among their well-to-do descendants.[3]

I have no occasion to go into the controversy, which became acute with Seebohm's book on the English Village Community, over the question whether society after the migrations was built upon a free foundation, with slavery limited mainly to the conquered population, or whether it was built upon domestic slavery as a foundation; though I think that Vinogradoff has made out his case in favor of free beginnings, against Seebohm, who has made all that is possible out of any facts which taken alone might support his view. I have no doubt that the Old English village community was in its domestic population at

[1] In land values if a ceorl, having nominally a hide, thrived to five hides, he became a thegn. Either way of putting it will indicate the relatively small number of freemen on the later basis.

[2] "God must have loved the common people," etc. Lincoln. The 200 sh. would be perhaps $5000 by to-day — statutory verdict allowed in some States for killing a man.

[3] "The poor greengrocer bowed very humbly while these little [disparaging] epithets were bestowed upon him . . .; and when everybody had said something to show his superiority," etc. "Pickwick Papers."

first, like its original, a free community; but however that may be, it is agreed that that was not the case in the time of clear records. When the Saxon Conquest finally was over, if not before, the old common freeman was sinking into what later came to be called villeinage.

What is the explanation of this eclipse of the old freeman? The question brings me to the vital subject of patronage. Of this there were two forms, the one where movement was upward, from inferior to superior, the other where it was downward, from superior to inferior. Let us consider the subject in that order.

First then of patronage in which the lower freeman puts himself or his property, or both, under the protection of the higher one.

Up and down the pages of Doomsday Book (A. D. 1086), especially of the Eastern countries, a single word veils the pitiful story — half reveals, half conceals it; some Latin form of the verb "commend" or of the noun "commendation." What does the word mean on its face? what does it import behind its face? It speaks of the weaker man, the landless freeman, the freeman of the virgate, the half virgate, the quarter virgate, the freeman too of more considerable estate; such people "commend," entrust, their persons, or only their lands, or their persons in part, or part of their lands, or both or all, to some patron able or supposed to be able to give them protection from danegelds and the danger of plunder by others, or to do well by them; sometimes commending part to one patron, part to another, and part it may be to still another, with jurisdiction in a fourth. There are numberless cases.

It seems to result, and the truth was, that these arrangements were in intent mere personal undertakings or pacts — "tali pacto emebat Gudmundus" [1] — not necessarily cases of feudal tenure, in which the tenant paid fealty or homage or both. The original act could not be, for the gift was by inferior to superior; and that was all in ordinary cases, in the cases of Doomsday. The donee was to hold according to the pact.

[1] *Inquisitio Eliensis*, 144, Hamilton ("tenuit" erased in one MS.). Here, amongst lands of Ely alone, cases of commendation occur by the score, every page almost having them.

Commendation of lands was in fact, as the word declares, a gift "ad opus," the trust of later times; A, for example, commending and delivering his land to his son, or to B, to the use of himself, A, for a term, then to another,[1] perhaps — a perfectly valid transaction until the middle of the reign of Henry the Third, in the thirteenth century. There was no distinction between law and equity until the establishment of the writ process, in the time of Henry the Second (A. D. 1154–1189). This is an answer to the question what commendation imports or conceals. The practice disappears probably in the thirteenth century, as a legal form of gift, either because of some lost ordinance of the magnates in council, or because of pressure of the landlords upon the courts; for feudalism could not stand if lands could be held by A to the use of B, and commendation only just fell short of that, in the want of fealty and homage.

The pact is indeed lawful; but so was the pact between Roman patron and client, or between the obaerati and Orgetorix. The strong man had every advantage; if the poor man sued, the poor man lost the protection and help which he had sought. The dependent is a losing man; he must rely upon the honor of his patron; one day he slips down from villager to villein. That appears to be the history of that large number who found it necessary or desirable to resort to commendation. Judging from Doomsday,[2] and from the natural course of things in a time of general disturbance, commendation must have carried down a large part of the population; landless men alone must have been numerous. Some of these indeed held out as common laborers working for hire, but even that was dangerous. A bit of land would be a temptation not easy to resist, and a name could be added to the roll of customary tenants.

That brings me to the second form of patronage, where the movement is the other way, from the superior to the inferior. By this I do not refer to the ordinary case of gifts of land to the one who is to become the tenant; that involves no degradation or promise of degradation; it is feoffment, gift to a freeman in

[1] *Placita Ang. Norm.*, 39.

[2] Note that the record of landholding in Doomsday, in these cases of commendation, is usually of the past. A *held tempore regis Edwardi;* he no longer *holds* as a freeman.

the best sense of the prevailing system.[1] What I refer to now is the gift of whole village communities and manors — manors in the making and manors made — one or many, by the king, in which way village communities before more or less free are turned into manors, under the donee as lord of the lands and of the men living upon them.[2] These gifts were sometimes mere rewards, sometimes for the purpose of effective taxation.[3] This tells the tale. The men were indeed tenants of the king before, if they were anyone's tenants; but the king was the State, and the revenues mainly went to support the State, at least in theory. Now the revenues are largely to go to a private individual, for his gain, without consent of those concerned; and men, unable to meet the strain, fell under the burden.

There will of course be free tenants, the men to whom lands have been enfeoffed; but there will be many more who have not been thus favored, and many feoffees will fail, for one reason or another. These are the unfree descendants of freemen, now tenants in villeinage; using the term as I have done heretofore as the generalizing one, by which the Norman conquerors lumped together half-a-dozen classes of small men of Doomsday and before.[4]

My thesis does not carry me into any discussion of the origin,[5] or of the development and systematic adoption at last, of the manor. Enough that the manor idea was individualistic, that the manor was for private emolument, and that so far as it was quite unlike the old village community which it in part superseded, in part supplemented and in part followed. With certain internal, democratic machinery and operation, it was still a part, a very large part, of the process by which internal sovereignty was put aside. It was in the manor, far more than in the

[1] The freeman has of course to do service in favor of the lord of the manor; but his services, besides being certain and often commuted into money payments, are not base or menial, as those of the customary tenants are.

[2] The benefice, beyond the channel.

[3] The lords being held responsible for the lump sum due, and then working out the problem themselves, subject to some limit of custom or danger of overdoing it.

[4] See "Rectitudines Singularum Personarum," Schmid's *Gesetze*, 370, where they are severally described.

[5] I think it clear that it was not Roman. Vinogradoff has proved the point against Seebohm. *Growth of the Manor*, 49, 50, and the whole of chap. 2 of book 1, an admirable summary of Roman influence. The manor was the fruit of English militarism.

township, under danegelds and dangers, that the declension of the common freeman took place.

Aggressive militarism and the manor however were not the only factors undermining popular sovereignty, though they were the originals. Competition, whether the soul of these factors or independent of them, powerfully, fully reinforced them, and for the ages. The coming of the Jew with his starrs, the Asiatic with his silks, the Flemish weaver, the Lombard merchant, the merchantmen of Genoa and Venice, the galleons of Spain — these built London and the boroughs,[1] extended private ownership of land and competition, and made the guilds, to complete the overthrow of the old shareholding estate. That trade competition has always resulted in putting power and, directly or indirectly, the reins of government into the hands of the few requires no labored proof; it is writ large upon the pages of history. Doubt arises only when attempt is made to deal with competition in its relation to the State; upon that subject history has yet to be made, and we therefore have nothing to do with it here. But it should be noticed that from the fifth century, if not before, militarism, from being pure adventure, becomes individualistic in the governmental sense, and thus is converted into a form of competition. From that time accordingly the question is of the form and nature of competition and of the rights of private ownership of land, so far as these subjects are concerned; that question lies outside of the present inquiry — enough that competition was then, as it has ever since been, self-centred and grasping.

My thesis may now hasten on. I pass by the Danish Conquest, I pass by half Norman and Normanizing Edward Confessor, and come to the greatest of the conquests. Even here there need be no long delay. Every one knows how William the Conqueror sealed the process of putting power into the individual hands of the king and his instruments, and how far the people sank. Any survival one may look for of popular sovereignty shrinks away into its ancestral refuge, content with its small, circular movements in town, manor and hundred, where it could not affect the enthronement of privilege. I pass by

[1] "Leicester, and Lincoln, and Nottingham, so Stamford eke, and Derby." *Ang. Saxon Chron., an.* 941. And so Norwich, and York, and other towns (besides the five subjected to the Danes), with their guilds.

the gross tyranny of Rufus, the English reaction under his brother the Lion of Justice,[1] the miseries of Stephen, and come to Henry Plantagenet, the one great man between William the Conqueror and Edward the First: one of that trio whose candle was not quenched in the least by standing between the strong lights of the other two. And with the events of Henry the Second which fall in my way my paper will come to an end.

Henry had the supreme gift of administration. It was plain to him that to save and strengthen the State — the king as the State — power must be centred in a single, well protected hand; all public officers, military, executive and judicial, should be appointed by and held responsible to the king, as his personal delegates. Upon that idea he acted relentlessly against baronage and church alike. His intent was imperial — nothing should stand in the way; there must be no equipoise in government, where doubt and "equivocation lied like truth"; much less must there be manifest superiority to the king.

The king strengthened himself in various ways, one of which has escaped the attention of historians which it deserves. As William the Conqueror had introduced the Frankish inquest or jury to strengthen his arm in fiscal affairs, so now Henry made use of the same agency in affairs of the law to strengthen his arm[2] against his jealous foes, the disaffected barons. Feudalism was a menace, and the king struck it and its adulterine castles — for himself, I say, not with any notion of favoring popular sovereignty. Disorder, disseisins in particular, these were the hope of the barons; hence the petty assises, as the ordinances for trying possession of land were called. Trial by battle favored the barons, skilled as they were in that sort of thing; hence what was called the Grand Assise, for trying the right of property in land.[3] And so with other reforms of this busy king; real reforms too they were, having regard to the condition of the land, whatever the king's purpose.

[1] "Good man he was, and mickle awe there was of him; no man durst ill-treat another in his time." *Ang. Sax. Chron., an.* 1135.

[2] "The common law courts . . . to *strengthen* and *lengthen* their arm." Bacon, V. C., in Keate *v.* Phillips, 18 Ch. D. 560, 577.

[3] In *Memorials of Ripon*, Surtees Soc., I. 96, there is a record of the year 5 Stephen (1140), of a concord in the king's court before various judges named, in regard to lands at Asmonderby, "unde magna assisa somonita fuit." Is this a forgery?

The chief agency in this business of the king, the one which speaks in plainest terms, was the general adoption of what had before been more or less special and sporadic, the writ process.[1] Henry treated this as his individual property; [2] was not the seal his own seal? And who dared to use that or any other seal for his purposes, without his authority? For a century this royal weapon made mischief with the barons; until, in the troubles of the next Henry, the gentry became powerful enough to put an end to it as a mere perquisite of the king and a danger to themselves.[3] By the writ process the king completed his power, drawing into his own hands in that way all that remained for royalty to become possessed of. Henry Second never professed to have the right to make laws without the consent of the magnates; but the king's courts were his courts, his own courts, and with the writ process to himself he could frame forms of action, and constantly did so. That is to say, he could of himself settle once for all the rights to litigate complaints — none could be framed except by his own writ and seal; which finally got abroad in its true light as an indirect but effectual way of making law — to be stopped in the reign of his grandson. The turning point at last in the change from popular to royal, personal sovereignty was legal procedure.[4]

There remains to be considered the relation of the Church to the subject I am dealing with. Many years ago I had occasion to consider at some length the matter of jurisdiction between the spiritual and the temporal courts, and must refer to what was then said touching that subject, especially in relation to the constitution and membership of the church and the lay courts, and for details generally. But jurisdiction, the subject then chiefly under consideration, is not sovereignty; courts have their separate and it may be mixed and uncertain jurisdictions, but courts are no more than instruments of sovereignty. What this paper is concerned with is sovereignty; and the

[1] *Hist. of Procedure*, 75 *et seq.* and chap. iv.

[2] Even the statute upon which his writs were founded he called his own; a certain writ (before Henry became king) reciting that it was "secundum meum assisam." *Liber Niger Baiocensis*, quoted by Brunner, *Schwurgerichte*, 80. So later Glanville calls the magna assisa a *royal* blessing. Lib. 2, c. 6, § 1. See also *ib.* c. 2, § 2: "magnam assisam domini regis." Nothing could be more significant.

[3] *Provisions of Oxford*, A. D. 1258. See *Hist. of Procedure*, 198.

[4] See note, p. 135.

question now reached is, did sovereignty follow separate jurisdictions — was there a division not merely of jurisdiction but of sovereignty in medieval England? [1] Did the spiritual courts exercise final power over, not spiritual matters properly, but civil and criminal causes? Touching offences of the clergy, and touching offences of laymen against the clergy, yes. Touching the temporalities of the church, yes, in the reign of Stephen and whenever temporal power was prostrate or feeble. And so especially, but not merely, in time of trouble there was a double sovereignty. This was indeed true throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, but with more or less uncertainty. The church always insisted upon being "free," [2] and that meant that it professed to have sovereign powers; but it was always a question how far such powers extended. The Norman Conquest now added alarm to doubt — did the church now have any sovereign power at all, beyond matters purely spiritual?

To allay this fear the Conqueror's famous charter was issued; though the attempt failed, as the trouble about investitures shows. The charter declared that, by advice of the magnates, clerical and lay, assembled in council, the *king* had decided that the episcopal laws which theretofore had not been observed according to the canons of the church should be corrected. "By royal authority" it was therefore decreed that no bishop or archdeacon should thereafter hold pleas in the hundred court pertaining to episcopal laws, or bring before the judgment of laymen any cause pertaining to the cure of souls; and persons summoned according to episcopal laws should go to the place named by the bishop and there answer complaints, not according to the hundred court but according to the canons and episcopal laws. No sheriff or other officer of the king, or any layman, should concern himself with matters pertaining to the bishop, or draw away men from the bishop's jurisdiction.[3]

[1] The historians are chiefly concerned with jurisdiction. They have indeed something to say about appeals to the pope, which of course affect sovereignty closely; but they do not always dwell sufficiently upon the important distinction between jurisdiction and sovereignty. Indeed Becket himself speaks of the subject, in its earlier stage, as "special privilege entirely exempt from lay jurisdiction." Hutton, *St. Thomas*, 40 (A. D. 1163). See *infra*, as to immunities, and again Hutton, 68.

[2] "Quod Anglicana Ecclesia libera sit." *Magna Carta*, i.

[3] Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 137; *History of Procedure*, 30, 31; Henderson, *Historical Documents*, 9.

This plainly was intended to prevent the lay courts from exercising jurisdiction over spiritual causes, not to prevent the spiritual courts from exercising jurisdiction over temporal causes; there was no danger at that time of the latter. The danger and the usurpation were to come in the civil wars and anarchy of Stephen. But the charter was more than an adjustment of the sphere of courts — much more; sovereignty with a double head was at once the result. Then came Henry Plantagenet, and in the year 1164 the Constitutions of Clarendon — "jammed through," as men of our time might say, by a king impatient of priests and prayers,[1] against the opposition, so far as opposition dared hold up its head, of the church.

The object of this ordinance — passed in the name of Ancient Custom but called Royal Customs — was to unify sovereignty in the king, by putting an end to every claim the church might have to civil or temporal sovereignty. And so it did, after the tension subsided, and the question of supremacy, so far as the king deemed supremacy important or practicable.

There was now for the first time since the advent of the English Church a singly-administered sovereignty. But what collective will was in it and back of it? Not the spontaneous outflowing of self-disciplined men such as had been the case in a more primitive and natural state of things. The collective will in question was the will of the king plus that of his court and retainers, the magnates, church and lay, so far as magnates ready for rebellion upon the smallest prospect of success stood by him. It was a precarious will at best. The centralization which Henry the Second brought to pass, centralization for which he is so much praised by modern historians, lacked support, and in reality was effected not by free collective but by individual power. But the divine right of kings was gospel in the middle ages, and popular support, or want of it, had no bearing upon that right. The will of God was not to be determined by men.

If then the king was to be supreme, the church, in secular affairs, must be subject; that is to say, the Constitutions of Clarendon must be made to work. How was that to be accom-

[1] "A king who whispered and scribbled and looked at picture-books during mass." Green.

plished? A contest loomed between crown and crosier, not over jurisdiction, but over the mighty question of sovereignty.

Early in the reign the now aged Archbishop of Canterbury, Theobald, retired from active service and obtained for Thomas à Becket (b. 1118, d. Dec. 29, 1170), who had been in the archbishop's confidence, the great post of chancellor, or head of the office concerned *inter alia* with framing, sealing and issuing the king's writs.[1] Becket was a Londoner born, son, it should be noticed, of a Norman merchant, Gilbert Becket, who had held the important office of portreeve of the capital city. With native gifts of a very high order, and energy to drive them to the full, Thomas possessed the special gift, enhanced by much experience of administration, precisely the thing to be helpful in working out Henry's scheme. He had become a great favorite with the king — boon companion indeed in an affection which Thomas greatly valued and fully returned.. Besides, handsome, full of gayety, of a ready wit, Becket was everywhere popular; the people were attached to him, becoming more and more so the more they saw of him, for he was democratic in his ways, notwithstanding his social rank and education.[2] He permitted people of the common walks to address him familiarly, as he addressed them; he was the man for the king, in the new business with the church.[3] Theobald dead, Becket must be Archbishop of Canterbury, where his energy, ability and popularity would enable the king to effect his purpose.

So Henry. But Thomas was otherminded; he shrank and objected; he feared for the friendship he enjoyed; he warned his royal patron that as Archbishop of Canterbury he could not, like a chancellor, be a client of the king. But Henry persisted, and Becket was chosen (A. D. 1162), the first man of English birth to reach the great See, since Stigand, last of the Anglo-Saxon line.

There is no occasion here to tell the painful story that followed

[1] This post made him also a member of the King's Council and the Exchequer, sent him judicial business, and put him next in rank to the Chief Justiciar, and first in favor.

[2] At Merton and Paris, and in the laws at Bologna and Auxerre. Hutton, *St. Thomas*, 7, 10, 12.

[3] A most convenient abridged collection (trans. from orig. "Materials") of contemporary estimates and accounts of Becket may be found in Hutton's *St. Thomas of Canterbury* (Eng. History, by Contemporary Writers). See *e. g.* pp. 30, 32, and from p. 1 on, generally.

— the breach between the king and Thomas, the long and bitter strife, the appeals, the flight, the return, the murderous plot, the end of it all. Enshrined in the Canterbury Tales, the story, which itself fills volumes,[1] has been told a hundred times; it has been dramatized with color in our own day.[2] But it would have no particular bearing upon my subject, further than to reveal in clear light the strong personality, mental vigor and power of Becket, and thus to emphasize the ground of Henry's disappointment. The king had adventured upon the support, in the See of Canterbury, of one in whom knowledge of the world was fed by intense feeling and sustained by lofty courage and indomitable will;[3] and he had lost; the captain reckoned upon by Henry to lead in the great contest of sovereignty was to turn against him.

At once in office as archbishop, Becket without conferring with the king resigned, to the king's intense displeasure, the post of chancellor (A. D. 1162).[4] This act has been variously interpreted. Slighted by some as an unimportant incident, it has usually been looked upon in the light of the great position of Archbishop of Canterbury; a bishop might be the king's servant, as a bishop had been and was to be, an Archbishop of Canterbury could not. Freeman takes this latter view. "Promotion," he says, "to an ordinary bishopric might not have greatly changed him [Becket]. But the Pope of the other world . . . stood on a loftier pinnacle. The Primate of Canterbury was the subject of the English king, but could hardly be called his servant. First among the Witan of the land, the yoke-fellow of his sovereign rather than his minister, he could not stoop to duties which one of his suffragans might have discharged without scandal." [5]

[1] *Materials of the History of Thomas Becket*, 7 vols. Master of the Rolls.

[2] *St. Thomas of Canterbury*, by Aubrey de Vere, a truthful and vivid portrayal of the subject and the times.

[3] Traits of character not as yet weighed, if ever to be weighed, with mere displays of temper due much to the nature of the strife between the king and Becket. Thomas is said to have been the first individual to resist a king's will as to taxation. Hutton's *St. Thomas*, 38; *Woodstock*, 1163. The tax in question probably looked to *personal* revenue. Hutton, 37, 38. Hence Becket's opposition, which was successful.

[4] No successor appears to have been appointed for eleven years. Probably the office was carried on (then as now) by subordinates and temporary deputies. See Foss, *Judges of England*. Would any bishop venture to take the post while Becket was near? [5] *History of the Norman Conquest*, rev. Am. ed., v. 442.

There may be something in this — probably there is; but there is a more telling explanation, one which makes the act a most serious thing — a practical explanation which alone would be decisive, especially with a man like Becket. The chancery was the factory of writs, mandatory instruments of the king. These had been used under Becket, probably had been framed by him as chancellor, against claims of the church; now they were to be used under him, if he remained in office, against the church he was elected and sworn to protect and advance as its primate; now, under the contemplated ordinance of the Royal Customs, writs were to be so used in a much more vigorous, wholesale way, perhaps even on the criminal side. Plainly Becket as Archbishop of Canterbury, with his views of the church, could not lend a hand to that business — he must at once return the king's seal, and so make plain a doctrine of church sovereignty which, under him, was not to be mere doctrine, to be thwarted or contradicted by the duties of a post foreign to that which he had just accepted.

Becket's hands must be free for the great part he would play in the scheme of church and state; that is the meaning of his act in resigning the chancellorship, hasty and untactful as it probably was.

Education and training, especially in the office of chancellor, had fitted Becket for his great plan, a plan he believed, and with the king's support added to his own influence he had reason to believe, could be carried out; and carried out, it must have made the history of England, and the England beyond the four seas, different from what it has been. The new primate had behind him as no other ever had the body of the people; now, not to be exploited as they had been, and as the king was willing to have them still, but to be forwarded in a way, as Becket clearly saw it, to give the needful help, the popular help, for the monarchy; in a word, to relieve the lower classes, so sore depressed, ultimately of disabilities, in accordance with the teaching of Christianity — to "find the serf and leave him man."[1]

[1] Hewlett, *The Song of the Plow*, a modern Piers Ploughman.

In a vision of the serf the old Piers sees a coming general good, some golden rule, some collective State, putting away greed of power:

> Ac kynde love shal come yit,
> And conscience togideres,
> And make of lawe a laborer.
> . . . . .

The villein must not be refused ordination;[1] which meant the elevation in idea and, gradually, in fact of the whole class; and if the villein, then the common people generally must rise in value to the State, in the eyes of men.

Such appears to be the meaning, drawn from one fair line of evidence — Becket's estimate of manhood — of Becket's action; and the greatness and possibility of it are enough to explain in the case of a man of Becket's temperament, the passion and heat he often displayed in the contest. It was too awful for Becket to believe, and he would not allow himself to believe, that a possibility, nay, with the king's help, a moral certainty, pregnant with results such as Becket foresaw, should be opposed and frustrated by Henry. Hope must never be given up that the course of the king might be turned, if not willingly, then by all the power in the hands of a determined archbishop of Canterbury.[2] There must be no letting up. What depended upon firmness was too great for faltering; and faltering there was none — after Becket's repentance of his first mistake. The subject, half opened by Henry First and Anselm, was now ripe for final decision, with men like Becket for church, and the first Plantagenet for empire.

The upshot of it all is, that Becket offered, and apparently

> Shal neither kyng ne knygt,
> Constable ne meire,
> Overlede the commune.
>
> *Vision*, 1965–67, 1999–01.

From the picture of "Mede the Mayde," as symbol of greed. Passus, II., III., IV.

[1] See the protest of the contemporary poet — biographer of Becket, the monk Garnier (Hutton, *St. Thomas*, 272). "Filii rusticorum non debent ordinari absque assensu domini de cujus terra nati dignoscuntur." *Const. Clar.*, c. 16. See also *Assisa Clar.*, c. 20. The hesitating pope did not oppose this article; but that Becket did is fair inference from several facts taken together; (1) his constant regard for the poor, (2) his opposition to such of the articles as were "to the dishonor of the clergy," (3) the position of his follower Garnier, who "wrote as the poet of the poor" the biography "which has the best claim to be written for the people," and finally (4) the king's calling Archbishop Becket himself, to his face, a son of one of the king's villeins, without a denial. Hutton, 49. See further, Hutton, 42, 100, 271, 272. John of Saulsbury, greatest perhaps of Becket's friends, names half-a-dozen of the articles of the Constitutions which Becket condemned, not mentioning the one in question; but he adds that other articles fell under his condemnation, which were found to be opposed to the divine laws and customs of the church. *Materials*, v. 384. See also *ib.* 388, in Becket's report of the excommunications.

[2] See his letter to the bishops, Hutton, 136 (A. D. 1166), in reply to their letter to him, Hutton, 129, which also see, and p. 237, foot.

was able to offer, to put the people behind the king,[1] if the king would put aside his Royal Customs; but the king would not. He had never shown any special regard for the people as people; why now should he give up his cherished project of dominion over the church for their support? He had at any rate more important things to think of — he must be a real king. He must be sovereign over the whole kingdom, so far as all temporalities were concerned. And if in the course of discussion, whenever passion subsided far enough to permit discussion, it was suggested that the attitude of the church was not peculiar in standing out for immunities, that immunities were known to every city and guild in the land, he had answer indeed true and plain; the immunities of London and her Guildhall, copied many times as they had been, were not sovereignty and made no pretence of it, while what the archbishop wished the church to have was actual sovereignty within the land, sovereignty over her temporal affairs, civil and criminal. Double sovereignty was not to be permitted. Henry saw this more plainly than the Conqueror had seen it; he could go on with single sovereignty and limited support, or he could have full support with divided sovereignty. Henry preferred, if it must come to that, the first of the alternatives. And as for Becket's idea, though it was much to put the people in line, could that have sufficed to prevent competition from having its effect? Was Becket — son of a merchant and familiar with competition — dreaming of collectivism, political and religious? [2]

[1] As Venizelos is now (July, 1917) trying to do for the new king of Greece.

[2] See Hutton's *St. Thomas*, 32: "In a few words it may also be said that all the gifts of God over which he [Becket] hath power are the very own of all folk." From *Thomas Saga*, Rolls Series (tr. Magnusson), 1, p. 106. See also Hutton, 18–24, from Saga, 1, 50, as to Becket's manner of life. Of this contemporary Thomas Saga, see Hutton, 278.

That Becket did have the golden rule in mind is the interpretation also of De Vere:

> ". . . God's house, God's kingdom
> I see so bright that every English home,
> Sharing that glory, glitters in its peace.
> I see the clear flame on the poor man's hearth
> From God's own altar lit; . . .
> 'T is this Religion means."
>
> *St. Thomas of Canterbury*, 11, 12.

It will be seen that I do not accept the common view that the question between Henry and Becket was one of church reform — that both, each in his own

The contest over the Constitution of Clarendons closed, single sovereignty, in theory at least, was established, a sovereignty that held church and people as in pawn, a sovereignty supported in fact, as far as actual support was given, by the power of the king, of a major part of the magnates, a small part of the church, and a very small part of the people. Government by princes has now through princes lost its ancient centre of gravity; surging outward farther and farther from the body and activity of the whole domain. The crest of the movement towards absolutism or autocracy is reached in the reign of Henry the Second, to be followed by breaking of the wave. There I stop; it is for others to follow the troubled, receding tide.[1]

But in a concluding word I may be permitted to say, that I cannot believe that government not supported by the spontaneous feeling and will of the people has the stability of government with such support, in the sense in which I have tried to explain Old German government — single government by self-disciplined men, as distinguished from government by any discipline issuing from councils of High Olympus.[2] In a word, the most stable and efficient government is found where the individual is blended into a common or collective consciousness and will, in the hands of an executive fully backed by and responsible to the people. The governed must govern; the State is the very people organized as a political energy. And this drives one inevitably to the question, which I am not the first one to raise, whether American democracy, whether democracy in Massachusetts, can turn the centrifugal forces of our time back into lines which, starting from the centre, press on together to

way, were church reformers. Becket, who was saintly, was for reforming church life; but Henry was no saint, and there is nothing to show that he sought to better the church. He was a monarchist; his reforms were all on lines of sovereignty. Becket would support him, but as a sincere churchman; with the church as partner in the purpose, not as subject, lest the church should find itself handicapped in its own spiritual work.

The king did indeed wish to put an end to certain evils within the church; the letter of Nicolas, Master of the Hospital of Mt. St. Jacques (Hutton, 103, 105, Christmas, 1164), makes that clear enough; but the evils in question were hindrances to temporal government — to monarchy as then understood. Hence he would put them down.

[1] The tide never recedes, but rises, in regard to competition; it recedes only as to personal sovereignty.

[2] "Michaelis has been imposed upon the people from High Olympus." *Berliner Tageblatt*, July 16, 1917. The Old German had an Olympus of another kind.

the destruction of all dispersive tendencies within. Aggressive tendencies leading without, as they led our remote ancestors, we have not greatly to strive against.[1] Modern democracy everywhere has rid herself of this remnant of old confusion; but what of the threatening portents of undisciplined individualism within? [2]

Questions such as these must not now be pressed; they would lead one far afield into discussion of competition and into speculation over super-States, so-called, and world power. Such questions lie at the breaking point of civilization, where they must await the event of war and the transition and doubtful reconstruction to follow. When that time comes, history will once more open her chastening page; pointing to ages of strife, in which undisciplined individualism, not without confidence in the law, has never hesitated to aggrandize itself at whatever cost to the many.

[1] The comitatus of Tacitus was not individualistic, in the social sense of self-seeking; it was but the focussed mode of expressing the Old German religion of aggression and adventure. This finally passed over in Anglo-Saxon history into self-seeking individualism, purely material. But until at least Mid-Saxon times the comitatus of Tacitus — the following of king or chieftain for "glory" only — existed in England, in the gesith or thegn. Evidence is found in such a case as that of the followers of King Cynewulf. The king had been slain, while his followers were absent, in a war against the etheling Cyneard. The king's thegns, hearing of the fact, ran to the spot, and though the etheling now offered money and life to each, "not one of them would accept it; but they continued fighting till they all fell except one, a British hostage, and he was sorely wounded." *Anglo-Sax. Chron., an.* 755. This plainly is the comitatus of Tacitus. For an intermediate case see the graphic account of a battle, A. D. 357, between the Allemanni, under King Chnodomarius, and the Romans under Julian, near Strasburg. The king's "companions, two hundred in number . . . thinking it would be a crime in them to survive their king, or not to die for him if occasion required, gave themselves up as prisoners." Ammianus Marcellinus, XVI. 60. (Note "the hundreds.")

The *comes* of the Anglo-Saxon charters is not the comes of Tacitus, but the chieftain below the king or other superior; he is usually a subregulus, ealdorman, etheling or other leader, having, like the king, his own body of adventurers. The members of this body are the comitatus of Tacitus. But a great change generally took place in the latter part of the Anglo-Saxon period; individualism as sordid self-seeking supplanted the old spirit of adventure. This change goes hand in hand with the growth of the manor, inevitable effect of militarism.

[2] "We are trying to fight a great war and at the same time to preserve our individual liberties," said recently, according to the Manchester *Guardian*, an English Trade Union official considered competent to pass upon the troubles of democracy. But why limit the notion of trying to keep individualism to time of war; must we not yield as well in time of peace? It may be worth while to review the shareholding of ancient times.

One great part for man to perform in his social relations, if I read history aright, is to gain control of himself, in such way as to give willing obedience to the truth that the benefits of Providence are intended for all men, as a common supply — obedience which cannot be rendered under guise or disguise of accredited privilege. Movements of society, or purposes of individuals, engineered in violation of this truth, are strewn with wrecks and misery.[1]

Mr. LAWRENCE PARK also communicated

AN ACCOUNT OF JOSEPH BADGER, AND A DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF HIS WORK.

One may look in vain for any mention of the name of Joseph Badger in Dunlap,[2] Tuckerman,[3] Perkins,[4] or any other work on early American artists. Even Mr. Dexter in his article on the Fine Arts in Boston,[5] seems not to have heard of him, and yet, from 1748, about the time that Smibert's failing health had closed his career as an artist, until about 1758, Badger probably had, with the exception of Blackburn, no rival in the New England colonies in the field of portraiture, and it is not a little remarkable that of the eighty portraits which I have identified as painted by him, less than a score have come down to the present day associated with his name. Several reasons for this may be suggested. His humble origin, lack of social position, and a condition bordering upon poverty, which apparently attended him throughout his life, prevented him from mingling in the higher social life of Boston, and thus making a definite and lasting impression upon his time, and his light was

[1] "A king sate on the rocky brow
Which looks o'er sea-born Salamis;
And ships by thousands lay below,
And men in nations; all were his.
He counted them at break of day —
And when the sun set, where were they?"

[2] *The Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, by William Dunlap, New York, 1834.

[3] *Book of the Artists. American Artist Life*, by Henry T. Tuckerman, New York, 1867.

[4] Various articles on *Early American Artists*, written by Augustus Thorndike Perkins, in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[5] *Memorial History of Boston*, edited by Justin Winsor, Boston, 1880, IV. 383–414.

STEPHEN BROWN

PAINTED BY JOSEPH BADGER

dimmed by contrast with Smibert and Feke, both of whom far surpassed him as artists. His personality, too, of which we know nothing, may have been a factor.

Born in Charlestown, March 14, 1708, the son of Stephen Badger, a tailor of small means, and his wife Mercy Kettell, he was baptized just a week later at the First Church in his native town. On January 21, 1728, he was admitted to full communion in this church. He married at Cambridge on June 2, 1731, Katharine, daughter of Samuel and Katharine (Smith) Felch, of Reading, Massachusetts, where she was born on February 7, 1715. Their first child, Joseph, who died in infancy, was baptized at the First Church in Cambridge on March 19, 1732, and it is probable that the first two years of their married life were passed in that town. About 1733 they removed to Boston, for in the records of the Brattle Square Church we find the baptisms of four other children, Samuel on January 20, 1734, a second Joseph on November 14, 1736, William on July 18, 1742, and Elizabeth on November 10, 1745. Another daughter, Katharine, although no record of her baptism appears, was born about 1739, for her marriage intentions to Frost Hodson are given in the Boston records under the date October 12, 1758.

Badger died, intestate, in Boston in the summer of 1765, and August 23 of that year his widow was appointed administratrix of his estate. He is here called a glazier, and his two sons, Joseph, a glazier, and Samuel, a tailor, are named as sureties. The inventory shows the value of the estate to have been £140–10/ and among other things includes "a Coat-of-Arms," "a chaise Body and Carriage," and "pots, brushes, stones, etc." The estate was insolvent, and on September 16, 1768, the widow, who signs her name with a mark, was given permission by the court to sell the real estate, consisting of a small house of three rooms and land on the west side of Temple Street, near Cambridge Street, Boston, to enable her to pay her husband's debts.[1] In this document he is referred to as a painter.[2] I have found no record of Mrs. Badger after that date.

[1] Badger had purchased this lot of William Story in May, 1763, but never seems to have held it free of mortgage. In the inventory of his estate it was valued at £120.

[2] *Suffolk County Probate Records*, LXIV. 461, 532; LXVII. 155.

Badger's professional life was passed in Boston and there is nothing to show that his business ever carried him farther from his home than Dedham where he went in 1737 to paint a house; for, like many other colonial portrait painters, both before and after his time, he began his career as a house-painter and glazier, and like them, throughout his life continued this work, besides painting signs, hatchments and other heraldic devices, in order to eke out a livelihood when orders for portraits slackened. Only two records have been found which throw any light upon the prices which Badger charged for his work. In 1757 he received £6 apiece for painting the portraits of Timothy Orne and his wife, and five years later he received £12 for painting five pictures for George Bray. The Orne portraits are on large canvases, a little less than 40″ x 50″ but the Bray pictures, which I have been unable to find, were probably much smaller.

I have found no portrait by Badger which, in my opinion, was painted earlier than 1740, nor have any appeared with a signature and only one [1] with a date, and with the exception of a few which have been reproduced on wood, I cannot find that any of them have been engraved. About 1756 he began to be eclipsed by the rapidly increasing fame of Copley, and I am inclined to think that Badger, perhaps unconsciously, not only acknowledged his artistic defeat by Copley, but also paid a tribute to that artist's superiority when he painted, about 1758, his portrait of Thomas Savage, a picture which recalls both in pose and gesture, as well as in color, Copley's portrait of William Brattle, painted in 1756. From certain resemblances in method, he was doubtless somewhat influenced by Smibert, but whether he worked under him, or simply studied Smibert's portraits, it is impossible to say. Although he is nowhere mentioned by Copley, I think it is more than probable that Badger, Copley's elder by thirty years, and his fellow-townsman in a community numbering less than fifteen thousand inhabitants, gave some instruction in painting to the younger man, and my belief is strengthened by a comparison of Copley's portrait of Rev. William Welsteed, painted in

[1] The portrait of Cornelius Waldo in the Art Museum in Worcester. The five Foster portraits are dated, but I think the dates were added after the pictures had left Badger's hands.

1753, when the artist was in his sixteenth year, with Badger's work of the same period.

Badger showed but little originality in posing his subjects, being content to follow in a general way the precedents formed by Lely and Kneller, and the lesser artists of that School, with whose work he must have been familiar at least from engravings and possibly from the portraits themselves, of which a few could have been seen in Boston. He apparently knew his limitations and kept well within them. In posing his men he had certain well-defined mannerisms, the one most frequently adopted being to show the subject standing, with one hand, usually the right, resting on the hip with the first two fingers outstretched and separated, and holding back the folds of the long-skirted coat of the period, the other hand held behind the back or extended with the palm toward the spectator, and the index finger pointing at some mysterious object outside of the canvas. Often a black cocked hat appears tucked under the arm. In his portraits of women he almost invariably shows them seated, one hand, palm upwards, resting lightly on the lap, occasionally holding a flower, and the other concealed behind the full skirts. In his portraits of children, of which several examples have come down to us, he habitually painted them standing, frequently holding a flower, or with a small bird perched on the forefinger, but occasionally a squirrel, with a long bushy tail gracefully curling over its back, sits on the child's hand or forearm. Stiff and formal as these children's portraits are, they nevertheless well express the primness of the time, and have a quaintness and a naïve and piquant charm which is irresistible. Following a common practice, he often introduced in the background various objects to show the business in which the sitter was engaged; ships and cannon, and in the hand a spy-glass, for the sea-captain and ship-owner; and memorandum books, ledgers, ink-wells and quill-pens, for the merchant. Some of the portraits are so nearly identical as to pose, arrangement of hands, clothing and accessories, that it is evident that these portions of the picture were frequently, if not always, painted in after the sittings, the subject posing only for the head. This method is, however, by no means confined to Badger, for it was adopted in many portraits by Copley and other artists. In all of Badger's work atmosphere is lacking,

and the foreshortening of objects, in the earlier pictures at least, sometimes presented unsurmountable obstacles. His subjects are all shown dressed in their best clothes, having clearly the appearance of posing for their portraits, and being fully conscious of the importance of the occasion. The heads are in almost every instance placed high on the canvas. The faces generally are of an unhealthy color, and show but little modelling, while the eyes are often made long and narrow with their outer corners slightly raised. Usually the hands are rather poorly drawn, and of bad color, but there are exceptions to this, and in the portrait of Thomas Cushing in the Essex Institute at Salem, the hands, although unsatisfactory in their color, are remarkably well drawn. As a rule, the trees and foliage frequently introduced in the background are well painted, somewhat in the manner of Richard Wilson. All the portraits are painted in oil, and with one exception, on canvas, and nearly all are done in a low key of color, in sombre browns, blacks, grays, greenish-blues, and bluish-greens, for he seldom used clear colors. Many of the pictures have suffered at the hands of the restorer by over-cleaning and repainting, and from lack of proper care.

While great artistic excellence cannot be claimed for Badger's work, it is not only interesting as representing a link in the progress of American art, but historically important in giving us the likenesses of many men and women of more or less prominence in their day, of a large majority of whom no other portraits exist. In spite of their faults, one feels, I think, in looking at his portraits, that he endeavored conscientiously to produce a likeness with no deception in the method, and when one considers the difficulties under which he worked, his lack of adequate instruction, the almost utter absence of good pictures from which to study, the scarcity of books on art subjects, and that throughout his life he lived in an atmosphere not particularly congenial to art, it must be conceded that he had talents which, under different influences and more inspiring surroundings, would have given him a much higher place in the history of art in this country.

It has been for the past fifty years a very common custom when attributing a portrait which fell within the period from 1725 to 1775 to call it the work either of Smibert, Blackburn

or Copley. I hope that one of the results of writing this paper may be to give greater publicity to the fact that besides these three artists there were other contemporary painters worthy of consideration and that the names of this overworked trio may be given a well-earned rest.

The following descriptive list includes all of Badger's portraits which I have thus far discovered, and it is hoped that this study may be the means of bringing to light other examples of his work.

JOHN ADAMS (1718–17——).

Son of Reverend Hugh and Sarah (Winborn) Adams of Oyster River, now Durham, New Hampshire, where his father was the settled minister. He removed to Boston where he became a successful merchant and married (intentions published 24 December, 1741) Susanna Parker. I have found no record of his death.

This is a half-length, life-sized portrait, showing the subject turned towards his left, with his right hand resting on his hip, and his left hand thrust into his richly embroidered satin waistcoat. He wears a full wig and his coat is brown. In the background at the right of the canvas is the sea with ships in the distance.

Painted about 1750.

Called a Copley by Perkins, in *A Sketch of the Life and List of some of the Works of John Singleton Copley*, 27–28.

Owned by George B. Dorr, Esq., Boston.

MRS. JOHN ADAMS.

She was Susanna Parker and her marriage intentions to John Adams were published in Boston on 24 December, 1741.

She is shown to below the knees seated and turned slightly towards her right. She wears a low-necked loose-fitting dress of dark bluish-green with wide short sleeves trimmed with flowing white muslin ruffles. White ruffles are also shown in the neck. The left hand, palm upwards, rests on her lap and her right hand is concealed behind her skirt. Her dark brown hair falls in curls on both shoulders. Her eyes are dark and directed to the spectator. The entire figure is placed against a background formed by a warm brown wall and through an opening is shown a landscape of trees and sky in the upper left corner. It is very similar in costume to that in the portraits of Mrs. Edmund Quincy and Mrs. William Story, but it has been much over-cleaned and repainted.

Painted about 1750. H. 35¾″. W. 27¾″.

Called a Copley by Perkins, 28.

Owned by George B. Dorr, Esq., Boston.

MISS REBECCA BARRETT (1757–*c*1765).

Daughter of Samuel and Mary (Shed) Barrett of Boston. She was baptized at the New North Church, Boston on 2 October, 1757, and died probably in 1765, certainly before 10 November of that year on which date her sister of the same name was baptized.

This is a three-quarters length portrait, much subdued in color by old varnish, and shows her standing, to the knees, turned slightly towards her left. Her large dark brown eyes gaze at the spectator, and her dark brown hair is brushed back from a high forehead and worn low on the neck. She wears a low-necked short-sleeved dress of dark bluish-green silk, with a tight-fitting bodice, and full skirts. The sleeves are finished with three over-lapping flowing narrow ruffles of the same material as the dress, from which hang wide white muslin ruffles. About the neck of the dress is a narrow white ruffle through which the color of the dress shows. Her right hand hangs at her side with the first two fingers extended, and the left hand, upon the index finger of which is perched a bird, is held against her bosom. Foliage of dark greens and browns is shown at each side of the picture and the background is of a very rich dark brownish tone.

Painted about 1764. H. 35¼″. W. 27¼″.

Owned by Mrs. Franklin E. Campbell, West Medford, Massachusetts.

MARY BARROW, *see* MRS. STEPHEN BROWN.

JAMES BOWDOIN (1676–1747).

Son of Pierre Baudouin, who fled from Rochelle, France, in 1687, to escape religious persecution, and settled in Boston where the son who married successively Sarah Campbell, Hannah Pordage and Mehitable Lillie, became one of its wealthiest merchants.

He is shown seated, turned three-quarters toward his left, in a high-backed mahogany arm-chair, which is upholstered in velvet of a dull peacock blue color. His right arm rests upon the arm of the chair with the first two fingers of the hand partly extended. The left hand, palm down, rests upon his lap. He wears a white wig, a coat, buttoned at the waist, of greenish brown velvet, without a collar, and with wide cuffs. Golden brown buttons are shown on the coat and cuffs. About his neck is a white linen neckcloth tied under the chin with the long ends falling over the coat nearly to the waist. At his wrists are white muslin ruffles turned back from the hands. His breeches are of velvet but of a darker brown than the coat, and a knee-buckle is indicated on the right knee. A portion of the dark brown or black stockings appears. At his left elbow is a table covered with a dark blue cloth upon which is a large flat leaden inkstand into which a quill-pen is thrust. Underneath the inkstand is a sheet of paper. His brown eyes are directed to the spectator and his complexion, somewhat leathery in texture, is brownish rather than ruddy. At the left of the canvas in the background, is a very dark brown wall and to the right is the grayish-blue ocean, with a large full-rigged ship near the horizon flying four red flags. The sky is well-covered with cloud effects, except for a patch of light blue near the top of the picture. Cf. the portraits of Thomas Cushing and Cornelius Waldo.

Painted in 1746 or 1747. H. 49¼″. W. 39⅛″.

Reproduced in *History of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett* by Wilkins Updike (Boston, 1907), I. 456.

Owned by Bowdoin College, to which institution it was bequeathed in 1826 by the widow of Hon. James Bowdoin (1752–1811), a grandson of the subject.

MRS. STEPHEN BROWN

PAINTED BY JOSEPH BADGER

JAMES BOWDOIN (1676–1747).

This is another portrait of Bowdoin similar to that previously mentioned, but I am unable to tell which of these two portraits is the original.

Probably painted in 1746 or 1747. H. 49″. W. 39″.

Owned by Lendall Pitts, Esq., Detroit, Michigan.

THE BRAY FAMILY.

George Bray was a baker, of Boston. He married Susanna Mansor. In 1762 Badger painted five "pictures" for Bray, for which he received £12, or eight Spanish dollars for each picture. These portraits were probably destroyed when Bray's bakehouse was burned on the night of 3 February, 1767.

STEPHEN BROWN (1728–1760).

He was a native of Ipswich Hamlet, now Hamilton, Massachusetts. He married at Charlestown, Massachusetts, 26 November, 1746, Mary Barrow, and lived, both before and after his marriage, in Charlestown, where he was a sea-captain and prominent citizen. He died at Edenton, South Carolina.

His portrait shows a man of large stature, standing at three-quarters length, turned slightly toward his left, with his dark brown eyes facing the spectator. He wears a long brown coat, with narrow collar and wide cuffs, with brown buttons on the coat, and cuffs. The dark green waistcoat, with small gilt buttons, and scalloped pocket-lapels, is trimmed with narrow gold braid, and is cut away below the waist. The coat sleeves are short and show a portion of the shirt sleeves, with a wristband fastened with a gold sleeve button, and with wide flowing white muslin ruffles which partially cover the hands. About his neck is a narrow black cravat. His right hand with the first two fingers extended and separated, rests upon his hip and holds back the folds of the coat. The left arm is slightly extended, the hand held with the palm upwards and the index finger pointing to the edge of the canvas. His dark brown hair is dressed in puffs over the ears and tied with a small black queue bow. The complexion is a rich brown. At the left of the background are dark green trees against a dark sky, varying from an olive green to a dark blue. At the lower right hand side is a headland with trees, and the ocean upon which is a large, full rigged ship. The pose in this picture is very similar to that in the portrait of Thomas Savage.

Painted about 1758. H. 43 7/16″. W. 35 5/16″.

Called a Copley by Perkins, 40.

Owned by Mrs. Charles F. Coxwell, 122 Oakwood Court, Kensington, London, England, to whom it was bequeathed by Robert Marion Pratt, of Boston, in 1916.

MRS. STEPHEN BROWN (1726–1801).

She was Mary Barrow, daughter of George Barrow of Charlestown, Massachusetts, a native of Monmouthshire, Wales. He was drowned in 1728 when his ship, returning to Massachusetts from England, foundered at sea. His daughter was born in Charlestown, 20 August, 1726, and was married there to Stephen Brown, on 26 November, 1746. She died in Beverly, Massachusetts, 22 December, 1801.

She is shown seated, at three-quarters length, full front, with the head

turned slightly toward her right. She wears a greenish blue velvet dress, with a tight fitting, low-necked short-sleeved bodice, and a full skirt, the folds of which are very well suggested. A white muslin kerchief covers her shoulders leaving her throat exposed, and the ends are caught by passing beneath a band of greenish-blue velvet which crosses her bosom. The sleeves are finished at the elbows with cuffs of the same color and material as the dress, below which hang wide white muslin ruffles. Both of the well-painted hands rest on the lap, the right holding a red flower. Her complexion is brunette, her gray-blue eyes large and her dark brown hair, brushed back from her forehead and puffed over the ears, is worn long at the back of the neck. At the left of the canvas is tall dark green foliage against a dark olive background, and at the right are dark trees with glimpses of distant land and water.

This and the companion portrait of her husband are the best examples of Badger's work which I have seen.

Painted about 1758. H. 43 7/16". W. 35 1/8".

Called a Copley by Perkins, 41.

Owned by Mrs. Charles F. Coxwell, 122 Oakwood Court, Kensington, London, England, to whom it was bequeathed by Robert Marion Pratt of Boston in 1916.

MRS. JOSEPH CABOT, *see* REBECCA ORNE.

ELIZABETH CAMPBELL, *see* MRS. WILLIAM FOYE.

JOHN CARNES (1698–1760).

He was a son of John and Eliza (Mortimer) Carnes of Boston where he was born 3 April, 1689. He was a pewterer in Boston and married 22 July, 1722, Sarah Baker. He was active in the military life of Boston, joined the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 1733 and became its captain in 1748. He became lieutenant-colonel of the Boston regiment, holding that office to his death. He also held various town offices. He died in Boston 10 March, 1760, and was buried in Copps Hill Burying Ground.

This portrait I have been unable to find but from a vignette illustration showing the head and shoulders, I feel very sure that the original picture was painted by Badger.

Painted about 1755.

Reproduced (in vignette) in *History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company* by Oliver Ayer Roberts, II, facing p. 49.

MRS. NATHANIEL COFFIN, *see* ELEANOR FOSTER.

MISS MARY COOPER (1744–1778).

She was the posthumous daughter of Reverend William Cooper (*q. v.*) by his second wife Mary Foye, and a granddaughter of Mrs. William Foye (*q. v.*). She was baptized in the Brattle Square Church in Boston 4 March, 1744 and married 22 May, 1766, Dr. Samuel Gardner (1725–1779) of Milton, Massachusetts. She died in Boston 23 June, 1778.

Shown standing at full length turned slightly toward her left wearing a white dress, with tight bodice coming to a point below the waist, and long full skirts. The neck, cut low, is trimmed with white muslin ruffles, and flaring white ruffles show at the wrists. The sleeves are

short and finished with cuffs, the undersleeves of muslin appearing below. Her feet are encased in pointed slippers of grayish blue satin. Her light hair is of a dusty brownish tone and worn long in the neck with a curl over the left shoulder. Her eyes of gray blue are directed toward the spectator. Her right arm, hanging at her side, is slightly bent at the elbow and the index finger extended, on which, facing her, perches a bird of an unknown species. She is standing upon what may be intended for a table or a window ledge and behind her is a very dark brown wall with an opening at the right showing a landscape with a small river flowing between a thick growth of light green trees, with a tall tree in the right foreground.

Painted about 1747. H. 34 5/16". W. 27 1/8".

Owned by Mrs. John Homans, Boston.

REV. WILLIAM COOPER (1684–1743).

Son of Thomas and Mehitable (Minot) Cooper of Boston. He was born in Boston 20 March, 1694, and was a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1712. From 1716 until his death he was colleague pastor of the Reverend Benjamin Colman at the Brattle Square Church in Boston.[1] In 1737 he was chosen President of Harvard College but declined the honor. He married, first, 12 May, 1720, Judith Sewall (1702–1740), and secondly, 8 November, 1742, Mary Foye (1721–1773 ?). By his first wife he became the father of Rev. Samuel Cooper (1725–1783) who succeeded him in 1745 as minister in the Brattle Square Church, and by his second wife he had Mary Cooper (1744–1778), whose portrait was painted by Badger. He died in Boston 12 December, 1743.

A bust portrait, showing him turned slightly towards his left. His narrow bluish-gray eyes look out with a shrewd expression from a plump oval face with fresh complexion. He wears a white curly wig which falls upon his shoulders and he is dressed in a black gown with large white muslin bands. Over his left arm is thrown a black robe. In the lower corners of the canvas are spandrels of dark brown and the background is of an olive tone, darker at the left side of the picture.

Painted probably in 1743. H. 29 1/8". W. 24 1/8".

Reproduced in *The Manifesto Church: Records of the Church in Brattle Square, Boston*, 24.

This portrait was presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1880 by William Perkins, as the work of Smibert. Smibert painted a portrait of Cooper which was engraved in mezzotint by Peter Pelham and reproduced in Winsor's *Memorial History of Boston*, II. 212.

Owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

REV. ANDREW CROSWELL (1709–1785).

Son of Caleb and Abigail (Stimson) Croswell of Charlestown, Massachusetts. He was born there 30 January, 1709, and was graduated from Harvard College in 1728. He married about 1736 Rebecca Holmes who died before 1782. From 1736 to 1742 he was pastor of the Congregational Church at Groton, Connecticut, and of the Congregational Church on School Street, Boston, from 1748 until his death in 1785.

Bust, turned three-quarters toward his right, with his eyes directed to the spectator. He wears a white wig, a black gown and white bands.

[1] Where at least four of Badger's children were baptized.

Painted about 1750.

Reproduced in *Genealogy of the Stimson Family of Charlestown, Mass.* by Charles Collyer Whittier, 20.

This portrait has not been found.

Thomas Cushing (1696–1746).

Son of Thomas and Deborah (Thaxter) Cushing of Boston. Harvard College, 1711. He married at Boston 4 June, 1724, Mary Bromfield (1696–1746) of Boston. He was a wealthy and prominent man in Boston, and from 1742 to 1746 was speaker of the House of Representatives. His son Thomas also held the office of speaker, and from 1779 to 1788 was lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts.

Seated, turned three-quarters toward his left, with his face nearly full front, in a high-backed mahogany arm-chair, upholstered in dark green. He wears a white wig and a long, brown velvet coat, with wide cuffs but without a collar, buttoned at the waist; dark knee-breeches and black stockings. The waistcoat is concealed. On the coat and cuffs, and below the pocket lapels, are large brown buttons, in which are yellow high lights. About his neck is a white neckcloth called a "Steinkirk," tied under the chin and falling in a long end, which passes through a button-hole of the coat. A portion of the shirt shows between the coat and neckcloth. At the wrists are white muslin ruffles, those on the right turned back from the well-drawn hand. His brown eyes are turned to the spectator, and the expression of his face is calm and benign. His right arm rests on the arm of the chair, and the hand lightly grasps the end of the chair arm, while the left hand rests on the lap. At his left elbow is a table covered with a brownish-red cloth, on which lies a closed leather-bound book, and a sheet of paper, a portion of which hangs over the edge of the table. A knee-buckle is shown on the right leg. The left half of the background is formed by a dark reddish-brown wall reaching to the top of the canvas, and over the table in the near foreground appears a tall tree, with distant trees beyond, and sky. The velvety texture of the coat is well suggested, but the flesh tints are unpleasantly death-like. There is a striking similarity between this picture and those of James Bowdoin and Cornelius Waldo. The pose in this picture, is, however, much more easy and graceful than in the Waldo portrait.

Painted about 1745. H. 49″. W. 39″.

Wrongly called by the Essex Institute, a portrait of Thomas Cushing, the younger (1725–1788), and thus entitled in the reproduction in *The Memorial History of Boston*, edited by Justin Winsor, III. 34, although Mr. Winsor states in a foot-note that it may be a portrait of the elder Cushing. In this reproduction the engraver of the wood-cut has mistaken the wall in the background for a curtain, and has shown nothing below the knees. A copy made in 1876 hangs in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, and was called a portrait of the younger Cushing, but the error has been recognized by those in charge.

Owned by the Essex Institute, Salem.

Thomas Dawes (1757–1825).

Son of Colonel Thomas and Hannah (Blake) Dawes of Boston where he was born 8 July, 1757. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1777, and on 4 October, 1781, married Margaret Greenleaf (1761–1836).

THOMAS DAWES

PAINTED BY JOSEPH BADGER

He was a member of the state conventions in 1780 and 1788 and from 1792 to 1802 sat on the bench of the Massachusetts Supreme Court. From 1802 until his death on 21 July, 1825, he was judge of probate. "He was," says the Dawes Genealogy, "a small man, but very eloquent."

Shown as a boy of six or seven years of age, standing, full-length, and slightly turned towards his left. He wears a long skirted collarless red coat with large brass buttons on the front, on the large cuffs and below the pocket lapels. The brown waistcoat with smaller buttons reaches nearly to the knees and is cut away below the waist. The knee-breeches, buttoned and buckled at the knee are red like the coat, the stockings white, and the low shoes black with large buckles. Around his neck is a narrow white ruffle and white ruffles are shown at his wrists. His right arm is bent at the elbow and in his hand he carries an orange. His left arm hangs at his side and under it is tucked a black cocked hat trimmed with silver tassels and braid. His dark brown hair is worn in puffs over the ears and tied at the back of the neck and his large eyes directed to the spectator, are dark brown. The background is of dark rich brownish tones, showing a rocky foreground, with foliage dimly seen at the left of the canvas. It is an interesting picture in excellent condition.

Painted about 1763. H. 48⅝". W. 39".

Reproduced in *William Dawes and his ride with Paul Revere. An Essay*, by Henry W. Holland, opposite p. 68, and called the work of Copley.

Owned by Mrs. Arthur Ossoli Fuller, Exeter, New Hampshire.

ISABELLA DUNCAN, *see* MRS. THOMAS STEVENSON.

MRS. GEORGE ERVING, *see* MARY MCINTOSH ROYALL.

CAPT. ISAAC FOSTER (1704–1781).

Son of Richard and Parnell (Winslow) Foster of Charlestown, Massachusetts, where he was born 3 January, 1704, and where his entire life was passed. He died at Charlestown, 27 December, 1781.

He is shown turned slightly toward his left, standing at three-quarters length beside a table upon which his right arm rests, gazing with steel gray eyes directly at the spectator. His complexion is ruddy. He wears a white wig, a white neckcloth tied in front with a small bow, a taupe-colored collarless coat with large buttons, and wide cuffs, and a black waistcoat. His left hand is behind his back, with his black hat thrust under his arm. The background is plain, dark at the left and of a greenish gray tone at the right of the canvas.

Painted about 1759. H. 35¼". W. 27⅛".

Owned by Dr. Thomas Bellows Buffum, Walpole, New Hampshire.

MRS. ISAAC FOSTER (1714–1798).

She was Eleanor, daughter of William and Eleanor Wyer, his father being a representative of a family prominently identified with the early life of Charlestown, Massachusetts, where she was born. She was married at Charlestown on 24 August, 1732, to Captain Isaac Foster and died there 5 March, 1798.

She is shown seated, turned slightly toward her left, her face nearly

full front, and with her dark blue eyes directed to the spectator. Her face is thin, the features delicate and her complexion without much color. Her light hair is almost concealed by a white lace cap tied under the chin with a narrow blue ribbon. Her dress, consisting of a tight fitting bodice and full skirts, is of light brown, with a plain stomacher of the same color, the low neck of the dress being cut square and filled in with a kerchief of white lace which exposes the throat. The sleeves are of elbow length with cuffs of the same color, and are trimmed with long flowing ruffles of white lace. Her right hand with the palm upturned rests on her lap and the left hand is hidden behind the folds of the skirt. The background is plain, dark at the left and of a greenish gray tone at the right of the canvas.

Painted about 1759. H. 35½". W. 27⅛".

Owned by Dr. Thomas Bellows Buffum, Walpole, New Hampshire.

ISAAC FOSTER, JR. (1736–1782).

Son of Captain Isaac and Eleanor (Wyer) Foster of Charlestown, Massachusetts, where he was born 28 May, 1738. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1758. He married first at Boston on 4 July, 1765, Martha Mason who died in 1770, and secondly 8 September, 1771, Mary Russell, who afterwards married John Hurd. Isaac Foster was a well-known physician of Charlestown, and died 27 February, 1782.

His portrait, a half length, shows him standing, turned slightly towards his left, with his face nearly full front, and his hazel eyes directed to the spectator. His hair, worn in puffs over the ears, is light brown. He wears a taupe colored coat without a collar, and with wide cuffs, both coat and cuffs having large buttons of the same color; and a very dark brown waistcoat. About his neck is a narrow black ribbon tied in front, with the ends tucked into the high waistcoat and showing a bit of the white shirt. A portion of the shirt sleeve, terminating in a wide ruffle of white muslin, shows below the cuff of the coat. His right hand is held before him, palm upwards, the index finger slightly extended, and his left hand is held behind his back. Under his left arm is tucked his black hat. The background is dark at the left of the canvas, where dark green foliage is introduced, becoming around his head and at the right, light greenish gray merging into greenish blues.

Painted about 1759. H. 31¾". W. 25½".

Owned by Dr. Thomas Bellows Buffum, Walpole, New Hampshire.

MISS ELEANOR FOSTER (1746–1822).

She was the daughter of Isaac and Eleanor (Wyer) Foster of Charlestown, Massachusetts. She married in 1769 Dr. Nathaniel Coffin (1744–1825) of Portland, Maine, where the remainder of her life was passed.

This is an attractive picture which shows at three quarters length, the subject standing, turned slightly towards her left, with her face nearly full front. Her right arm hangs at her side, the hand lightly grasping a fold of her skirt, and her left hand, with the arm raised and extended, holds a full-blown white rose. Her complexion is fair and her dark eyes gaze directly at the spectator. The light brown hair, in which is caught a sprig of tiny white and red flowers, is brushed back from her forehead and temples and worn low on the neck. In her ears are garnet ear-rings. She wears a low-necked dress of rich bluish-green silk, with a decorated stomacher, tight-fitting bodice with elbow sleeves

ELEANOR FOSTER

PAINTED BY JOSEPH BADGER

and cuffs, and full skirts with well-painted folds, the neck and sleeves being trimmed with white muslin ruffles. At the left of the canvas against a dark background tall foliage is indicated. At the right is a grayish olive sky with a patch of blue in the upper corner, and a few branches of foliage jut from the edge of the canvas. Below is a distant landscape of meadow and hills.

Painted about 1759. H. 31½″. W. 25″.

Reproduced in *Two Centuries of Costume* by Alice Morse Earle, I. 280.

Owned by Mrs. Greely S. Curtis, Boston.

WILLIAM FOSTER (1733–1759).

Son of Captain Isaac and Eleanor (Wyer) Foster of Charlestown, Massachusetts, where he was born 27 May, 1733. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1752 and became a physician, dying unmarried 4 December, 1759, in his twenty-seventh year.

This portrait shows him standing, at three-quarters length turned slightly toward his left, his face nearly full front. His steel-gray eyes gaze directly toward the spectator. His complexion is ruddy and his very dark brown hair, brushed away from a high forehead hangs in thick curls nearly to his shoulders. He wears a collarless coat of a taupe color, less green than that of his brother, with wide cuffs, both coat and cuffs having large buttons of the same color. His waistcoat is black with small black buttons and about his neck is a white neckcloth tied under the chin, and tucked into the high waistcoat. Below the cuff of the coat is shown a portion of the shirt sleeves with a narrow wristband and wide ruffles of white muslin. His right hand is held before him palm upwards, and the index finger slightly extended, the left hand being concealed behind his back, with his black hat tucked under the arm. The background with dark foliage at the right of the canvas, merges toward the left into greenish grays and blues.

Painted about 1759. H. 35¼″. W. 27⅜″.

Owned by Dr. Thomas Bellows Buffum, Walpole, New Hampshire.

These five Foster portraits, with the exception of Miss Foster's, are listed by Perkins, (p. 125) as the work of Copley; but he qualifies his opinion by saying that not having seen the portraits he cannot state that they are the work of Copley. All five portraits have early inscriptions painted on the back of the canvas giving the name, parentage and date of birth of the subjects and in the case of the portrait of William Foster, his death is given together with an account of his virtues. Each picture also has on its front in the lower right-hand corner the date 1755, but this date was, I think, added when the inscriptions were placed on the back, and judging from the costumes and apparent ages of the subjects, is about four years too early.

MRS. WILLIAM FOYE (1695–1782).

She was Elizabeth, daughter of John and Elizabeth Campbell and was born in Boston 6 February, 1695. She married in Boston, 5 April, 1716, William Foye (1681–1759) of Boston and Milton, Massachusetts, who, from 1736 to 1753, was treasurer of the Province of Massachusetts Bay. She died, probably at Milton, early in 1782.

Her portrait shows her as a rather severe looking matron, seated and turned slightly toward her left, with her right hand, palm upward,

resting on her lap, and her left arm hanging at her side, with the hand concealed by her skirt. She wears a dark greenish-brown gown with a low neck trimmed with white muslin ruffles and elbow sleeves with cuffs and white ruffles. Her dark brown eyes gaze at the spectator and her dark brown hair is parted. A single curl appears over her left shoulder. In the background, behind the figure, is a dark brown wall reaching to the top of the canvas, with an aperture at the right through which is shown a landscape of dark green trees with blue sky and large white clouds. At her left is a table covered with a dark red cloth upon which lies a small leather-covered book.

Painted about 1750. H. 35¼". W. 27⅝".

Owned by Mrs. John Homans, Boston.

WILLIAM FOYE (1716–1771).

Only son of William and Elizabeth (Campbell) Foye, of Boston and Milton, Massachusetts. He was born in Boston, 1 November, 1716, and was graduated from Harvard College in 1735. In 1740 he was one of the Massachusetts officers in the expedition against Carthagena, under Admiral Vernon, serving as a lieutenant. He later removed to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where according to his obituary notice in the *Boston Evening Post* of 23 September, 1771, he was for twenty-two years provost marshal of that province and lieutenant colonel of the city of Halifax. He died at Halifax, unmarried, in 1771.

This is a picture in Badger's best and later manner, showing the subject, to below the waist, and standing turned slightly toward his left, with the face nearly full front. He wears an elaborate costume consisting of a blue velvet coat without collar and a waistcoat of brilliant red, both with gilt buttons, and trimmed with a double row of gilt lace. The coat with wide cuffs is held back by the right hand which with the index finger extended rests upon the hip. The left hand is partially concealed by being thrust into the waistcoat. The hilt of a small gilt sword projects at the left side. At the neck is a muslin neckcloth in thick folds, which is tucked into the neck of the waistcoat. At the wrists are narrow wristbands with wide white muslin ruffles. The hair or wig is brown and worn in curls, the complexion ruddy and the eyes directed to the spectator are grayish blue. The face is plump and a pronounced double chin is shown. The background at the left of the canvas is a dark olive brown and at the right is a landscape of dark green trees, with a blue sky and grayish clouds.

Painted about 1760. H. 35¼". W. 27½".

Owned by Mrs. John Homans, Boston.

ESTHER GARDNER, *see* MRS. DANIEL MACKAY.

MRS. SAMUEL GARDNER, *see* MARY COOPER.

MRS. JAMES GOOCH, JR., *see* UNKNOWN WOMAN.

HANNAH GOOKIN, *see* MRS. RICHARD KENT.

EDWARD GRAY (1673–1757).

He came as a youth, from Lancashire, England, to Boston where he was apprenticed in 1686. He married first, in 1699, Susanna Harrison, and by her had Harrison Gray (1701–1794) the treasurer of the Province

of Massachusetts Bay, and a distinguished loyalist who died in London. His second wife, whom he married in 1714, was Hannah Ellis by whom, among other children he had Reverend Ellis Gray (1715–1753) *q.v.* He was the owner of extensive rope-walks in Boston and acquired much property.

This portrait, bust size, shows him as a man of about seventy years of age. His body is turned three-quarters toward his right, his head nearly front, with his black eyes directed to the spectator. He wears a large white curled wig, falling to his shoulders, a white muslin neck-cloth with long pendant ends, and open snuff-colored coat and a black waistcoat. On the coat are long false buttonholes and two buttons appear on the cuff of the coat-sleeve. The arms hang at his sides with the hands not shown. His face is thin, with a leathery complexion of brownish-red. The background is of a light warm gray at the left of the canvas, becoming at the right a warm brown. In the lower corners are light brownish spandrels.

Painted about 1745. H. 29½″. W. 24½″.

Reproduced in *Gray Genealogy*, by M. D. Raymond, Tarrytown, New York, 1887, opposite p. 191.

Owned by Mrs. Gedney K. Richardson, Boston.

Rev. Ellis Gray (1715–1753).

Son of Edward and Hannah (Ellis) Gray of Boston, where he was born 7 September, 1715. He was graduated from Harvard in 1734 and married at Boston, 20 September, 1739, Sarah Tyler, daughter of John and Sarah (Brame) Tyler of Boston. He was a colleague of the Reverend William Welsteed, as pastor of the Second or "New Brick" Church in Boston and died on 7 January, 1753, of apoplexy within a few hours after being stricken in his pulpit.

A bust portrait, showing him turned three-quarters toward his left, wearing a greenish black silk coat unbuttoned, with small black buttons, and white muslin bands. A black silk gown or surplice is thrown across his upper left arm. His eyes, directed to the spectator, are grayish-brown, his complexion sallow, and his black hair, parted on the left side, and brushed back from the forehead, curls over his neck and shoulders. The background is plain and of a light greenish-brown tone. There is a spandrel in each of the lower corners of the canvas.

Painted about 1750. H. 29½″. W. 24½″.

Of the five portraits by Badger of Ellis Gray, I have seen four. This is inferior to the others both in technique and color, a fact which leads me to think that it is the original portrait done from life, and that the others are replicas painted at a somewhat later date.

Owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

A replica of the portrait owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Painted about 1758. H. 29″. W. 24½″.

Owned by the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester.

A replica of the portrait owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Painted about 1758.

Called a Blackburn by Augustus Thorndike Perkins in his list of portraits by that artist, published in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1878, 389.

Owned by Mrs. Russell Montague, White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia.

A replica of the portrait owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the best picture of the five portraits which Badger painted of this subject.

Painted about 1758. H. 29¼″. W. 24¼″.

Called a Blackburn by Augustus Thorndike Perkins in his list of portraits by that artist, published in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1878, 389.

Owned by Mrs. Robert S. Russell, Boston.

A replica of the head in the portrait owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society, but a larger picture, and with differences in color and arrangement. He is shown nearly three-quarters length, standing, turned slightly toward his left, at a reading-desk or pulpit. He wears a bluish-black silk coat, with purplish high lights, buttoned with buttons of the same color as the coat. The coat is without a collar and has wide cuffs with buttons, a portion of the shirt sleeve caught at the wrist by a narrow band but without ruffles. About his neck is a white neckcloth with white muslin bands. The left hand is concealed behind the desk, and in his right he holds a small leather-bound book which rests upon the desk, and into which his index finger is thrust. The background is plain, and of a dark olive green tone, with a portion near the head of lighter olive. This picture was probably painted for his brother William Gray in whose family it has descended.

Painted about 1758. H. 35″. W. 27½″.

Owned by Mrs. Edward C. Storrow, Readville, Massachusetts.

Rebecca Gray, *see* Mrs. John Homans.

Mrs. William Gray, *see* Elizabeth Hall.

Miss Elizabeth Hall (1737–1824).

She was a daughter of Stephen and Elizabeth (Sanders) Hall of Boston where she was born 3 January, 1737. The intentions of her marriage to William Gray (1723–1775) of Boston, a younger brother of Rev. Ellis Gray (*q. v.*) were published at Boston 1 November, 1759. She died at the home of her son, Reverend Thomas Gray of Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts, 24 December, 1824.

This portrait, said by her son to have been painted when she was sixteen years of age, shows her at half-length seated, turned slightly toward her right, with her dark eyes to the spectator. She wears a rich dark bluish-green dress, with a tight-fitting bodice and full skirts. The low neck is trimmed with a narrow white muslin ruffle and the elbow sleeves are finished with wide cuffs of the same color and material as the dress, from which depend flowing white muslin ruffles. Her right hand, raised, holds daintily by the stem a dark red full-blown rose, and her left hand rests upon her lap. Her reddish brown hair is parted on the forehead and falls in waves behind her shoulders. The face is long and narrow and the chin has a dimple. The background is plain and of a very dark warm grayish brown. Spandrels are shown in the lower corners of the canvas.

Painted about 1753. H. 29⅛″. W. 24½″.

Owned by Mrs. Gedney K. Richardson, Boston.

JOHN HASKINS (1729–1814).

Son of Robert and Sarah (Cook) Haskins of Boston. He married on his twenty-third birthday, 12 March, 1752, Hannah Upham, of Malden, Massachusetts, and lived on Rainsford's Lane, (now the upper end of Harrison Avenue) Boston, and became the father of thirteen children and forty-six grandchildren, all of whom survived him. One of the grandchildren was Ralph Waldo Emerson.

He stands, shown nearly to the knees, turned slightly toward his left. His right hand with the fingers extended and separated, rests upon his hip, while his left hand is held behind his back, with a black hat tucked under the arm. He wears a long full-skirted brown coat, the right side held back by the hand, and a long brown waistcoat. Large brown buttons appear on the coat and on the wide cuff, while those on the waistcoat are smaller. The sleeve is short enough to show a little of the shirt sleeve from which depends a small white muslin ruffle, the sleeve being contracted to a narrow band at the wrist fastened with a gold stud. About the neck is a simple neckcloth with a shirt ruffle of white muslin below. The hair or wig is dark brown, and tied with a black queue bow. His dark brown eyes are directed to the spectator. At the left of the picture is a mass of tall dark green foliage against dark olive clouds which become at the right of the figure a yellowish brown, and beyond, in the upper right hand corner, is a patch of dark blue sky. Near the bottom of the canvas are dark brown rocks.

Painted in 1759. H. 35½″. W. 27¾″.

Reproduced in *Ralph Waldo Emerson. His Maternal Ancestry*, by David Greene Haskins, facing p. 3. This picture has always been known as the work of Badger.

Owned by Mrs. Charles P. Parker, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

MRS. JOHN HASKINS (1734–1819).

She was Hannah Upham, daughter of Phineas and Hannah (Waite) Upham of Malden, Massachusetts, where she was born 6 May, 1734. She married John Haskins 12 March, 1752, and died in Boston 18 September, 1819.

Sitting, at three-quarters length, turned slightly toward her left. Her right hand, palm upwards, lies upon her lap and her left hand is concealed behind her skirt. She wears a rich dark brown silk dress, with a tight-fitting, low-necked bodice, and full skirts. The sleeves are tight and finished at the elbow with a wide cuff below which is a wide, flowing white muslin ruffle. The neck of the bodice is trimmed with a narrow white muslin ruffle, and the stomacher of light brown silk is decorated in conventional design with darker browns. The forehead is high, the neck long, and the face, with some color in the cheeks, is long and narrow. The dark brown hair is slightly puffed over the ears and the blue eyes are directed to the spectator. At the left is a mass of dark green foliage against a dark olive background which at the right of the figure lightens to a yellow brown with dark blue sky beyond. In the lower right hand corner is a distant hill on top of which is a single tree.

Painted in 1759. H. 35½″. W. 27¾″.

Reproduced in *Ralph Waldo Emerson. His Maternal Ancestry*, by David Greene Haskins, facing p. 28. The portrait has always been known as the work of Badger.

Owned by Mrs. Charles P. Parker, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

MRS. LEMUEL HAYWARD, *see* SARAH SAVAGE.

MRS. EDWARD AUGUSTUS HOLYOKE, *see* MARY VIAL.

JOHN HOMANS (1753–1800).

Son of Captain John and Rebecca (Gray) Homans of Dorchester, Massachusetts, where he was born 8 April, 1753. He graduated from Harvard College in 1772. He studied medicine with Dr. Joseph Gardner of Boston, and volunteered his services in the care of the wounded at Bunker Hill. In January, 1776, he was appointed surgeon of the 16th regiment of foot, and continued in the service until 1781. He married at Boston, 15 September, 1785, Sarah Dalton, by whom he had a son John who, like his father, became a prominent Boston physician. Dr. Homans died in Boston in 1800.

This portrait, strikingly like that of Lois Orne in pose and costume, is of a chubby child of about two years of age, standing and shown nearly full front to below the knees, wearing a white low-necked dress with long full skirts. The sleeves have wide cuffs below the elbow, and the neck is trimmed with a narrow muslin ruffle of white, and at the wrists are wide white ruffles. The right hand brought to the waist, holds a long coral rattle with four small silver bells, to which is attached a wide dark blue ribbon which hangs in a loose bow in front of the skirt. The left hand hangs at his side. On his head is a white lace cap without strings, showing a little of his light brown hair above the forehead. His large eyes directed to the spectator are dark brown and his complexion is fresh. In the background at each side of the canvas is dark green feathery foliage against a sky of bluish-greens and olives.

Painted in 1755. H. 29¼″. W. 24⅛″.

Called a Smibert by Perkins. *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society for May, 1879.

Owned by Dr. John Homans, Brookline, Massachusetts.

MRS. JOHN HOMANS (1731–1777).

This is considered, by the owner, to be a portrait of the second wife of Capt. John Homans of Dorchester, Massachusetts, who was Rebecca, daughter of Joseph and Rebecca (West) Gray of Boston, where she was born January 2, 1731. She married Captain Homans at Dorchester, November 28, 1748, and died there December 12, 1777.

She is shown seated, turned slightly towards her right, with her face nearly full front, wearing a brownish-plum colored low-necked, loose fitting gown. Her eyes are dark and her dark hair is brushed back from her forehead. The background is plain and dark.

Painted about 1750.

Called a Smibert by Perkins.

Owned by Mrs. John Homans, Boston.

MRS. HENDERSON INCHES, *see* SARAH JACKSON.

JOSEPH JACKSON (1707–1790).

He married at Boston 1 May, 1732, Susannah Gray (1709–1792), daughter of Edward and Susannah (Harrison) Gray of Boston, a half-sister of Reverend Ellis Gray, *q. v.* He was a distiller and was prominently identified with the militia, being from 1752 to 1758 captain of a

Boston company, major of the Boston regiment in 1758, and its colonel from 1761 to 1766. In 1752 he was captain of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. From 1752 to 1760 and from 1764 to 1773 he was a selectman of Boston, held many other offices of the town, and served on several town committees. He died 10 April, 1790, and was buried under arms in King's Chapel Burial Ground.

A three-quarters length portrait, showing a handsome man of large stature inclined to fleshiness. He is turned slightly toward his left, with his face nearly full front, gazing at the spectator with dark-brown eyes. His face is fleshy and his complexion is of high color. He wears a large powdered wig, well indicated, a white muslin neckcloth and small shirt-ruffle which shows above the neck of the waistcoat, a long, opened bluish-slate colored coat, without a collar, and with wide cuffs, with large brass buttons on the coat, cuff, and below the pocket lapel. The long, scarlet waistcoat is buttoned with small brass buttons, and elaborately trimmed with gold lace at the edges and about the lapel of the pocket. At his left side appears the gold hilt of a sword. His right hand rests upon his hip, with the first two fingers extended and separated, his left hand being held behind his back with his black hat trimmed with gold lace tucked under the arm. The background is plain and of a solid greenish-gray tone of varying intensity.

Painted about 1758. H. 49½″. W. 38½″.

In his will dated 24 December, 1784, and proved 27 April, 1790, Jackson leaves this portrait to his son, Reverend Joseph Jackson, *q.v.* The head and shoulders of the portrait are reproduced in *History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts*, by Oliver Ayer Roberts, II. facing p. 60.

The picture was severely damaged several years ago by fire, and has since been much repainted and restored.

Owned by Mrs. Atherton T. Brown, Boston.

Rev. Joseph Jackson (1734–1796).

Son of Joseph and Susannah (Gray) Jackson of Boston, where he was born 22 December, 1734. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1753. From 1760 until his death he was minister at Brookline, Massachusetts. He married Hannah Avery of Boston who died in 1800. He died at Brookline 22 July, 1796.

This is a three-quarter length portrait, showing him standing turned slightly toward his left, with his face nearly front. His greenish-gray eyes are directed to the spectator from beneath dark eyebrows. His face is fleshy, his complexion ruddy, and his expression serious. He wears a black coat, without a collar, and with wide cuffs, the coat and cuffs having large black buttons. His waistcoat and breeches are black. At his throat are thin white muslin bands. A bit of the shirt-sleeve shows below the cuff of the coat, caught at the wrist with a very narrow wrist-band but without ruffles. His wig is powdered. His right hand is held at rest, palm upward, in front of his body, with the index finger pointing to a small book, bound in dark greenish-blue morocco, which he holds in his left hand. The background is plain, and warm.

Painted about 1760. H. 48¾″. W. 39″.

In his will dated 24 December, 1784, and proved 27 April, 1790, Joseph Jackson leaves this portrait to his son, the subject of the picture. It has been for many years called a Copley, and is listed

as the work of that artist by Perkins, 126, who states that he never examined the portrait. Several years ago it suffered severely from fire and has since been much repainted and restored.

Owned by Mrs. Atherton T. Brown, Boston.

MISS SARAH JACKSON (1733–1771).

Daughter of Joseph and Susannah (Gray) Jackson. She was born in Boston 5 January, 1733, and married there 22 February, 1770, Henderson Inches (1726–1780) a wealthy Boston merchant. Their only child Sarah was born in January, 1771, and Mrs. Inches probably died soon after the child's birth, for her husband married a second time in December of that year.

She sits, at three-quarters length, nearly front, her right hand resting on her lap holding a pale pink rose, and the left hand concealed behind her skirts. She wears a dress of cold light blue silk, the tight bodice unadorned, but for a small bow of white satin on the bosom, and very full skirts. The sleeves are tight and are finished at the elbow by a band of two scalloped ruffles, below which are double rows of long white lace ruffles. The low neck of the bodice is trimmed with narrow white lace. Her hair is dark brown, dressed in puffs over the ears and falling in a long curl on the right shoulder. Her face is thin, with little color, and her dark brown eyes gaze at the spectator. At the left is tall dark green foliage against a dark olive-brown sky which at the right of the head changes to yellowish-brown clouds, with a cold blue sky in the upper right-hand corner. Below a distant hill is shown, topped by a single tree faintly suggested, and in the nearer foreground are dark green bushes.

Painted about 1760. H. 36″. W. 27½″.

Joseph Jackson in his will (*supra*) gives to his granddaughter Sarah Inches "her mother's portrait," and while this portrait is with good reason supposed to be the one referred to in Jackson's will, it is not definitely determined that they are identical.

Owned by George B. Inches, Esq., Boston.

JOHN JOY, JR. (1751–1813).

Son of John and Sarah (Homer) Joy of Boston. He was baptized at the First Church in Boston on 29 December, 1751. His father, a prominent Boston merchant, was a loyalist who went to England in 1776 with his family. The father and some of the children remained in England but John Joy returned to Boston after the peace of 1783 and became an apothecary with the title of doctor. He married Abigail Green of Boston, had three children who all died unmarried, and he himself died in Boston in 1813.

Shown, as about six or seven years of age standing at full-length, with feet apart, turned slightly toward his left, with his face nearly front. He wears a full-skirted, collarless coat of light brown, a long waistcoat of bluish green, dark brown knee-breeches, white stockings and low shoes with gold buckles. A knee-buckle, and two small buttons show at the knee, and large brown buttons appear on the coat, wide cuffs and below the large pocket lapels. The buttons on the waistcoat are smaller and match the material. A stiff white muslin ruffle encircles his neck with a narrow black ribbon which is tied under the chin, with the long ends crossing the breast. The white undersleeves are

MHS

John Larrabee
From the painting by Joseph Badger
in the possession of Frank Butkeley Smith

caught at the wrist by a narrow wristband with wide white flowing ruffles partially covering the hands. A bit of shirt ruffle shows at the neck of the waistcoat. His arms hang at his side with the right hand brought slightly forward, and under the left arm is placed his black cocked hat, trimmed with silver lace. His dark brown hair, brushed back from a high forehead is worn in puffs over the ears and in short curls at the back of the neck. The large dark blue eyes gaze at the spectator and the complexion is fair with some color on the cheeks. Behind him at the left of the canvas is dark green foliage against a light brownish-olive background in which a patch of dark blue sky appears in the upper right corner. In the right distance is a range of grayish-green hills and a meadow with low trees. In the lower right corner a small grayish dog with black spots and its left forward leg raised, sits on its haunches and looks up into the boy's face.

Painted about 1758. H. 44½″. W. 30¼″.

Owned by Mrs. Charles H. Joy, Boston.

MRS. RICHARD KENT (*c*1692–1758).

She was Hannah, daughter of the Reverend Nathaniel and Hannah (Savage) Gookin, of Cambridge, Massachusetts where she was probably born. She married first, 10 August, 1710, Vincent Carter (1685–1718) of Charlestown, Massachusetts, and secondly 8 September, 1724, Colonel Richard Kent (1672–1740) of Newbury, Massachusetts, as his second wife and had children by both husbands. She died at Newbury 20 March, 1758, and is buried in the Old Hill Burying Ground in Newburyport. She is said to have been "somewhat of a grave formal person of the old school, and anxious to maintain her rank in society," and to the truth of the first part of this statement her portrait bears witness.

She is shown seated in a high-backed upholstered chair, her body and head turned slightly towards her right with her eyes directed to the front. Her dark hair is parted over a high forehead and worn low on the neck. She wears a low-necked loose-fitting gown, the neck of which is trimmed with white muslin ruffles. In the background is a wall reaching to the top of the canvas with an opening at the left through which is seen a landscape with hills and a large tree.

Painted about 1750.

Owned in 1891 by Professor Charles Eliot Norton, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Reproduced in *Joseph Atkins — The Story of a Family*, by Francis Higginson Atkins, 1891, opposite p. 148.

JOHN LARRABEE (1686–1762).

Born probably at Lynn, Massachusetts. He married first in 1710 at Malden, Massachusetts, Elizabeth Jordan, and settled in Boston, where on 15 December, 1737, he was married to his second wife, Mary Jenkins. He was for many years captain-lieutenant or commanding officer of Castle William (afterwards Fort Independence) in Boston Harbor, and died 11 February, 1762. The following obituary appeared in the *Boston News-Letter* of 18 February, 1762. "Thursday last departed this life after a few Days illness, universally lamented, that very worthy Servant of the Province Captain-Lieutenant John Larrabee, of Castle-William aged 76 years. His uprightness and In-

tegrity, his generosity and publick spirit, his plain heartedness and Humanity, as well as freedom from Guile, recommended him to all. His Name was dear to the Soldiery at the Castle who loved and revered him as their friend and father, and so sensible was the Province of his Worth and Merit, that he was continued as Captain-Lieutenant and Victualler of Castle William for more than 40 Years to his Death. And his whole Character may be summed up in that comprehensive sentence — a sincere Christian."

His portrait, showing him at full length, is the largest and in some ways, the most important canvas by Badger, which I have found. He stands firmly, with feet slightly apart, in a rather aggressive attitude, the body turned slightly toward his left, and the strong, alert, determined face nearly full front. His right hand, poorly drawn, is placed with the first two fingers extended and separated, upon his hip and holds back the skirt of the coat, while the left hand, raised about to the level of his neck, grasps a long, upright red-lacquered spy-glass, which, passing between the arm and the body, rests upon a cannon, shown projecting beyond the coat. He wears a long brown coat without a collar, and with wide cuffs, a long black waistcoat, dark brown breeches buckled at the knee, white stockings encasing the well-developed legs, and black low shoes with gold or brass buckles. Large brown buttons are shown on the coat and cuffs and the short coat sleeves disclose a portion of the shirt sleeve, caught at the wrist by a narrow band, but without ruffles. On his head is a large white wig reaching to the shoulders, and about his neck a simple white neckcloth without tie or ruffle, showing a bit of the shirt above the neck of the waistcoat. The gilded hilt of a sword appears at his left side, the foreshortening of his right foot is well expressed. His clear, searching greenish-gray eyes gaze directly at the spectator. Behind him, at the left of the canvas is a tall, well-painted tree of dark green, and at the right a road upon which he stands, leads down past a low bluff to the nearby shore of the ocean. At the horizon are three full-rigged ships and in the middle distance a ship's boat manned by an officer and eight sailors. The sky is made up of light shades of brownish-yellows and greenish-blues.

Painted about 1760. H. 84″. W. 51″.

Owned by Frank Bulkeley Smith, Esq., Worcester, Massachusetts.

Rev. Dudley Leavitt (1720–1762).

Son of Moses and Sarah (Leavitt) Leavitt of Stratham, New Hampshire. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1739, and from 1743 to 1745 was minister of the church in his native town. In 1745 he became minister of the Tabernacle Church in Salem, Massachusetts, and continued until his death. He married 17 October, 1751, Mary Pickering of Salem, and died in Salem after a lingering illness, 7 February, 1762.

He is shown standing turned slightly toward his left, at three-quarters length. His costume consists of a black coat, with wide cuffs but without a collar, and a black waistcoat, both coat and waistcoat having black buttons. Encircling his neck is a white muslin neckcloth from which depend white muslin bands. A portion of the shirt sleeve shows below the sleeve of the coat, caught at the wrists by a narrow wristband without ruffles. His powdered hair is brushed away from his

forehead and worn in puffs of curls over his ears. His gray-blue eyes gaze at the spectator and his complexion is rosy with much more color than I have found in any other of Badger's faces. In his right hand he holds a small thin closed book, bound in black leather. His left arm is slightly extended, while the hand is partially closed, but with the thumb erect and the index finger pointing to the edge of the picture. Behind the figure is a dark brownish wall beyond which is a brownish-olive sky becoming a dark blue in the upper corner. Small branches with grayish-green foliage appear beyond the left arm, and in the lower right corner is a low dark brown wall.

Painted about 1760. H. 45¼″. W. 37⅛″.

Reproduced in *The Pickering Genealogy*, I, facing p. 113.

Owned by John Pickering, Esq., Salem, Massachusetts.

MRS. DUDLEY LEAVITT (1733–1805), and her daughter SARAH (1757–1820).

Mrs. Leavitt was Mary, daughter of Timothy and Mary (Wingate) Pickering of Salem, Massachusetts, where she was born 29 March, 1733. She married first 17 October, 1751, Rev. Dudley Leavitt (1720–1762) of Salem, and secondly, as his second wife, Nathaniel Peaslee Sargeant (d. 1791). She died at Haverhill, Massachusetts 30 January, 1805. Her daughter Sarah Leavitt, baptized at Salem 9 October, 1757, married first Isaac White (1753–1780) a Salem merchant, and secondly Jonathan Payson of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where she died in September, 1820.

Mrs. Leavitt is represented at three-quarters length seated in a high-backed mahogany chair, and turned partially toward her left, with her face nearly front. She wears a low-necked greenish-blue silk dress, with a tight-fitting bodice and voluminous skirts. The elbow sleeves are finished with a cuff of the same material and color from which hang very long white muslin ruffles. A narrow white muslin ruffle is shown about the neck of the dress. The chair is upholstered in very dark green. Her hair, brushed from her forehead and worn low in the neck, is dark brown, and the dark brown eyes are directed to the spectator. Her right hand, with the first finger extended, rests palm down, on her lap, her left being concealed behind her daughter's body. The child, who appears to be two and a half or three years of age, stands at the mother's left with her face and dark blue eyes turned to the front. Her right arm passing under her mother's hand, rests on the maternal lap, while with the other she lightly holds her mother's knee. She wears a dress, similar in design to that of the mother, but of a warm gray tone. About her head is a grayish-white cap simply trimmed with a ruffle. The lower part of the figure is concealed by the mother's skirts. Behind the chair is a warm brown wall, and at the right are brownish-olive clouds and sky with dark blue sky beyond. Back of the child's head is some dark green foliage which is repeated in the lower corner.

Painted about 1760. H. 45″. W. 37¼″.

Reproduced in *The Pickering Genealogy*, I, facing p. 112.

Owned by John Pickering, Esq., Salem, Massachusetts.

MARY LEAVITT (1755–1778).

She was the daughter of Reverend Dudley and Mary (Pickering) Leavitt of Salem, Massachusetts, where she was born 9 February, 1755.

She married at Salem in 1774 her townsman, Dr. Joseph Orne (1749–1786) a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1765, and died in Salem, 6 October, 1778.

This is an attractive portrait of a child of about five years of age shown standing, at full length and nearly front. She wears a silk dress, of a warm brownish yellow, with long full skirts, tight-fitting low-necked bodice and elbow sleeves, the latter trimmed with cuffs of the same material, and wide white muslin ruffles. Narrow white muslin ruffles appear at the neck of the dress, and from below the skirts project the toes of white satin shoes. Her large gray-blue merry eyes look out from a bright intelligent face. The complexion is fair and rosy and the light brown hair is brushed away from the forehead and temples and worn low in the neck. The right arm hangs at her side. The left arm is outstretched and the hand held, palm down, with the index finger extended on which sits, facing the child, a tiny black bird with a long tail and with dashes of red on its head and wings. At the left of the canvas is a dense mass of very dark green foliage against a warm background. At the right are light olive clouds with dark blue sky, and in the lower left corner a landscape of distant hills is suggested with considerable skill.

Painted about 1760. H. 40¾″. W. 30″.

Reproduced in *The Pickering Genealogy*, I, facing p. 235, but the age of the child is given as about ten years, which is obviously wrong. These three Leavitt pictures have always been known as the work of Badger.

Owned by John Pickering, Esq., Salem, Massachusetts.

MERCY LEE, *see* MRS. THOMAS SHIPPARD.

DANIEL MACKAY (1720–1796).

He was a son of William and Margaret (Epes) Mackay of Salem, Massachusetts, where he was born 21 August, 1720. He married in 1761 for his second wife Esther Gardner, widow of Francis Higginson of Salem. He was a Salem ship-master and died at Andover, Massachusetts 3 August, 1796.

He is shown standing, to below the waist, turned slightly towards his left with his eyes to the spectator. He wears an unpowdered wig falling in curls to his neck, a collarless coat with large buttons and wide cuffs and a high waistcoat. About his neck is a white muslin neckcloth tied below the chin with the ends tucked into the top of the waistcoat. At his wrists are narrow wristbands but no ruffles. His left hand raised to the level of his head grasps a spy-glass which stands erect, resting on a table. The fingers of his right hand are thrust into his waistcoat with the thumb exposed. The background is a landscape with foliage showing in the upper left corner.

Painted about 1760.

Reproduced in *The Pickering Genealogy*, I, facing p. 180.

This picture was owned in 1897 by Mrs. Francis Warren Rockwell of Brooklyn, New York, but I have been unable to find it.

MRS. DANIEL MACKAY (1740–1796).

She was Esther Gardner, the daughter of Samuel and Esther (Orne) Gardner of Salem, Massachusetts, where she was born 13 January, 1740.

She married for her first husband Francis Higginson (1733–1760) of Salem, and secondly Daniel Mackay in 1761. She died in May, 1796.

She is shown seated, nearly full front, to the knees. Her hair and eyes are dark. She wears a white muslin cap tied with a narrow ribbon under her chin; a white lace kerchief and a short sleeved tight fitting bodice with cuffs and flowing white muslin ruffles, and full skirts. Her left hand, partly open, rests on her lap, and her right hand, with the index finger extended, is held in front with trees at the left side of the canvas.

Painted about 1761.

Reproduced in *The Pickering Genealogy*, I, facing p. 179.

This picture was owned in 1897 by Mrs. Francis Warren Rockwell of Brooklyn, New York, but I have been unable to find it.

ELIZABETH MARION, *see* MRS. WILLIAM STORY.

CAPT. JOHN MARSTON (1715–1718).

Son of Nathaniel and Mercy (Marston) Marston of Salem and later of Boston. He was born in Salem and baptized there 26 February, 1715. He married first in 1740, Hannah Welland; secondly in 1751 her sister Mrs. Elizabeth (Welland) Blake, and thirdly in 1755 Elizabeth Greenwood, who survived him. He was present as lieutenant at the first siege of Louisburg in 1745 and as early as 1752 was proprietor of the "Golden Ball" Tavern on Merchants' Row, Boston. From 1775 to his death, he conducted the "Bunch of Grapes" Tavern on King, now State, Street, Boston, which afterwards was continued by his widow. He died in August, 1786.

Standing, turned three-quarters towards his left, shown nearly to knees. His eyes are directed to the spectator. He wears a large white bag wig, a white neckcloth, with the ends tucked into the top of the waistcoat, a long dress coat of velvet, with wide cuffs and no collar, and a long waistcoat embroidered with narrow gold lace. At the wrists are long white muslin ruffles turned back over the coat cuff. The coat and cuff have large buttons. The hilt of a sword shows at his left side. His right hand, palm upwards, is held in front of his body, with the index finger extended. The left hand is concealed behind him and under the left arm is tucked his black hat trimmed with gold lace. Behind him is a fluted column with a bit of foliage appearing from behind the column. At the right, seen across a stretch of water, are shown the ruins of a fort with the word "Louisbourg" written below them on the water, and in the foreground in the lower right-hand corner are other ruins of a fort.

Painted about 1755.

Reproduced from a photograph in the possession of the Bostonian Society, in *Proceedings of the Bostonian Society*, January, 1911, 25.

I have not found the picture.

THOMAS MASON (1750–1775).

Son of Thomas and Abigail Mason of Salem, Massachusetts. He was baptized there on 8 April, 1750, and married at Salem, 4 December, 1774, Eunice Diman (1752–1796). He was drowned the year after his marriage while returning home in a vessel from Charleston, South

Carolina. His widow married in 1782 Jonathan Haraden, a prominent sea-captain and privateersman of Salem, who died in 1803.

This portrait was painted, according to a record on the back of the frame which is doubtless correct, when Mason was eight years and six months old, and represents him, standing at full-length, turned three-quarters toward his right, with his face nearly full front, and his clear brown eyes directed to the spectator. His feet are placed slightly apart, his left arm hangs at his side, and his right hand is extended, with a gray squirrel, which faces him, sitting on the forearm. His light brown hair is brushed back from his forehead, and puffed over the ears, and the complexion is fair with a pinkish-brown tone on the cheeks. He wears a grayish-brown coat, without a collar, and with wide pocket lapels, with buttons of the same color on the coat and wide cuffs. The coat sleeves are short and disclose a portion of the white shirt sleeve terminating in a wide white muslin ruffle. The waistcoat, with buttons to match, is of a clear medium blue, and reaches well below the waist. The breeches, buckled at the knee, are a grayish-brown, like the coat; the stockings white, and the low buckled shoes are black. At the neck is a white muslin neckcloth, with a bit of a shirt-ruffle showing below it, and a black silk tie, the long ends of which fall across his breast. At the right of the canvas behind the figure, is a mass of greenish-gray foliage reaching to the top of the picture, against an overcast sky of brownish-gray. At the left is a distant landscape of low trees and fields.

Painted in 1758. H. 53¾″. W. 37″.

Reproduced in the *Genealogy of the Pickering Family*, I, facing p. 197.

Owned by Mrs. Henry G. Hall, Magnolia, Massachusetts.

WILLIAM MERCHANT (1752–).

Son of William and Sarah (Dennie) Merchant of Boston. He was one of the four young men attacked by British soldiers just before the Boston massacre. He is supposed to have died unmarried.

He is shown as a boy of five or six years of age, at life size and more than half length, dressed in a gray coat and a blue waistcoat. Around his neck is a narrow black ribbon and his hat is tucked under his arm.

Painted about 1757.

I have not been able to see this picture, and the description is taken from Perkins, 86, who calls it a Copley, but I feel however that there is but little doubt that it is similar to the portraits of Thomas Dawes, John Joy, Thomas Mason, and Samuel Torrey, and that Badger is the artist.

Owned by Mrs. William M. R. French, Chicago.

TIMOTHY ORNE (1717–1767).

Son of Timothy and Lois (Pickering) Orne of Salem, Massachusetts, where he was born 27 June, 1717. He married 25 June, 1747, Rebecca Taylor, and was a prominent and wealthy merchant of Salem, where he died 14 July, 1767.

Standing, three-quarters length, turned slightly toward his right, with his face nearly full front. He wears a broadcloth coat of a dark blue shade, with buttons to match, and without a collar, a long dark brown velvet waistcoat, and black breeches. The dark grayish wig is dressed in large curls over the ears. His complexion is brownish, and

his grayish-brown eyes look directly at the spectator. His left hand, with the first two fingers extended and separated, rests upon his hip, while his right arm is outstretched, the hand holding a letter with a red seal. The shirt sleeves show below the wide cuff of the coat and are caught by a wristband fastened with a gold stud, from which hang wide white muslin ruffles. A white neckcloth is tied below the chin and tucked into the neck of the waistcoat. At the right, behind the figure, is a tree, very freely painted, against a greenish-olive sky which changes at the left to brownish-olive clouds with a patch of blue sky in the upper left corner. Below is the ocean of greenish-blue water with two sailing vessels in the distance.

Painted in 1757. H. 48⅝″. W. 38⅝″.

In Timothy Orne's memorandum book for 1757 is found the following entry: "Joseph Bagger Faice painter Boston My picture £6. My wife's £6. pictures of my four children" *The Pickering Genealogy*, I. 95.

Reproduced in *The Pickering Genealogy*, I, facing p. 95.

Owned by Robert Saltonstall, Esq., Readville, Massachusetts.

MRS. TIMOTHY ORNE (1727–1771).

She was Rebecca, daughter of William and Sarah (Burrill) Taylor of Lynn, Massachusetts. She was born there 5 June, 1727, and died in Salem, Massachusetts, 1 May, 1771.

Shown three-quarters length, seated, turned slightly toward her left with her face nearly full front. She wears a light greenish-blue silk dress, with a tight-fitting bodice, and a full skirt, the folds of which are particularly well painted. Over her shoulders is a white muslin kerchief which leaves the throat exposed, and a white muslin cap, trimmed with a white ruffle and tied under the chin with a dark blue silk bow, nearly conceals her dark hair, brushed back from her forehead, and temples, and reappearing in curls at her neck. The elbow sleeves are trimmed with cuffs of the same material, from which depend wide white muslin ruffles. In her right hand she holds a dark pink rose, and her left hand, partially open, rests lightly upon her lap. Her complexion is fair with slight color in the cheeks, and her gray eyes are directed to the spectator. In the background at the left are dark green trees and shrubbery against a dark warm sky. Behind and at the right of the head are light brownish clouds and dark blue sky in the upper right corner. In the lower right corner a dim distant landscape is suggested. This picture is very similar in pose and color to that of Mrs. Stephen Brown and is one of Badger's best works.

Painted in 1757. H. 48½″. W. 38¾″.

Reproduced in *The Pickering Genealogy*, I, facing p. 97, and in *Two Centuries of Costume in America*, by Alice Morse Earle, II, facing p. 502.

Owned by Robert Saltonstall, Esq., Readville, Massachusetts.

MRS. JOSEPH ORNE, *see* MARY LEAVITT.

MISS LOIS ORNE (1756–1822).

She was a daughter of Timothy and Rebecca (Taylor) Orne of Salem, and was born there 18 February, 1756. She married in 1773 Dr. William Paine (1750–1833) of Worcester, bringing him a fortune of £3000,

and much valuable furniture, plate, etc. She died in Worcester 27 February, 1822.

Shown as child of nearly two years, standing, three-quarters length, and turned slightly toward her left with her face nearly full front. She wears a dress of white satin which has acquired a greenish-gray tone. It is cut low in the neck and trimmed with a narrow white ruffle, and the sleeves of elbow-length have a cuff with a narrow white muslin ruffle. Upon her head is a dainty cap of white lawn which nearly conceals her very light brownish-yellow hair. Her large dark grayish-blue eyes are directed to the spectator. Her left arm hangs at her side and her right arm is bent at the elbow with the hand holding a small wooden rattle which has three tiny bells at one end and a whistle at the other. The background is plain and of a warm brown tone.

Painted in 1757. H. 24⅞". W. 19⅞".

Reproduced in *The Pickering Genealogy*, I, facing p. 189.

Owned by Robert Saltonstall, Esq., Readville, Massachusetts.

MISS REBECCA ORNE (1748–1818).

She was the daughter of Timothy and Rebecca (Taylor) Orne of Salem, Massachusetts, and was born there 17 July, 1748. She married in 1768 Joseph Cabot (1746–1774) of Salem, and died in Salem 17 November, 1818.

She is shown at half-length, turned three-quarters toward her left, with her face toward her right. She wears a tight-fitting dress of a light brownish-rose shade, cut with a low neck trimmed with a narrow white muslin ruffle. The sleeves are of elbow length, with a cuff and a white muslin ruffle. The left arm is not shown, and in her right hand she holds a gray squirrel facing her, with his long bushy tail curving up in front of her body, and the fingers of her left hand resting on the squirrel's back. Her dark brown hair is brushed back from her forehead and worn low on her neck, and her brown eyes face the spectator. The background is plain, changing from a dark olive at the left to a lighter olive-brown at the right.

Painted in 1757. H. 24⅞". W. 19⅞".

Reproduced in *The Pickering Genealogy*, I, facing p. 186.

Owned by Robert Saltonstall, Esq., Readville, Massachusetts.

MISS SARAH ORNE (1752–1812).

Daughter of Timothy and Rebecca (Taylor) Orne of Salem, where she was born 5 June, 1752. She married 24 July, 1770, Clark Gayton Pickman (1746–1781) of Salem, and died September, 1812.

Painted in 1757.

This picture has not been found.

TIMOTHY ORNE, JR. (1750–1789).

Son of Timothy and Rebecca (Taylor) Orne of Salem, Massachusetts, where he was born 30 April, 1750. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1768. He married 28 November, 1771, Elizabeth Pyncheon (1753–1836) and died 26 December, 1789.

Painted in 1757.

This picture has not been found.

MRS. WILLIAM PAINE, *see* LOIS ORNE.

SUSANNA PARKER, *see* MRS. JOHN ADAMS.

MRS. JONATHAN PAYSON, *see* SARAH LEAVITT.

MARY PICKERING, *see* MRS. DUDLEY LEAVITT.

MRS. CLARK GAYTON PICKMAN, *see* SARAH ORNE.

JAMES PITTS (1710–1776).

Son of John and Elizabeth (Lindall) Pitts of Boston. He was a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1731, and on 26 October, 1732, he married at Boston Elizabeth (1717–1771) daughter of Hon. James and Hannah (Pordage) Bowdoin of Boston. He became a prominent and wealthy Boston merchant and from 1766 to 1774 was a member of the King's Council. In 1774 he retired to his estate in Tyngsborough, Massachusetts, where he died.

He is shown at three-quarters length, standing turned toward his right with his brown eyes to the spectator. He wears a powdered wig, a white neckcloth with a shirt ruffle projecting from the partially unbuttoned brown waistcoat. The coat sleeves expose a portion of the shirtsleeve, below which are white muslin ruffles. His right hand is thrust into the waistcoat, while the left hand, resting upon his hip, holds back the skirt of the long brown coat.

Painted about 1758. H. 36″. W. 27″.

Reproduced in *Provincial Pictures by Brush and Pen* by Daniel Goodwin, Jr., but wrongly called a portrait by Smibert of John Pitts (1668–1731), the father of James.

Owned by Lendall Pitts, Esq., Detroit, Michigan.

MRS. HESTER PLAISTED, *see* UNKNOWN WOMAN.

REV. THOMAS PRINCE (1687–1758).

Son of Samuel and Mercy (Hinckley) Prince of Boston. He was born there 15 May, 1687, and was graduated from Harvard College in 1707. He married at Boston 30 October, 1719, Deborah Denny (d. 1766) and from 1718 until his death on 27 October, 1758, was pastor of the Old South Church in Boston, but he is better known as the collector of a valuable library, and as an historical writer.

Bust, turned slightly toward his left. He wears a black coat, with large black buttons, a black waistcoat with smaller black buttons, white neckcloth with white lawn bands, and over his left arm is thrown a black cloak. He wears a large white wig. His eyes directed to the spectator, are dark grayish-blue and his complexion is brownish. The background is of a yellowish-olive tone at the right, growing darker at the left of the picture. Spandrels of a reddish-brown color are shown in the lower corners.

Painted about 1750. H. 29¼″. W. 24¼″.

Reproduced in *New France and New England* by John Fiske, 209.

Owned by the American Antiquarian Society.

MRS. EDMUND QUINCY (1704–1769).

She was Elizabeth, daughter of Abraham and Katrina (de Key) Wendell of Albany, New York, who later settled in Boston. She mar-

ried 15 April, 1725, Edmund Quincy (1703–1788) of Braintree, Massachusetts, whose sister Elizabeth Quincy had a year previous married Elizabeth Wendell's brother John.

She is shown seated, her body turned three-quarters toward her right, and her head three-quarters toward her left, with her gray blue eyes directed to the spectator. Her hair is very dark brown, worn in long curls, one of which hangs over her left shoulder. Her left hand, palm upward, rests upon her lap. Her right arm hangs at her side with the hand concealed by her skirts. She wears a loose-fitting, low-necked, short-sleeved gown of warm brownish-red, with white ruffles in the neck and sleeves. The background is plain and dark. In pose and arrangement of costume this picture is very similar to the portrait of Mrs. John Adams.

Painted about 1745. H. 36″. W. 28″.

Deposited in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and labelled as the work of John Smibert.

Owned by Mrs. William D. Hodges.

MRS. NORTON QUINCY (1727–1747).

She was Martha, daughter of Nicholas and Martha (Saunders) Salisbury, of Boston, where she was born 6 April, 1727. She married at Boston 12 February, 1746, Norton Quincy, and died the following year.

She is shown seated, turned slightly towards her left, with her face nearly front, in a mahogany chair. Her right hand, palm upwards, lies upon her lap, and her left elbow rests upon a table covered with a red cloth, the hand hanging over the table edge. Her hair, with a curl over the left shoulder, is dark brown, and her eyes, directed to the spectator are of the same color. She wears a steel-blue gown, low-necked and with elbow sleeves which terminate in wide white ruffles, and white ruffles are shown at the neck of the dress. A narrow string-like ribbon of black encircles her neck and is tied under the chin in a large loose bow. A heavy reddish curtain with fringe and tassel is draped across the upper portion of the canvas and the remainder of the background is of a plain grayish-green tone.

Painted about 1746. H. 36″. W. 28½″.

Owned by the Worcester Art Museum, Worcester.

This picture is mentioned by Tuckerman in his *Book of the Artists*, New York, 1867, 42, who calls it a portrait of Mrs. Norton *Gurney* and attributes it to "Smybert." The entire canvas has not only been repainted and not in Badger's colors, but the curtain and the ribbon at the neck have almost certainly been added by the "restorer."

MARY RONCHON, *see* MRS. ANDREW SIGOURNEY.

MISS MARY MCINTOSH ROYALL? (1745–1768).

This picture was found many years ago in the Royall house in Medford, Massachusetts, and is supposed to represent one of the daughters of Isaac Royall (1719–1781) and his wife Elizabeth McIntosh. The only daughter of Isaac Royall, whose age, as shown in the picture, would be at all suitable to coincide with the period of the costume is Mary McIntosh Royall, who was born 10 January, 1745, and married 26 January, 1775, George Erving (1736–1806), a merchant of Boston

and a refugee who died in London. He had previously married Lucy Winslow who died in 1770.

She is shown at three-quarters length, standing, turned slightly toward her right, her face turned toward her left. She wears a dark brown dress, with a tight-fitting bodice and rather full skirts. The bodice is cut low in the neck where it is trimmed with a narrow white muslin ruffle. The sleeves, finished with a cuff, are of elbow length and have a wide white muslin ruffle. Over her right shoulder is draped a pale greenish-blue scarf which follows the outline of the right arm, but does not cover it. In her left hand is a dark pinkish colored rose and her right hand is hidden behind a wicker basket of roses and ferns in the lower left-hand corner of the canvas. Her head is crowned with a mass of very dark brown wavy hair and a curl hangs over her left shoulder. The forehead is high, the eyes directed to the spectator, are dark brown, and the expression of the face serious. The background is plain and of a grayish-brown tone.

Painted about 1759. H. 29″. W. 24¼″.

On the back of the stretcher is another canvas upon which is painted an unpleasant picture representing a young girl painted after death, with brown hair and closed eyes, wearing a white cap, and lying on a pillow with a cold blue drapery above her. This may represent Mary Royall's elder sister, Elizabeth, who was born 7 June, 1740, and died 9 July, 1747.

Owned by the New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston.

JAMES RUSSELL (1715–1798).

Son of Hon. Daniel and Rebecca (Chambers) Russell of Charlestown, Mass. He married in 1738 Katherine Greaves (1717–1778) of Charlestown, and was a prominent citizen of his native town, and a councillor and judge.

This is a half-length portrait, showing him standing and turned three-quarters towards his left, with his right hand, the first two fingers extended and separated, resting on his hip and holding back his grayish-brown coat. There are large brown buttons on the coat and wide cuff and a corner of the cuff is turned over. The coat sleeve is short, exposing a part of the shirt sleeve, which is finished with a wide ruffle with a dark colored stud in the wristband. The coat is without a collar or lapel. The waistcoat is long, and of a dark brown shade, with small brown buttons. The left arm and hand are not shown. He wears a white wig with a curl on his right shoulder, and a white neckcloth tied at the chin, falls like a tippet half way to his waist. His dark brown eyes are directed to the spectator and his face, upon which the suggestion of a smile appears, is of a brownish tone. The background is plain, dark at the left, and growing lighter as it approaches the right side of the canvas. The picture has been much over-cleaned and repainted.

Painted about 1755. H. 37″. W. 29½″.

Owned by Mrs. Edward L. Rantoul, Jamaica Plain, Mass.

ARTHUR ? SAVAGE (b. 1751; d. before January, 1763).

This is a portrait of one of the younger sons of Thomas Savage (1710–1760) a Boston merchant, but whether it represents Alexander (b. 1747), a son of Thomas Savage's first wife Deborah Briggs, or Ezekiel (b. 1750) or Arthur (b. 1751), both sons by a second wife, Sarah

Cheever, is not known. Alexander and Arthur died before January, 1763, and Ezekiel before October, 1760. From the costume and apparent age of the subject of the picture, I think it is probably a portrait of Arthur at the age of six or seven years.

He is shown standing, three-quarters length, turned slightly toward his left, with his face nearly full front. His right hand, with first two fingers extended and separated rests upon his hip, and his left arm hangs at his side, with his black cocked hat tucked under it, and the hand holding a pale pink rose. He wears a full-skirted, slate-colored coat held back by his right hand. Large black buttons appear on the coat and on the large cuff. The long-bodied waistcoat is dark brown. About his neck is a white muslin ruffle below which a black satin ribbon is tied in a bow under the chin, and below the bow is a bit of white muslin shirt-ruffle. Wide white ruffles show at the wrists with a small dark-colored button in the wristband of the shirt. His hair, brushed back from a high forehead, and dressed in small puffs over the ears, is tied with a black queue bow, and is of a light brown shade. The large gray-blue eyes look out at the spectator from a delicate, refined serious face. The background has branches of foliage at the left of the picture, with a raw cold blue sky and clouds behind the figure and at the right. Distant foliage is suggested in the lower right hand corner.

Painted about 1758. H. 30″. W. 24½″.

Owned by Mrs. Henry W. Cunningham, Boston.

FAITH SAVAGE, *see* MRS. CORNELIUS WALDO.

MISS SARAH SAVAGE (1757–1781).

Daughter of Thomas and Sarah (Cheever) Savage of Boston. She married in 1776 Dr. Lemuel Hayward (1749–1821) of Boston, who became a prominent physician, living on Washington Street, at what is now the corner of Hayward Place. Mrs. Hayward died between August, 1780, and October, 1781, probably at Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts, where her husband practiced his profession until his removal in 1783 to Boston.

Represented as a young girl of about six or seven years of age, standing at full-length, turned slightly toward her left. Her right hand brought a little forward, holds a pale pink rose, and her left arm hangs at her side. She wears a slate colored silk dress, with a tight-fitting low-necked bodice, and full skirts reaching to the ground, from beneath which peep out the pointed toes of her slate-gray satin slippers. The neck of the dress is trimmed with a white lace ruffle, and on the front of the bodice is a design made of small grayish feathers. The elbow sleeves are finished with a band of four long narrow ruffles, below which is a long ruffle of white lace. Her light brown hair is brushed back from a high forehead, and slightly puffed over the ears, and tied at the back with a gray silk bow. On the top of the head is a tuft of tiny gray feathers. Her large dark-brown eyes are directed toward the spectator and her face is long, with a pointed chin. At the left of the picture is a group of dark-green foliage, the rest of the background being a cold blue sky, with distant hills at the lower right side, and a foreground of grayish-green.

Painted about 1763. H. 43⅞″. W. 34¼″.

Owned by Mrs. Francis T. Bowles, Boston.

THOMAS SAVAGE (1710–1760).

Son of Habijah and Hannah (Phillips) Savage of Boston. He was born in Boston 5 January, 1710, and became a merchant there. He was also interested in military affairs, and in 1756 was appointed captain of the Boston militia and in the following year captain of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. He married first in Boston, 26 June, 1735, Deborah Briggs who died about 1748, and second in Charlestown, Massachusetts, 30 November, 1749, Sarah Cheever who survived him fifty-two years, and her second husband William Taylor, nearly twenty-four years. By his two wives Savage had twelve children, of whom at least two were painted by Badger.

This portrait, a three-quarters length, is an example of Badger's best work and shows Savage, probably in the uniform of a captain of the Boston militia, standing, turned slightly toward his left, with his face nearly full front. He wears a powdered peruke, the queue tied with a black bow. About his neck is a white muslin neckcloth, a small shirt ruffle, well-painted, projecting from the neck of the waistcoat. The long scarlet coat, without a collar, and with brass buttons on the coat and wide cuff, is held well back by his right hand which rests upon his hip with the first two fingers extended and separated. A portion of the shirtsleeves is shown, caught at the wrist by a wristband fastened with a small gold button, and terminating in wide white muslin ruffles. The long scarlet waistcoat, buttoned with small brass buttons, is elaborately trimmed with wide gold lace about the edges and pocket lapels, and on the lapels themselves. The breeches are dark red. Across his breast reaching from his right shoulder to his left hip is a wide claret-colored sash which supports a sword, the gold hilt of which appears at his side. His left arm, under which is tucked his black hat trimmed with gold braid, is slightly extended with the hand, palm toward the spectator, partially closed, pointing with the fore finger toward the edge of the canvas. His face is rather fleshy, his complexion fair, but of high color and his dark bluish-gray eyes gaze directly from the canvas. At the left of the picture are suggestions of tall foliage which are repeated in the lower right corner. The background is composed of dark olive-browns and blues.

Painted about 1758. H. 46½". W. 36½".

Reproduced in *Major Thomas Savage of Boston and His Descendants*, by Lawrence Park, facing p. 22.

Owned by Henry Savage Page, Esq., Hempstead, Long Island, N. Y., but deposited with his sister, Miss Marie K. Page, Orange, New Jersey.

CAPT. THOMAS SHIPPARD.

Standing, shown nearly to knees, turned three-quarters towards his left. He wears a long, collarless coat of very dark green, with large buttons of the same color, and wide cuffs, a long bluish-green waistcoat with small buttons and a large scalloped pocket-flap, and black trousers. The white undersleeves are caught at the wrist by a narrow wristband with wide, flowing white muslin ruffles reaching to his knuckles. About his neck is a white muslin neckcloth tucked into his waistcoat. His wig is dark brown and with rolls of curls reaching to his neck. His face is plump with a ruddy complexion, his eyebrows heavy, and his dark brown eyes are directed to the front. His right

hand with the first two fingers extended, rests upon his hip, and his left hand held aloft grasps a long reddish lacquered spy-glass resting upon a rock at his side. In the background behind him is a tall well-painted tree against a sky of greenish browns and blues. In the lower right hand corner is the ocean upon which tosses in a high gale a two-masted ship. The pose is almost identical with that in the portrait of John Larrabee.

Painted about 1758. H. 42⅞". W. 33½".

Called a Smibert by Perkins.

Owned by Mrs. Frederick C. Shattuck, Brookline, Massachusetts.

MRS. THOMAS SHIPPARD (1718–17).

She was Mercy, a daughter of Thomas and Deborah (Flint) Lee of Massachusetts, where she was born 27 December, 1718.

She is shown seated, her body turned three-quarters towards her left, with her head turned towards her right and her dark eyes looking to the front. She wears a bluish-green silk dress with a long-waisted tight-fitting bodice and full skirts. The neck is cut low and trimmed with a narrow white muslin ruffle, with a large bow of grayish lilac at her breast and a narrow white twilled stomacher. The sleeves have wide cuffs at the elbows with flowing white muslin ruffles. Her hair, a very dark brown, falls in curls below her neck, and her face is thin, without much color. Her right hand resting palm upwards on her lap, holds carelessly, a few flowers, and her left elbow lies upon a marble-topped table with the hand hanging gracefully over the edge of the table. In the background at the left is a wall of a dark reddish-brown tone and at the right is some well-painted foliage against a sky of greenish blues and browns.

Painted about 1758. H. 33⅞". W. 27".

Called a Smibert by Perkins.

Owned by Mrs. Frederick C. Shattuck, Brookline, Massachusetts.

ANDREW SIGOURNEY (1702–1762).

Son of Andrew Sigourney (André Sejourné) by his wife, Marie Germaine, French Huguenots of Boston, where he was born January 30, 1702–1703. He married at Boston October 7, 1731, Mary Ronchon, and died November 4, 1762. He calls himself "distiller" in his will.

He is shown at three-quarters length, seated, turned slightly towards his left, with his brown eyes to front. He wears a light-brown coat with large gilt buttons which nearly meets but is not buttoned, showing a white neckerchief turned over with a single fold. The eye-brows are dark brown and on the head is a close short white wig. His right arm rests on the arm of a windsor chair with a white linen frill falling over the hand which, with the little finger and the one next it folded under, seems about to be slipped into the capacious pocket with large flap and three buttons. The left arm is uplifted and the hand holds a large spyglass, the index finger pointing upwards along the spyglass. At the extreme right of the canvas is shown the sea with a ship.

Painted about 1758. H. 50". W. 40".

Called a Copley by Perkins, 106.

Owned by Charles Sigourney Knox, Esq., Troy, N. Y.

THOMAS STEVENSON

PAINTED BY JOSEPH BADGER

MRS. ANDREW SIGOURNEY (17 –1772).

She was Mary, only daughter of Dr. John Ronchon of Boston. She died February 28, 1772.

Her portrait of three-quarters length, represents her as a woman of about forty years of age. She is seated full front to right with her left arm resting on a table or balcony (?) and with the hand holding a patch, or snuff-box. The right hand lies on her lap. She wears a short-sleeved gown of dark brown, with white linen flounces at the elbow and the neck, cut very low, is trimmed with a short white frill. Her brown eyes are directed to the front, and her dark hair is brushed back from her forehead and arranged close to the head. In the left background is a tree.

Painted about 1758. H. 50″. W. 40″.

Called a Copley by Perkins, 106.

Owned by Charles Sigourney Knox, Esq., Troy. N. Y.

THOMAS STEVENSON (1736–1775).

Born in Glasgow, Scotland, he immigrated early to Boston, where he became a merchant. He was married at Boston to Isabella Duncan, by the Reverend John Morehead on 2 December, 1762, and died at Cohasset, Massachusetts, 30 April, 1775.

He is shown, standing, slightly below the waist, turned nearly full-front. His right hand, palm upwards, and partly open, is held in front of his body. His left hand is behind his back, with a black hat tucked under the arm. He wears a brown coat, with collar and wide cuffs, the sleeves being short enough to show a bit of the shirt sleeve contracted at the wrist by a narrow band and terminating in a wide white muslin ruffle. The long waistcoat is brown like the coat and buttoned with small brown buttons. Large brown buttons appear on the coat and cuff, and both coat and waistcoat have pockets with wide lapels. His hair, or wig, is very dark brown, with small puffs over the ears and is tied with a black queue bow. About his neck is a narrow white muslin collar turned over, with a black cravat below. His dark blue eyes face the spectator and his complexion is ruddy. At the left of the canvas is tall dark green foliage against a dark blue sky which becomes lighter toward the right, while about the head and left shoulder are yellowish brown clouds.

Painted about 1763. H. 34¾″. W. 24½″.

Owned by Col. Robert H. Stevenson, Boston.

MRS. THOMAS STEVENSON (1744–1775).

She was Isabella Duncan, daughter of Robert and Isabella (Caldwell) Duncan, her father having come to Boston from Londonderry, Ireland, in 1720. She married at Boston 2 December, 1762, Thomas Stevenson, and died at Cohasset, Massachusetts, 6 December, 1775.

She is shown at three-quarters length, with slender, erect figure, seated, nearly full front. Her right hand, resting on her lap, holds an orange, and her left hand is concealed at her side behind her skirt. She wears an interesting costume of bluish-green silk with low-necked tight-fitting bodice and very full skirts. The sleeves are tight and terminate at the elbow in a band of three scalloped ruffles which hang far down from the elbow, and below is a wide and very long ruffle of thin white lace. On the sleeve above the elbow is fastened a small bow of

mauve colored silk. The stomacher of the bodice is of light green silk, elaborately embroidered with leaves, and various colored flowers. Her brown hair is brushed back from her forehead and temples and tied at the back of the neck with a mauve silk bow, and on top of the head is a bow of thin white muslin and a bunch of small colored artificial flowers and leaves. About the throat is a necklace of large dark blue cut stones. The white embroidered lines are shown on the sleeve ruffles and at each side of the stomacher. Her long thin face has some color and her eyes of dark brown look slightly toward her left. In the background at the left of the picture is tall, dark green foliage, against grayish brown clouds which at the right of the head become a lighter brown against a cold blue sky. In the lower right-hand corner are distant low-lying hills.

Painted about 1763. H. 34¾″. W. 24½″.

Owned by Col. Robert H. Stevenson, Boston.

MRS. WILLIAM STORY (1721–1746).

She was Elizabeth, daughter of Joseph and Ellin[1] (Bridge) Marion of Boston, where she was born 22 August 1721. She married at Boston, 5 August, 1741, William Story (1720–1799) of Boston, by whom she had three children, one of her grandchildren being Joseph Story (1779–1845), the distinguished jurist. She died at Boston, 18 August, 1746.

According to a statement written in ink on the back of the canvas, this portrait was "painted after death" which may well account for its inferiority, and bad flesh tones. It is similar in the style of costume to the portraits of Mrs. John Adams and Mrs. Edmund Quincy and shows Mrs. Story wearing a greenish-blue gown, loose-fitting and with low neck and elbow sleeves, the neck of the dress being trimmed with a narrow white ruffle while a portion of a white, flowing ruffle appears at the right elbow. Her face and body are turned three-quarters toward her left, but her dark brown eyes are directed to the spectator. Her dark brown hair falls in a long curl over her left shoulder. The background is plain and of a warm brown tone.

Painted in 1746. H. 29⅛″. W. 23⅛″. Oval.

Reproduced in *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*, I. 297.

Owned by the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts.

REBECCA TAYLOR, *see* MRS. TIMOTHY ORNE.

SAMUEL TORREY (1757–1815).

Son of Samuel and Abigail (Cowell) Torrey of Boston. He married in 1786 Catharine Gore of Boston, a sister of Governor Christopher Gore.

This picture represents a boy about seven years old, standing, shown nearly to the knees, and turned three-quarters toward his left, with the face nearly front. He wears a brown coat with a narrow collar, and wide cuffs. About his neck is a white muslin collar turned over, with a narrow black ribbon, tied under the chin in a bow, and a shirt ruffle showing below. His long blue waistcoat is trimmed about the edge, pocket lapels and buttonholes with narrow white braid, and is buttoned with numerous small white buttons. The breeches are dark

[1] *Eleanor* in Boston records, but *Ellin* in Joseph Marion's Bible.

brown, and at the wrists are wide white muslin ruffles. His dark brown eyes gaze directly at the spectator, and the dark brown hair is brushed back from a high forehead, puffed over the ears and tied with a black queue bow. His right hand, with the first two fingers separated and extended, rests upon his hip, while the left hand (with forearm outstretched) has the thumb erect and a straight index finger on which is perched a small orange and black bird, facing the boy. In the left background is a mass of dark green foliage, while in the lower right-hand corner is a distant landscape with low shrubbery. The remainder of the background shows a cold blue sky, becoming a yellowish-brown near the outline of the figure. The picture is in excellent condition.

Painted about 1764. H. 30″. W. 24½″.

Reproduced in *Child Life in Colonial Days*, by Alice Morse Earle, 176, but wrongly stated to have been painted in 1770, and no artist's name is given.

Owned by Miss Frances R. Morse, Boston.

THOMAS TURNER (1754– d. before 1820).

Son of Ephraim and Dorothy (Foy) Turner of Boston where he was born 4 December, 1754. He became a company captain in the Revolution in May, 1776, and served until the end of the war, attaining the rank of Captain. He was an original member of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati in 1783, and later removing to Charleston, S. C., became a member of the Society in that state. He was living in Charleston in 1790 but was dead in 1820.

An interesting picture of a small boy of about five years of age, standing, at half-length, turned slightly toward his left. His large dark brown eyes gaze directly at the spectator, and his dark brown hair is brushed back from his forehead, puffed over the ears, and in long curls at the back. He wears a brown coat, buttoned, cut low in the neck, with wide cuffs on the sleeves, which show some of the shirt-sleeve, with the wristband caught with a gold stud and the wide white ruffles partially covering the hands. The cuffs, as well as the coat, have buttons. About the waist is a dark ribbon-like sash tied in front, with the ends hanging down. The coat is cut away just below the waist. The right hand, with the first two fingers extended and separated, rests on the hip; the left arm hangs at his side, the hand holding a small thin leather-bound book, closed. At the left is dark-green foliage against dark blue sky. About the figure are yellowish-brown clouds with dark blue sky beyond. In the lower right-hand corner a low hill surmounted by a single tree is shown.

The picture is in a very bad condition, and a circular piece of the canvas, about an inch in diameter, is missing under the right eye.

Painted about 1759. H. 26¼″. W. 21½″.

Owned by the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

SARAH TUTTLE, *see* UNKNOWN WOMAN.

MRS. JOSEPH TYLER, *see* FRANCES TYNG.

WILLIAM TYLER (1688–1758).

Son of Thomas and Miriam (Simpkins) Tyler of Boston. He married, first, at Boston, 7 December, 1710, Sarah Royall (d. 1740) and

secondly, Jane (1701–1765), widow of Benjamin Clark, and sister of Sir William Pepperrell, Baronet. He was a wealthy brazier and hardware merchant of Boston, in partnership with Thomas Hancock under the firm name of Tyler and Hancock, and lived on Ann Street, where he died 1 July, 1758.

Bust; the large head nearly full front, being placed near the top of the canvas. He wears a black coat without a collar. The neckband of the shirt shows above the buttoned coat, but there is no neckcloth. His face is fleshy, his complexion ruddy, and his small dark blue eyes are directed to the spectator. His white hair, very thin on top of the head, falls in silky strands upon his shoulders. The background is plain and dark.

Painted about 1757. H. 29½″. W. 24¾″.

This has been regarded for many years as a portrait by Smibert, and is given as the work of that artist by Augustus Thorndike Perkins in his list of portraits by Smibert and Blackburn in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1878, 399.

Owned by the New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston.

MISS FRANCES TYNG (1733–1769).

She was the daughter of John and Sarah (Morse) Tyng of Boston and was born there 19 July, 1733. She married (intentions recorded in Boston records 28 September, 1757) Joseph Tyler (1730–1774), a Boston merchant, son of William and Sarah (Royall) Tyler of Boston. She died of small-pox at Boston, 15 July, 1769.

This is a portrait of a girl of about seventeen years of age shown standing, to knees, turned slightly towards her left. Her light brown hair is brushed back from a high forehead and worn in curls at her neck, with one curl falling over her left shoulder. Her large dark brown eyes are directed to the spectator, and her complexion is rosy. She wears a low cut gown of blue silk with short sleeves, wide cuffs and a full skirt, the neck and sleeves trimmed with white muslin ruffles. In her right hand she holds a small russet colored apple and with her left she grasps lightly the stem of a tulip springing from a wicker basket filled with other tulips and roses which rests upon a marble shelf supported by a scroll bracket. In the background is a brown wall reaching to the top of the canvas, with an opening at the right through which is seen a row of poplar trees with bluish sky and a grayish cloud beyond.

Cf. the portraits of Mrs. John Adams, Mrs. Edmund Quincy, and Mrs. William Story.

Painted about 1750. H. 34½″. W. 27½″.

Owned by Frederick S. Whitwell, Esq., Boston.

UNKNOWN WOMAN.

This is considered by the owner a portrait of Sarah Tuttle who in 1702 became the third wife of James Gooch of Boston, but as it represents a woman of not over thirty-five years of age and in the costume of 1745–1750, this is obviously not a correct attribution. It may, however, be a portrait of Hester, widow of Francis Plaisted, mariner, of Boston, who married in 1729, for her second husband, James Gooch, Jr.

She sits, turned towards her right with her face nearly front, her right forearm resting on a wooden shelf or table, with the hand hanging over the edge. Her left hand rests palm upwards on her lap and tightly

grasps a rose. Her dark brown hair is worn in curls at the back of the neck and her brown eyes are directed to the front. She wears a bluish-green gown with elbow sleeves trimmed with flowing white linen ruffles, similar ruffles appearing at the low-cut neck of the dress. A dark reddish brown wall forms the background with an opening at the left side of the canvas through which are seen green trees and sky.

Painted about 1745. H. 36″. W. 28¼″.

Owned by Otis Barker, Esq., Scituate, Massachusetts.

UNKNOWN MAN.

Standing, shown nearly to knees, turned slightly toward his left. His brown wig is worn in puffs over his ears, his eyes directed to the spectator are blue, and his complexion is ruddy, with the tone darkened by time. The long oval face is that of a man thirty or thirty-five years of age. His right arm is bent, with the hand resting on his hip and the first two fingers extended. The left hand is held behind him, with a black cocked hat, edged with gold braid, tucked under his arm. He wears a black coat with a collar and wide cuffs and a long brown waistcoat trimmed with gold braid, slightly open at the neck and cut away below the waist, with pocket lapels also trimmed with gold braid. About his neck is a narrow muslin collar showing a plaited shirt below, and at the wrists is a narrow wristband with a wide muslin ruffle partially concealing the hand.

Painted about 1760. H. 40″. W. 29″.

Owned by John Frederick Lewis, Esq., Philadelphia.

Exhibited at an Exhibition of Early American Paintings held in the Museum of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences 3 February to 26 March, 1917, as a portrait of Lawrence Washington (?) by John Woolaston, and reproduced in the catalogue of that exhibition, opposite p. 128.

UNKNOWN CHILD.

This portrait, purchased by the present owner in 1913, came from the Joseph Briggs house in Marshfield, Massachusetts, where it was said to be a portrait of Martha Parke Custis (1756–1773), daughter of Daniel Parke and Martha (Dandridge) Custis, of Virginia, who later became the step-daughter of George Washington.

It represents a young girl of about four years of age, shown at three-quarters length, standing, and turned slightly toward her left. Her light brown hair, brushed back from her forehead, is worn in puffs over the ears, and in curls at the neck. Her blue eyes are directed to the spectator, and her complexion is fair. Her right arm hangs at her side and her left hand, held in front of her bosom, has a linnet perched upon the outstretched index finger. She wears a dress of dark bluish-green, cut low in the neck, and tied at the waist with a narrow sash of yellow-brown, the ends of which are finished in a tassel. The coat is cut away below the waist, disclosing a skirt of light yellowish-brown. The sleeves are trimmed with deep cuffs of the same color and material, with undersleeves of white muslin caught at the wrist, with wide flaring ruffles below. Both the edge of the cuff and the neck of the dress are trimmed with very narrow white lace and about the neck is a tiny black velvet ribbon tied in a small bow under the chin. The background is of a warm brown at the left, becoming towards the centre a light brown,

with a patch of dark blue sky in the upper right corner. In the lower right corner is a dark green hill with a single tree upon it, and in the foreground is shrubbery. Similar in costume to the portrait of Thomas Turner.

Painted about 1760. H. 28″. W. 21¾″.

The picture is painted on canvas which has been within recent years pasted upon a wooden panel.

Owned by Dwight M. Prouty, Esq., Boston.

UNKNOWN MAN.

This is thought to be some member of the Parker family, to which Samuel Parker (d. 1804), Bishop of Massachusetts, belonged.

He is shown at half-length, standing, the body turned slightly toward his left, and the face nearly full front. His right hand, with first two fingers extended and separated, rests on his hip, and holds in the third and fourth fingers a pair of dividers. His left hand is placed lightly on a small globe in the lower right hand corner of the picture. He wears a brown coat, with wide cuffs and without a collar, and a long bluish-green waistcoat. Large brown buttons are shown on the coat and cuffs, those on the waistcoat being smaller. The short sleeves show a portion of the shirt sleeve contracted at the wrist by a narrow band fastened with a gold button, and expanding into a wide white muslin ruffle. About the neck is a white muslin neckcloth and a small white shirt ruffle. The hair is black, and the face, from which small dark eyes gaze at the spectator, shows a man of about twenty-five years of age. At the left of the canvas is a dark-green tree, and behind the figure a dark sky of browns and greenish-blues. Distant hills are indicated at the right.

Painted about 1760. H. 37″. W. 27¼″.

Owned by Heirs of Judge John Lathrop of Boston.

UPHAM, HANNAH, *see* MRS. JOHN HASKINS.

MISS MARY VIAL (1737–1802).

Daughter of Nathaniel and Mary (Simpson) Vial of Boston. On 22 November, 1759 she became the second wife of Edward Augustus Holyoke (1728–1829), a leading physician of Salem, and died in Salem, 15 April, 1802.

Standing, three-quarters length, her body turned slightly toward her left, and her face nearly full front. She wears a low-necked short-sleeved dress of blue with full skirts. The neck is trimmed with an edging of narrow white lace, which is repeated on the white stomacher, and white muslin apron, and the sleeves with cuffs of the same color and material as the dress, are trimmed with wide flowing white lace ruffles. The apron covers most of the skirt. Her right hand, partially open and with the palm upwards, is held against the front of her apron, and the left arm is extended, with the hand holding a branch of leaves and cherries. Her eyes directed to the spectator, are hazel, and her rich dark brown hair is worn long, one curl falling over the left shoulder. At the left of the picture, is a dark brown wall against which the figure is placed, and at the right is a tall tree, and sky with three or four cypress-shaped trees in the lower right hand corner.

The picture, at some time, was taken from its stretcher and rolled up

and becoming badly cracked, was repainted many years ago by Southard, a Salem artist.

Painted about 1755. H. 31″. W. 26″.

Reproduced in *The Holyoke Diaries*, 47.

Owned by Miss Mary W. Nichols, Hathorne, Massachusetts.

DAVID WAITE (1759–1764).

Eldest son of David and Rebecca (Wood) Waite of Charlestown, Massachusetts. He was born there 5 July, 1759, and died there 3 November, 1764. (Grave-stone record.) (Wyman's *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown*, II. 987.)

Shown, at three-quarters length standing, turned slightly toward his left. His brownish-black hair is worn in a puff over his ears. His eyes, directed to the spectator, are dark, and his complexion fair. His right arm is bent at the elbow and in his unfinished hand he holds what ia apparently intended to be an apple. His left hand is concealed behind his back and under the arm he carries his black hat. He wears an open, yellowish-brown coat, with darker brown buttons on the coat, cuffs and below the pocket lapels. The long waistcoat is of a bluish-green color, with buttons of a darker green. Around his neck is a narrow white muslin ruffle under which is a narrow black ribbon tied in a bow under the chin. The sleeves of the coat have wide cuffs, and at the wrist are wide flaring white muslin ruffles. The background is dark with indications of obscure shrubbery at the left of the canvas. It is very similar in pose and costume to the portrait of Thomas Dawes.

Painted in 1764. H. 30″. W. 24″.

Considered to be a Copley by the family, and so called by Perkins, 117–118, who describes it as a portrait of *Daniel Wait*, said to have been painted in 1774.

Reproduced in *Child Life in Colonial Days*, by Alice Morse Earle, 158.

Owned by Dr. John W. Langley, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

CORNELIUS WALDO (1684–1753).

Son of Cornelius and Faith (Peck) Waldo of Boston. He was probably born in Dunstable, Massachusetts, and became an eminent merchant of Boston, where he married 28 August, 1711, Faith Savage (1683–1760). He was a large landholder in Worcester and in Rutland and Holden, Massachusetts, but apparently never lived outside of Boston. He died in Boston, 4 June, 1753.

This is a three-quarters length portrait, showing him seated, turned three-quarters toward his left, with his head nearly full-front, in a high-backed mahogany arm-chair, upholstered in dark green velvet. His right arm rests on the arm of the chair, the hand drawn with much care, and the left hand lying on his lap. At his left elbow is a table covered with a green cloth upon which is a small round ink-well into which a quill pen is thrust, and near it a small wide-opened book. On the left-hand page of the book is written "Memorandum Boston Nov^{r}. 1750." Beyond the table is a large Tuscan column of a warm brown tone. He wears a heavy white wig dressed in rolls on each side of the head, a white linen neck-cloth, tied under the double chin, with the long ends falling over his breast, and caught in a buttonhole of the coat. The coat, with a wide cuff and without a collar, is of brown velvet; the breeches, buckled at the knee with a silver buckle, are black,

and the stockings white. At the wrists are wide white ruffles, that at the right wrist turning back from the hand. Large brown buttons show on the coat, cuff and below the pocket lapel. His small dark brown eyes are directed to the spectator and his face is fleshy. The background is a warm brown, somewhat lighter near the left side of the head. In the lower right-hand corner of the canvas, the following inscription has been painted: "Born Nov^{r}. 17th, 1684. Painted Nov^{r}. 1750." This was probably added many years after the painting of the picture.

Painted in November, 1750. H. 50″. W. 40″.

Reproduced in *Bulletin of the Worcester Art Museum*, for July, 1915, VI. 7, and in the *Genealogy of the Waldo Family*, by Waldo Lincoln, I. 69.

Owned by the Wetherell Estate, and deposited in the Worcester Art Museum.

Mrs. Cornelius Waldo (1683–1760).

She was Faith, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth (Scottow) Savage of Boston, where she was born 3 October, 1683. She was married there 28 August, 1711, to Cornelius Waldo, and died in Boston, 3 February, 1760.

She is represented at three-quarters length, seated, turned slightly toward her left, in a high-backed mahogany arm-chair upholstered in a bluish-green velvet. Her right arm rests upon the arm of the chair, and in her hand she holds a small partially opened book. The left hand lies on her lap. She is dressed in a loose-fitting, full-skirted gown of brown figured satin, the low neck entirely filled in with a kerchief or *fichu* of white, and the loose elbow sleeves terminating in wide white ruffles. On her head she wears a large white cap, with narrow ruffles about the neck, and tied with white strings under the double chin. Her eyes, gazing steadily at the spectator, are black, and her complexion is sallow. The background is a very dark brown with a green fringed curtain and tassel in the upper right-hand corner.

Painted in 1750. H. 50″. W. 40″.

Reproduced in the *Bulletin of the Worcester Art Museum* for July, 1915, VI. 6, in the *Waldo Genealogy* by Waldo Lincoln, I. 74, and in *Two Centuries of Costume in America* by Alice Morse Earle, II. 553.

Owned by the Wetherell Estate, and deposited in the Worcester Art Museum.

Elizabeth Wendell, *see* Mrs. Edmund Quincy.

Mrs. Isaac White, *see* Sarah Leavitt.

Miss Susannah (?) Williams.

She was a sister of Mary Williams who married Stephen Bradshaw, a representative of a Malden family.

This is a portrait of a young girl of from twelve to fifteen years of age, showing her at half-length, her head and body turned slightly toward her left, with her large dark brown eyes directed to the spectator. Her dark brown hair is brushed away from her forehead, puffed over her ears and worn low in the neck with a curl showing on the left

MRS. THOMAS STEVENSON

PAINTED BY JOSEPH BADGER

HISTORICAL

shoulder. Her complexion is dark with a bit of color on the cheeks. She wears a loose fitting low-necked dress of bluish green, the neck trimmed with a narrow ruffle of white muslin, and the short sleeves finished with a wide ruffle of the same material. A scarf of dark red (a color which I have found in no other portrait by Badger) is thrown about her body and across the right forearm. The right hand grasps the neck of a pottery vase from which protrudes a single long-stemmed flower. The left arm and hand are not shown. The background is plain and dark with the exception of a spot of olive brown near the head.

Painted about 1755. H. 25⅝″. W. 20½″.
The picture is painted on paper pasted on linen.
Owned by Mrs. Frederick Kendall, Boston.

ELEANOR WYER, *see* MRS. ISAAC FOSTER.

NATHANIEL MORTON TO THOMAS PRENCE.[1]

HONNORED SIR: — Not long after the last court I was ordered by Leiftenant Southworth not to lett any coppyes goe abroad of the depositions given in Court by Christopher Winter and Mr. Paine about the Quakers, whose said order I haue hitherto attended; but soe it is that very lately Mr. Hatherley and Capt: Cudworth haue sent for coppies of the said depositions as by these papers enclosed may appear on Receipt whereof at the first I was minded to send them, because sent for by such as they in Authoritie, — but before I came to a full Conclusion in my selfe I aduised with my Cosen Southworth whoe was against my sending any such coppy to them doubting of the Consequence Considering the messenger sent for them which was John Cooke; who (as wee Conceiue) by his agent Mr. John Howland endeauored to procure the said Coppies of the said depositions but could not obtaine them of mee before being ordered to the Contrary as was said; for my Cosen was of mind that they would convey them to the quakers and soe posibly papers of direct Contradiption might come out against the said depositions soe that pro and con and desturbance might arise therby; soe that wee conceiue that John Cooke mising his ends the other way for attaining of them; hath made vse of this way supposing that noe Contradiption could bee therin; besides there are diuers coppies sent for besides them as will appeer to you by the notes; which being lawes enacted and publickly Recorded I could not deney, and haue sent; but diuers of this Nature sent for together; what may bee the Consequence wee know not, but haue Reason to Suspect; which I leaue to youer juditious Consideration, for my

[1] From the original MS. in the possession of Mrs. Morton Dexter of Boston.

answere to them I signified that I would Attend an Answare from youer selfe about the premises soe that if itt bee youer pleasure. that I should lett them haue Coppies of them I shall Attend youer order as likewise about the Petition; which I haue not but suppose youer selfe haue it with you; soe I shall waite for a Returne from you: vnto which I have Referred them; Sir I haue sent you the booke of the Lawes as they were placed and Revised by the Comittee posibly there may bee many particulares defectiue or Redundent but such was the smale time the Comittee were together as It could not bee soe fully accomplished as were to bee desired; sundry things were left for mee to doe which as I meet with them in Transcribing of them; I haue done with the best care and Circumspection I could Refering back to the old booke as you may see in the margent. I hope it may bee a good preparation att least, some things stand in meer proposition and nor otherwise as you will find. Sir, I would Request you to speake to Steuen Wood as it may suite with your Conueniencie, for he hath ought mee fiue shillings of my wages from Eastham euer since hee was Cunstable; and I haue spoken and sent to him till I am weary I forbore him a while because I heard it was low with him partly by Reason my wages att Eastham is Consigned ouer to Thomas Clarke to Answare a debt I ame in the greater nessesitie therof, and the truth is I ame soe ill dealt withall by others by not paying my whole due as that diuers such like fragments not paied all Centering on mee; falls heuy I hae made bould with you Sir I hope a word from you may prevaile with Steuen Wood that I may haue it sent by one boat or other in Corne ere long. Not else at present. Saue my due Respects presented to youer selfe and youers I humbly take my leaue, Remaineing, Sir, youres to Command

Nathaniell Morton.

Plymouth, Aprill the 2 cond 1658.

Addressed: For the Honnerd Thomas Prence Gou'r of the Jurisdiction of New Plymouth Att his house att Eastham, these present.

MHS

Richard Olney

MEMOIR

OF

RICHARD OLNEY.

By CHARLES P. GREENOUGH.

Richard Olney was elected a resident member of the Massachusetts Historical Society on May 13, 1897, and died April 8, 1917. Apparently he felt little interest in the proceedings of the Society, as there is no record of his attendance at any meeting during his membership, except that of the celebration of the Milton Anniversary at the First Church, December 9, 1908. Nor did he serve on any Committee. His only communication to the Society was a Memoir of Judge Benjamin F. Thomas, printed in 2 *Proceedings*, xiv. 292–302.

He was the son of Wilson Olney, a successful manufacturer, and Eliza Butler, and the grandson of Richard Olney and Abigail Wilson of Providence. The Olneys of Providence claimed descent from Thomas Olney, who came to Boston from Hereford, England, in 1635 and settled in Salem as a shoemaker. He was a man of courage and independence, and in 1638 becoming dissatisfied with the church in Salem, with his wife he left Salem and joined the exile Roger Williams in the purchase of Providence Plantation, and founded there the first Baptist Church on this continent. He became a prominent citizen of the new colony and its Treasurer, and an Assistant in 1649. He was excommunicated by the Church in Salem, and the names of both himself and his wife were erased from the list of church members.

It is easily possible to recognize his courage and sturdy independence of thought as they reappeared in the character of his descendant.

Richard Olney was born in Oxford, Massachusetts, September 15, 1835, and was educated in the public schools of Oxford, and afterwards at Leicester Academy, from which he graduated in 1851, being the first scholar in his class. He entered Brown University in the fall of 1851, but was obliged to suspend his college studies for a year in consequence of trouble in his eyes, and graduated in the Class of 1856 with high honors.

After his graduation from the University he entered the Harvard Law School, took his degree in 1858, and in that year entered the office of ex-Judge Benjamin F. Thomas, with whom he was associated until the Judge's death, and whose daughter he married in 1861. He began the practice of the law in Boston, and practised there continuously until his death, with the exception of the years spent in Washington as a member of President Cleveland's Cabinet. He was not especially successful in trials before juries, but it was as counsel and in his arguments upon questions of law before the Supreme Court of Massachusetts that he first made his mark, and as a wise counsellor he was employed by the largest corporations in the State in matters of the greatest importance until his death. He was also constantly employed in the argument of causes before the Supreme Court. In these and in his many public addresses he used language of such force and clearness that no hearer was ever in doubt of his meaning. His felicity in the choice of words to express his exact meaning and to describe exactly the point of law or the fact which he was endeavoring to state, was extraordinary. As R. L. Stevenson expressed it, he had "the apt choice and contrast of the words employed." His characteristics as an advocate were aptly described by a competent pen: "His logic is keen cut, his decision is wonderfully pure, his diction is always perfectly adapted to his subject, his power of condensation is remarkable, and his argument presents a view of the case that is a perfectly adapted series of perspective."

It is impossible and unnecessary to give here any detailed account of his practice in his long and successful labors at the Bar. It is perhaps enough to recall some of his important clients. He was counsel for many years for the Eastern and Boston & Maine Railroads, the Old Colony, the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, and the Atchison & Santa Fé Railroads,

the American Sugar Company, and in some matters for the N. Y. and N. E. Railroad, for the General Electric Company, and for many other corporations. He appeared frequently for the Boston & Maine Railroad before Legislative Committees; in hearings affecting the gas companies and the Cape Cod Canal, he was constantly consulted in matters pertaining to trusts and the interpretation of wills, in a very important series of suits relating to the bonds of the Central Massachusetts Railroad and the Highland Street Railway, and in many important cases arising under the Anti-Trust Laws. Almost his last legal work was in connection with the litigation relating to the alliance between Harvard College and the Institute of Technology.

He was an insatiate worker, always without partners or assistants. He declined all work that he could not do himself. His standard of professional ethics was high, and his regard for the proprieties even extreme. After leaving the office of Secretary of State he declined to appear again before the Supreme Court of the United States.

When Richard Olney was asked by President Cleveland in 1893 to enter his Cabinet as Attorney General, he was admitted by the legal profession to be the leader of the Bar of New England; he was constantly consulted by corporations, trustees, executors, and business men, selecting only such matters as interested him; he was earning a very large income in a profession which he loved; he was devoted to home life, passionately fond of books, and the owner of a large and well-selected library; and he had recently been elected President of the Bar Association. He was fifty-seven years old and had earned release from further hard work. He, therefore, at first hesitated to accept the offer, and when he left Boston for Washington and public life he did so most unwillingly. He was then practically unknown as a politician, and the reason for his appointment was not then understood and has never been fully known. It is known, however, that Mr. Cleveland offered a Cabinet position to Mr. John Quincy Adams, who declined it, and that he and other leading Democrats in Massachusetts strongly recommended Mr. Olney as the proper representative of New England in the Cabinet. It is probable that at that time Mr. Cleveland had but the slight-

est acquaintance, if any, with Mr. Olney. After serving one term in the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1874, Mr. Olney never had desired or held any other political office, although he was once the candidate of the Democracy for Attorney General of Massachusetts; but it was fully understood that he accepted the nomination knowing the impossibility of election. Outside of Massachusetts, except by the legal fraternity, he was wholly unknown. If Mr. Cleveland had known but little of him before, he soon found he was a man after his own heart, and they became and remained warm friends to the day of Cleveland's death. They were singularly alike in character, in their sturdy independence of thought, incorruptible honesty, and in the courage of their convictions. His imagination and breadth of view reinforced President Cleveland's honest thoroughness and iron purpose to pursue what he believed to be right. The two men worked in perfect harmony and ever-increasing respect for each other. In a short time Richard Olney's name was as well known throughout the English-speaking nations as that of any other American.

The great railroad strike in 1894 gave Mr. Olney the opportunity to make a memorable precedent in the assertion of the power of the United States Government to prevent interference with the mails and interstate commerce. The injunction granted by the United States Court for the Northern District of Illinois upon Mr. Olney's application against the strikers in Chicago was enforced by troops of the regular army, and the strike was broken. The decision of the District Court granting the injunction was sustained by the United States Supreme Court, and Mr. Olney's argument in the case was admired by the bar throughout the country, and was considered a masterpiece.

The event of Mr. Olney's service as Secretary of State destined to the longest remembrance was the adjustment of the Venezuela arbitration question with Great Britain. His correspondence with Lord Salisbury, which was not published until the President's Message later in the year, was a masterful piece of work.

It has also been claimed that Mr. Olney was the author of the President's Message, and that the original draft preserved in the archives of the State Department shows that the Presi-

dent added to Mr. Olney's draft some statements not approved by Mr. Olney. This claim, however, has been vigorously denied, and has never been established by competent evidence. Mr. Olney, when asked by a gentleman in Boston if he wrote the Message, answered diplomatically that he "did n't remember." However the authorship was divided, the result was the first announcement to the world that the United States had become a world power, and must be considered as such by foreign nations.

Another memorable act of Mr. Olney's while Secretary of State was the negotiation of a general arbitration treaty with Great Britain for the settlement of future disputes between the two nations. The treaty was, however, not confirmed by the Senate of the United States.

Upon his retirement from office in Washington, Mr. Olney returned to Boston and resumed the practice of the law. He would not again listen to calls from his practice, although in 1913 President Wilson offered him the post of Ambassador to Great Britain, which he declined, "for family reasons." It was generally understood at the time that Mrs. Olney's health had been such that it was not advisable to make a change of residence, and that Mr. Olney himself was of such advanced age that he thought it was better for him to remain at home.

Still another honor was proffered to Mr. Olney in 1914, when he was offered a place on the Federal Reserve Board, which was created to administer the new currency and banking law. This was considered one of the most important appointments within the gift of the President, who was particularly anxious that Mr. Olney should accept because of his legal training and his familiarity with the business world. This post, however, Mr. Olney also declined. He had at various times declined the appointment of Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts.

In his social relations he was of a retiring disposition and did not make friends easily, but to those who know him well he was a most agreeable companion. In conversation he was direct and incisive, and he showed the results of extensive study and profound thought. He enjoyed vigorous health and was devoted to athletic sports, playing tennis and golf until late in life. He was positive in his convictions and sound

in judgment, and whatever he wrote and said had a ring of sincerity which generally carried conviction. He never strove after, and in fact never gained, popularity, and never sought public approval. As has been well summed up by a contemporary, "He left a great and unstained reputation as a lawyer, statesman, and a citizen."

JANUARY MEETING, 1918.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday the 10th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the second VICE-PRESIDENT, Mr. WARREN, in the absence of the President, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Corresponding Secretary, in the absence of the Librarian, reported the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From Mrs. Albert Thorndike, daguerreotypes of William Chauvenet (1820–1870), Wolcott Gibbs (1822–1908), James Melville Gilliss (1811–1865), Joseph Stillman Hubbard (1823–1863) — with a lantern-slide copy — Benjamin Peirce (1809–1880), Sears Cook Walker (1805–1853), Joseph Winlock (1826–1875), and a group of Alonzo Tyler Mosman, Michael Tuomey (1808–1857), and Charles Frederick Winslow (1811–1877), all scientific friends of the late Benjamin Apthorp Gould, father of Mrs. Thorndike.

From Daniel Berkeley Updike, an engraved view of Camp Devens, by Rudolph Ruzicka, 1917.

From Leon M. Abbott, the badge of St. Bernard's Commandery, Knights Templar.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the death of Pasquale Villari, an Honorary Member of the Society.

The Editor reported the folllowing accessions of MSS.

By gift: From Mrs. Ellis B. Usher, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, papers of Cotton and Samuel Partridge. (See *Proceedings*, XLVIII. 2.)

From W. C. Ford, a transcript of the Records of the Virginia Court, 1622–1626, from the original MS. in the Library of Congress. These Records are being printed in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, beginning in volume XIX. 113, as "Minutes of the Council and General Court," but portions are omitted in publication, and in many entries the readings are quite different. The transcript used in publication was prepared in part by the late Lothrop Withington; that now given to this Society was by Miss Minnie V. Stinson (Mrs. Randolph Dickins), to whose care and expert reading the accuracy of the *Records of the Virginia Company of London* is due.

By purchase: A log book of a voyage of the ship *Lady Clarke*, James Charles Welsh, commander, from London to Norfolk, Virginia, the West Indies, and return, January, 1828–January, 1829.

A MS. volume of 242 pages, compiled by Israel Warren, of Plymouth, in 1792, containing accurate copies "of many documents of historic value and much rarity, appertaining to the formation and establishment of the state government of Massachusetts." This volume formerly belonged to Charles Deane, and was sold in his library in March, 1898 — lot 2283 — the description being drawn from the sales catalogue. The Society obtains it from a sale in Philadelphia. The previous history of the MS. is noted on the fore leaves by Mr. Deane and an unknown writer. Mr. Deane bought it of William H. Piper and Company, 133 Washington Street, in 1864, who probably obtained it at some auction. Mr. Deane had it bound by Arthur K. Roberts in half roan. The unidentified entry was of earlier origin and reads: "This copy comes to the present owner from Miss P. Warren Dighton, granddaughter of Mercy Warren, historian." [1]

A series of interleaved almanacs with manuscript notes by Joseph Henfield of Salem; Ames, 1762–1768; Essex Almanack, 1769; Russell, 1780–1782; Weston, 1783; Bickerstaff, 1784, 1787; Low, 1786, 1788–1790, 1792–1809 — in all thirty-five.

Mr. WARREN read the following paper:

Since our last meeting the Society has lost two of its honored members, Prof. Leverett Wilson Spring and Col. Arnold A. Rand, and today comes the sad news of the death of Col. Thomas L. Livermore, who was to have paid a tribute to Colonel Rand at this meeting. I do not recall the time when three vacancies existed at once in the Society.

I cannot speak of Professor Spring from personal acquaintance and must leave to others the sad duty of a tribute to his scholarship and distinguished career. He was admitted to this Society in February, 1897, and has been a frequent attendant at our meetings, contributing to their interest at four different meetings.[2] Of Colonel Rand I can speak from a long and intimate acquaintance, and while I shall leave to Major Higginson to speak more especially of his military career and public service, I desire to say a few words appreciative of his

[1] There is some error in this account, as no Israel Warren, or Miss P. Warren of Dighton was of the James Warren connection.

[2] 2 *Proceedings*, XIV. 2, XLVII. 57, XLIX. 96, L. 422.

high character as a man, a citizen, and a friend. Colonel Rand, when I first knew him in 1872, was residing in Dedham and was studying law in the office of his father, the eminent conveyancer Edward S. Rand, in Boston. Soon after this he entered upon the practice of the law, devoting himself entirely to the department of conveyancing and real estate. Later he became a partner in the legal firm of Rand, Vinton and Wakefield, leaving the management of the Massachusetts Title Insurance Company which he had held for ten years. In 1898 he became Vice-President and General Counsel as well as Chairman of the Finance Committee of the John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company, and to the duties of those positions he faithfully and ably devoted the remainder of his life.

He served through the Civil War in the Cavalry force and rendered arduous and distinguished service, and was in command at the end of the war of the Fourth Massachusetts Cavalry. But I wish to recall him as an active enterprising reliable business man and in private as a most attractive and interesting friend and companion. Always enthusiastic, conscientiously devoted to whatever he had in hand, he became a power in this community and one whose counsel could always be relied upon as that of a man of sound judgment and of upright character and motive. His ever-present cheerfulness of disposition, his alertness of mind, his quick sympathy, and his genial hearty manner gained him hosts of friends and endeared him to all who knew him. To the Loyal Legion, of which he was a member so many years and for a long time Commander, his services were of the greatest value. He had not the advantage of a college education, but was a great reader and student of historical matters, and although not a historian he was an indefatigable collector of books on military matters and added innumerable works of value in that line to the large and rare collection of the Loyal Legion in the Cadet Armory.

The same patriotic motives that carried him into the war were with him in civil life, and though he never took part in active political movements he was keenly alive to all efforts to purify and dignify political life. His career was that of an earnest, industrious, and upright citizen, and his loss will be deeply felt in this community. He was elected a member of

this Society in 1906, but he rarely attended the meetings, and his public service to the Society consisted of a reception to members of the Society at the library of the Loyal Legion and luncheon at the Algonquin Club, at the October Meeting in 1910, and the communication of a Memoir of Judge John Lothrop in 1911.[1]

Major HIGGINSON then read as follows:

Col. Arnold Augustus Rand was born in Boston, March 25, 1837, and died December 23, 1917, at his home in Brookline. He was educated in Boston and later in Switzerland, was a clerk with Messrs. William B. Reynolds and Company, a shipping firm, and later held an important position with Messrs. Blake Brothers and Company.

In the winter of 1861 he was commissioned Second Lieutenant in the First Regiment, Massachusetts Cavalry, served with that regiment in South Carolina, and subsequently on the staff of General Rufus Saxton at Port Royal. In December, 1863, he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel in the Fourth Massachusetts Cavalry and became its Colonel January 22, 1864, serving with that regiment until February 3, 1865, when he resigned.

Governor Andrew said of him that he was the equal of the best administrative officer who went from Massachusetts.

After the war he took charge of some mining interests in Southern California, and coming back to Boston in 1872 studied law and was admitted to the Suffolk bar.

His father, Edward S. Rand, was for many years a leading conveyancer here, was highly esteemed as such, and as a good citizen, and naturally drew his son to his work. On Mr. Edward S. Rand's sudden death, Arnold Rand and a friend organized the Massachusetts Title Insurance Company, but presently Arnold returned to the law. Twenty years ago he was appointed Vice-President of the John Hancock Life Insurance Company, and Chairman of the Finance Committee, in which positions he did excellent work and was highly valued.

During all these years he took a great interest in the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, was Commander-in-Chief of the

[1] *Proceedings*, XLIV. 703.

order, and for many years Recorder of the Commandery of Massachusetts. He had a strong belief in the lasting value of this Society, was indefatigable in its affairs, collected for the Legion many Civil War relics, and at last secured the fine quarters of the Loyal Legion in the Cadet Armory. As year after year rolled by, his never-failing energy and industry grew, and he drew to the Society many men, and indeed was the point around which old officers of our Army rallied and held fast to each other, to the Colors, and to the memories of the past. He always sought to bring to the Society not only the officers of the Regular Army but also the younger men, sons of the old officers, for he wished very much to perpetuate this Society. In times of peace the spirit of 1861 slumbers, but now in time of war it wakes up, and we recognize the values which the older men bring to the younger men. This spirit is but the soul of our nation and a great need of our lives today.

We all owe Arnold Rand much for the interesting papers read to us, and for the hearty, jolly meetings where we dined and sang together each month, year after year. It was a moving sight to see those old soldiers stand up, listen to the prayer of Phillips Brooks or Edward Hale and others, and then themselves repeat the Lord's Prayer. And then came the call to Attention, the clear, precise, official voice of Rand reading the record and bringing forward the new business. In such matters he showed a style and a care of detail which were most impressive.

In the service, like many other men he did his full duty as a capable and gallant officer, sought and performed extra work as quartermaster, as aide, and later, in civil life, as recording officer of the Legion. As a soldier, he was kindly and careful toward his fellows, respectful toward his superiors; and through life he was cordial, and often affectionate, to his friends, of whom he had many. He was always ready to help other people. He met the discomforts and trials of the service cheerfully, and was reliable — so great a virtue of the soldier. And he won his way by all these qualities and by his absolute integrity. It was these qualities which our noble War Governor recognized.

In this life we can ask nothing better than being used to advantage — a chance to serve in a good cause, without care for ourselves. Arnold Rand did this. Great troubles came

to him, and he bore them manfully and in silence. It was a life of note and excellence, and he has left a happy memory.

Major HIGGINSON then requested Mr. WARREN to read the following lines:

YE THAT HAVE FAITH.

(Verses found pencilled on a sheet of paper in the pocket of a young Australian who died in the trenches at Gallipoli — evidently written by him just before he met his death. The lines were printed in an English paper, but it was unable to give the name of the writer.)

Ye that have faith to look with fearless eyes
  Beyond the tragedy of a world at strife,
And know that out of death and night shall rise
  The dawn of ampler life,
Rejoice whatever anguish rend the heart,
  That God has given you a priceless dower,
To live in these great times and have your part
  In Freedom's crowning hour.
That ye may tell your sons who see the light
  High in the heavens — their heritage to take —
"I saw the powers of Darkness put to flight,
  I saw the morning break."

Mr. THEODORE CLARKE SMITH then read the following tribute to Dr. Spring:

"Professor Spring," as we in Williamstown always called him — except when, in the pulpit, he assumed for us the more reverend appellation of "Doctor" — lived into the twentieth century as a vigorous example of a type now fast disappearing. He was an old-fashioned college professor, and an old-fashioned historian, such as was produced in the days before graduate schools, Ph.D.'s, and briskly technical methods of teaching and training. As professor and writer he lacked that professional self-consciousness, that uneasy activity and persistence in methodology which is the pervading feature of our generation. With him, teaching and writing history came as a result of inclination, developing rather late in life, but none the less genuinely; and each grew fundamentally from his early upbringing as theological student and preacher. Such was the case with most of the college professors of the days before the Civil War and, although he entered the field of college work and of historical study when the new German influence was

beginning to be strongly felt in our universities, he was himself untouched by it.

His career may be briefly summarized in his own words, sent to the twentieth anniversary report of his class at Williams College, 1863.

> I saw the light for the first time in the little hill town of Grafton, Vermont, January 5, 1840. My collegiate preparation was made at the Burr and Burton Academy in Manchester, Vermont. I studied theology at Hartford, Connecticut, and went to Andover for some months as a resident. I began preaching in a settled way at Fitchburg, Massachusetts, where I remained seven or eight years. A little later I found myself in the West in the State of Kansas, where I still remain. I was married at East Windsor Hill, Connecticut, September 25, 1867, to Sarah Elizabeth Thompson, daughter of Professor Willis Thompson. We have two children, Mary T. L., born July 2, 1870, and Samuel R., born October 22, 1871.

To this may be added that he attended Williams College, 1858–1863, losing one year as a result of illness, receiving the degrees of A.B. in 1863, as well as B.D. from Hartford in 1866, and D.D. from the University of Kansas in 1886. His pastorates were at the Rollstone Congregational Church of Fitchburg, 1868–1875; and the Plymouth Congregational Church of Lawrence, Kansas, 1876–1881.

In 1881 he took the step of exchanging the pulpit for the professorial chair and became professor of English literature in the State University of Kansas, where he taught until, in the autumn of 1886, he was recalled to New England to be professor of English in Williams College. There, in his Alma Mater, he continued until his retirement in 1909.

Leverett Wilson Spring was thus a New England farmer's son of the genuine Yankee type, who went to a hill college, worked his way through, entered the ministry and ultimately devoted his life to scholarship. There is much about him to suggest Holmes's famous passage in *Elsie Venner* on the "New England Brahmin caste" which foreordains many a descendant of ministers to a pastoral or literary career. The origin of these traits in him is, however, not wholly easy to trace. His family, the Springs, were old Watertown stock, original Puritan immigrants of 1634, who resided in what has since become the town of Wes-

ton. There were doctors and occasional parsons among them, notably Dr. Marshall Spring who, although a Tory at the time of the Revolution, was deemed so necessary on account of his profession, that he was not molested by his Whig neighbors. A younger son of this family, after the Revolution, took part in the movement to what was then the New England frontier, and was an early settler of the town of Grafton, in the Vermont hills back from the Connecticut valley.

This little village, twelve miles from a railroad, still exists much as it was seventy years ago — remote, stagnant. Leverett Spring's father moved from this lovely if secluded place to Manchester in the Vermont valley when the boy was nine years old, and there he grew up, working hard and aspiring toward an education. While the Spring blood was thus of the sound New England quality and the existence of Doctors and ministers may be enough to reveal the origin of his literary leanings, they do not appear quite adequate to account for a certain refinement or fine-grained sensitiveness about him. Perhaps his mother, Martha Atwood, of whom very little is known, may have been responsible, but this is only conjecture.

A frail youth, regarded from the start as destined to an early grave, and repeatedly told so with true New England plainness by doctors and advisers; rejected for the army in 1861 as hopelessly consumptive; he possessed a certain wiry tenacity which enabled him, as the old-time New England clergymen usually did, to outlive most of his classmates. He retained much of his physical strength and every particle of his mental acuteness to the end. Residents of Williamstown, observing his familiar figure, still attired, even after he had long left the pulpit, in a quasi-clerical garb and walking with apparently somewhat enfeebled knees over the hilly streets of the village, remarked that he had always given the same suggestion of weakness, and that as a matter of fact he could tire out most of them on a tramp. In the atmosphere of Boston he lost some of his significance. Where he belonged was in the college town among the ancient buildings, where the traditions of Mark Hopkins and the old-time Congregationalist schooling still lingered.

As a teacher, Professor Spring was not burdened with method. He felt it to be his mission to open the eyes of the boys to the

beauties of the great poets and writers, and his lectures were less instruction than polished literary productions, filled with sympathetic appreciation and enthusiasm yet not lacking in criticism. Lasting into a period when professorial lecturing has come to be for the most part a matter of sub-heads and references, bibliographical aids and the hammering away on formulae, his utterances not infrequently evoked actual applause from the undergraduates. He probably did not exact much work from his classes. Pastors do not, as a rule, examine their congregations on the Bible or on the subject-matter of their sermons, and Professor Spring carried the sermonizing habit of mind into his college work. Those who have heard both sermons and lectures can testify that they closely resembled each other in their literary and reflective quality.

He dropped into historical writing rather suddenly while he was teaching at the University of Kansas, by writing a volume on the *History of Kansas* for the American Commonwealth Series, published in 1885. This book is by no means technically perfect history, but it is based on a wide range of printed sources and upon all the personal reminiscences that the author could collect from survivors of the pioneer days. And it is written with zest, in a wholly unconventional style of language, appropriate to the exciting, violent, grotesque, and often revolting events described. It is immensely entertaining, largely because of the somewhat ironical humor that crops out incessantly. Probably for this reason it cannot be said to have satisfied all of the people of Kansas who would have preferred a more solemn, heroic tone. Most of all it infuriated the admirers of John Brown, who resented deeply the outspoken comments on their idol's deeds of blood, and the even-handed way in which the excesses of both sides were dealt with.

Professor Spring wrote no other considerable historical work in this field, but he kept up his interest in Kansas matters, contributing articles and review of Kansas books to the *American Historical Review* and other periodicals. He also printed a number of studies of Kansas figures, chiefly those of picturesque scoundrels, in the proceedings of this Society. His personal interviews with former "Border Ruffians" when collecting material for the *Kansas* seem to have given him a permanent interest in such types, in treating which his sense of irony and

sardonic humor persisted to the last, greatly to the entertainment of his hearers.

His other extensive work, apart from occasional magazine articles on literary matters, concerned Williams College, to which he was ardently devoted. Besides editing several volumes of memorial addresses and the like, in 1893, he published in 1888 an able and discriminating essay on *Mark Hopkins, Teacher*, and after his retirement produced, in the year of his death, a *History of Williams College*, which was a labor of love as well as of historic enthusiasm. In the desire to make his work the last word on the subject, Professor Spring not only used the sources already disclosed by his predecessors, but devoted himself to unearthing additional material in contemporary newspapers, letters, deeds, wills, and, in short, all that could possibly be conjectured as likely to throw light on the early days of the institution. Abundantly "documented," it is a work clearly based on industrious scholarship, more especially in the first period in which the author's interest was greatest. The style is less vivacious than that of the *Kansas*, the sardonic humor being softened and smoothed into a gentler touch. It was an old man's work, at peace with the world, the last tribute of a son of Williams to his beloved college.

In his twenty-two years of service Professor Spring came to be an institution of Williamstown. Always quiet in manner, though with a pithy tongue and keen humor, he was uniformly friendly with the undergraduates, and his house was turned into a regular headquarters for student activities by his energetic and essentially social wife. The Shakespeare course that he gave was supplemented by Shakespeare readings administered by Mrs. Spring, in which students, townspeople, members of the faculty, and a succession of visiting young ladies — of whom Mrs. Spring seemed to possess an inexhaustible reservoir — all took part. Around the outskirts of these large, and sometimes noisy gatherings, moved the smiling, imperturbable, and genial professor. To returning alumni from the earlier days he was a reassuring figure, for even if they had not themselves been his students, at all events he looked more like what a professor ought to be than did the smart young whippersnappers in ordinary civilian clothes who, in their eyes, seemed to rattle round in the chairs of the departed giants.

It would have seemed a perilous adventure to uproot such a well-established existence, but contrary to all expectations Mr. Spring's last years, spent in Boston, at first with his wife, and after her death with his son, were filled with interest and contentment. He worked and read, enjoyed new friends at the St. Botolph Club as well as old ones, and kept up his intellectual keenness as well as his genial kindliness of manner to the end. One of his greatest satisfactions was his membership, since 1897, in this Society, at whose meetings he was a faithful attendant and to whose *Proceedings* he contributed, as has been said, several brief entertaining studies. His death, December 23, 1917, nearly completes the removal of a college Faculty generation. The Williams of today is officered by university-trained scholars and is probably more efficient than the older Williams, but the flavor given by such old-time ex-clergymen professors is something that the college world can ill afford to lose.

Mr. Ford communicated a paper on

Captain Wollaston, Humphrey Rasdell and Thomas Weston.

One of the unsolved questions in New England history has been the visit of Captain Wollaston to the coast of New England, described by Bradford as follows:

Aboute some ·3· or ·4· years before this time [1628], ther came over one Captaine Wolastone, (a man of pretie parts,) and with him ·3· or ·4· more of some eminencie, who brought with them a great many servants, with provissions and other impl[e]ments for to begine a plantation; and pitched them selves in a place within the Massachusets, which they called, after their captains name, Mount-Wollaston. Amongst whom was one Mr. Morton,[1] who, it should seeme, had some small adventure (of his owne or other mens) amongst them; but had little respecte amongst them, and was sleghted by the meanest servants. Having continued ther some time, and not finding things to answer their expectations, nor profits to arise as they looked for, Captaine Wollaston takes a great part of the sarvants, and transports them to Virginia, wher he puts them of at good rates, selling

[1] Morton claimed that he came to New England in 1622, but Bradford's testimony is the better.

their time to other men; and writes back to one Mr. Rassdall, one of his cheefe partners, and accounted their marchant, to bring another parte of them to Virginia likewise, intending to put them of ther as he had done the rest. And he, with the consente of the said Rasdall appoynted one Fitcher to be his Liuetenante, and governe the remaines of the plantation, till he or Rasdall returned to take further order theraboute.[1]

It was during Rasdell's absence that Morton raised a rebellion in the plantation, ousted Fitcher, and set up his maypole on Merry Mount — Mount Wollaston — which ended so disastrously to himself. My note in Bradford embodied what has been conjectured about Wollaston, for nothing definite was known. In glancing through some early records of Virginia printed in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* the names Rastell and Woollisten caught my attention and recalled Rasdall and Wollaston. To my great delight on reading the records carefully I found that they did refer to the mariner whose name is still associated with these shores and to the very transaction outlined by Bradford. That this item, of such value to a proper understanding of Bradford, may be fittingly remembered I print all that the Virginia record contains.[2]

A Courte helde the xxvth of October, 1624

present Sr. Francis Wyatt, Knight etc. George Sandys Thresurer, Capt. Roger Smith.

Capt. John Martin Complayneth that whereas there were Articles and Covenante drawne betweene him and Mr. Humphrey Rastell for the Transportinge of the said marten, his servante and other his goodes vnto Virgina. The said mr. Rastell Caried him into new Englande and thare detayned him 9 weekes to his great *hurte* Coste and hinderance.

To which mr. Rastell replyeth that his Ship beinge leake and the wynde Contrary he was enforced to goe for new England and detayned Capt martin there no longer, then of necessitie he was Constrayned to doe. And before his owne shipp was redy he hired annother shipp to Cary him to Virginia.

William Holland gent sworne and Examined sayeth that ther

[1] Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation*, II. 47.

[2] In the text of these records I have used a version prepared for me by Mrs. Randolph Dickins, who, as Miss Minnie V. Stinson, collated the Records of the Virginia Company of London for publication by the Library of Congress.

was a leake sprung in the said shipp, whereby they were in great danger and were forced to heave over boord some 40 basketts of bred, which was spoyled by the leakinge.

John Crookdeack [1] sworne and Examined sayeth that the said shipp had a leake sprunge whereby ther was some 40 or 50 basketts of bread spoyled and hove overboord. And that at theire Cominge owt of England they resolved to come directly for Virginia and stired some butt [M. Rastell beinge very desirous to speake with the Shipp called the *Southphenix* [2] which then was at new England Directed his Course first thither to speke the said Shipp, beinge somwhat neere the Coast] [3] And styred theire Course so longe as the wynde served for Virginia, vntil the[y] were past the Ilands, and the shipp beinge leakt and the Capt desirous to speak with the *South Phoenix* directed his coorse to new England. And also he sayeth that with in the tyme of 16 dyes the said shipp was made fitt and redy to come away for Virginia.

John Smith sworne and Examined sayeth that at the sealinge of the wrightinges betwene Capt. Marten and Mr. Rastell, Mr. Rastell promised that one Tewsdy next following Capt. Martine should have 5 men receved aboord and that Mr. Rastell wold take order for their Dyett and that they should be receaved abourd [which the said 5 men went abourd but could not be receaved] [3] wher vpon this Exam. went to Mr. Rastell for a Tickett that these men might be receved abourd, but mr. Rastell said they nede not have a Tickett, for that he him self would be abourd in the after noone and geve order for them, whervppon the said 5 men went abourde But could not be receaved. Then this Exam went againe to Mr. Rastell and told him that he had geven noe order for the receaving of them, whervpon he made Answere which was 3 or 4 Dyes forbearanc. And about 2 or 3 days after Capt. Marten Did meete 2 of those 5 men at Tower hill and asked them why they were not abourd, and they said they had had bin abourd but that they could not be receaved, whervpon Capt. marten gave them xij*d* to goe downe to blackwall abourd the shipp, but at night they retorned again to Capt. martens howse and said they could not be receved abourde, after which tyme the said 5 men were nott hurde of. Further he sayeth that after they were past the Ilands, Thomas Scott one of the quartermasters said that yf it had beene Capt. Woollistens pleasure to have bent his Course for Virgina that the shipp might have been in Virgina very near a

[1] A mariner who was cast away in a boat near Newport News, March, 1627.

[2] Souch phenix is given in the *Va. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, but had it been named after the adventurer in the London Company it would have been *Zouch*.

[3] Words in brackets were struck out.

month before she could have Arrived in Canada [New England]. And that the wynde there was a good wynde for Virgina, but he thought the Capt. ment that some of them should not com there. And when they were arived at Canada he said the Mr. the Mr. mate with divers more of the seamen of the said ship said that yf it had beene theire pleasure they might have beene in Virgina before they were in Canada.[1]

And further this Examt. sayeth that with in a fortnight after the arrivall of the said shipp at Canada, she was made fitt and redy for her viage for Virginia, and that mr. Rastell gave order to the mr. to have all things in Redines, and swore with an othe that he would be gone the monday sennight after.

And further this Exant sayeth that for the space of 6 weeks after there Arrivall at Canada, the said mr. Rastell did allow Capt. Martin and his People but A biskett adye, and in that 6 weekes they had Flessh twice a weeke but very bad and not mans meate, and in that 6 weeks the said Capt. Martin was allowed not aboue 2 *li* of butter but his people had not at all, and in that tyme they had noe beers, but beverage. and for over three weeks that they remained there they had noe Fleshe at all nor fish, vnles he sent his people for it A shore.

And foorther he sayeth that when Capt. martin had indorced the release of his passage in the *Vnitie*, and had Cancelled the olde bond for performance of Covenantes and was bout to seale A new bond for performance of Covenantes Capt. martin demanded A Bond of 400 *li* from Mr. Rastell in like manr. for performance of his Covenantes which Mr. Rastell promised to doe, but after that Capt. martin had seled being Demanded he Denyed to Doe it.

And further he sayeth that when mentione was made of indorsinge this release, Capt. martin put in this causione that the makinge of this release should be noe preiudice against any Article Contayned in the Covenantes, savinge onely for Transportinge him self and goods in the *Swan* instead of the *Vnitie* And further saith that that night the understant was sealed Capt. martin told this Exat. that he wold pay mr. Rastell all his Tobacco, and afterwards Attach it vntill such tyme as he Did know what damage he had sustayned in mr. Rastells not performinge of his Covenantes.

Sackford wetherell sworne and Examined sayeth [that by the report of Mrs. James the 5 men] [2] that he hath harde mr. Rastell promise to keepe 5 men of Capt. martins abourde and to give them Ticketts to be receved abourde and 3 of them told this Examt. they had been twyse abourde but could not be receved, and mrs. James told him that she knew them once abourde but could not be receved.

[1] Record imperfect.

[2] Words in brackets were struck out.

And further sayeth that he asked mr. Wm. Edwards the mr. mate of the *Vnitie* (vppon some reporte formerly had) whether they were to go to Virgina or to new England First, and mr. Edwards said that Capt. wooliston and mr. Rastell were minded to goe to new England First, because they were afraid the *South Phenix* wold begone from Canada.

And sayeth the *Vnity* was made redy within 14 dyes after theire Arivall at Canada, and that mr. Rastell said he wold take in goods and be gone but when the ship [1] was gone for England, then mr. Rastell pretended many excuses why he could nott goe.

And foorther saieth that whilst they were at Canada they were allowed but 8 busketts for a man a weeke, and that they hadd 4 peces of beefe a weeke to 5 men but some tymes they wanted that allowanc of beefe but how longe he cannot tell, besides they wanted their vsuall allowance of ottmeale and butter.

And further he sayeth that Capt. martin alleging that the Release wold frustrat all the Covenantes formerly made by mr. Rastell, the said mr. Rastell replied no god forbid for it concerned no more but altoringe the passage owt of the *Vnitie* into the *Swan*.

And further sayeth that uppon the redinge of Capt. wylliston his commission the seafaringe men said the[y] marveled Capt. Williston Wold cary Capt. Martine to Canada seing the Comission was to go to Virgina first, and this Examt asking how they wold Answere that, they said they were bound by the Charter partie to goe wyther mr. Rastell would haue them to goe.[2]

The record breaks off abruptly at this point and on the middle of a page, the rest of the page being blank, perhaps for further testimony. Nearly a month passed before the matter again came before the court.

November the xxvijth 1624

Satisfaction tendered by Capt. John Martin Esquire to Humffrey Rastell marchante, in the presence of Sr. Francis Wyatt Knight etc. Capt. Roger Smith, Abraham Peirsey marchant and Edward Blayney marchant. Imprimis in the hands of Capt. Roger Smith which he is now redy to pay 180 *li* of Tobacco . . . . . 180 *li*
In the hands of mr. michaell marshatt in Tobacco . . . . . 090 *li*
In the hands of Capt. Hamer in Tobacco . . . . . 100 *li*
In the custody of mr. Luke Boyse 6 kyne now redy to Calfe, And more in his hands 2 yeerling bullockes. Humfrey Rastell Doth nott Accept of this Tendor, vnless the parties in whose handes the said

[1] The *South Phenix*. [2] *Va. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, xx. 149.

Tobacco and Cattle were present to become Deptors, neither Doth he hold the goods Tendered to be Sufficyent for to geue him full Satisfactione.[1]

Nicholas Rayneberde Sworne by Capt. Ralfe Hamer the 23th of November, 1824.

Capt. Marten beeing att Cape Ane abourd in the good ship called the *Vnity* Capt. Woolaston and Mr. Rastell coming aboard the same ship falling in to conference about their affayres Mr. Rastell the Merchant grew collericke and hott, beeing demanded of Capt. Marten wherefore hee kept prisoner in that kind and would make noe dispatch for Virgina. Whereupon hee answered most absurdly and said, Hee would not remoue out of the harbour vntill hee thought good, not yf the King and the Lordes of the councell of England were there.

Secondly the said Capt. John Marten gave Mr. Rastell a bond Soe that the said Rastell was to give Capt. Martin another. Whervppon hee disired another of the said Rastell the Merchant, and hee denied that and would not.

This haue I taken vppon my oath before Capt. Hamer and the Secretary.

NICHOLAS RAYNBERD.[2]

Captain Martin appears to have been a somewhat difficult person to manage, and had quite definite views on what he wanted. He had received a patent for land in Virginia, but it was defective and the Company did not recognize it. So he appealed to certain members of the Privy Council and obtained from them a letter, reciting his having been "a longe and faithfull servant in the Southerne Colony for Virginia from the first begininge of that Christiann Plantacon vntill this day," his election to the first Council of Virginia, his appointment as master of ordnance, and other services to the Colony, asked that he might enjoy "sundry pryveledges, by Charter vnder our great Seale for the setlinge of a pryvate Plantation vppon his owne allottment of Land in Virginia."[3] The answer of the Company was that the patent to Martin had been obtained by irregular methods and was absolutely void; and, moreover, Martin had refused to submit himself to the laws and orders of the Colony in Virginia, and had made his plantation a

[1] *Va. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, XX. 42. [2] *Ib.*, 38.
[3] *Records Va. Co.* (Kingsbury), I. 595.

receptacle of disordered persons where such as were indebted (as he himself was) "do shroud and rescue them selues vnder his proteccon." Yet a new patent was offered on the surrender of his old.[1] This was in February, 1622, and four months later Martin opened his guns on the Company by coolly offering to the King a circle of eighty miles of the settled part of Virginia as a King's forest, with Martin in charge, who might plant settlers upon it.[2] An agreement, quieting his opposition was not reached until February, 1624, when he once more attempted to give trouble by making the Company assume his debts.[3] His career is in important respects not unlike that of Thomas Morton, who came over with him.

One more item from the Virginia record shows the frame of mind in which he landed in Virginia.

The Testamony of mrs. mary whittakers taken before the Gouernor the 19th of November, 1624.

She affirmeth that not long after Capt. Martin cam into James River he cam vnto the howse of Capt. Jabez [Isaac] whittakers and amonge much other Discourse complayning that he had lost his Cropp by coming in so late, the said Mrs. whittakers Demanded of him why he would com by Canada, to which the said Ca. Martin replied softlie whispering in her eare they both beinge neere together This was the last plotte of the Compeny to take away my poore liefe.[4]

The decision of the Court was given on the last day of November, 1624, and reads as follows:

Wheras Capt. John Martyn by Covenant vnder his hande and seale ys to pay Mr. Humfrey Rastell for Transportinge of him self and twelve men and Certen goods, the some of two hundred, twenty and eight pownd ster. as Tobacco shal be woorth heere in redy money.

Yt is ordered that there be abated for five men which should

[1] *Records Va. Co.* (Kingsbury), I. 611. For his indebtedness and improper retention of property entrusted to him, see *Ib.*, 491, 618, 635.

[2] *Ib.*, II. 40.

[3] *Ib.*, 509.

[4] *Va. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, XXI. 48. See *Ib.*, 56, for Martin's Virginia "diamonds" and crystals. That Martin believed in a plot against his life is further shown by testimony taken by the Court October 10, 1624: "Capt. Marten saye that Mr. Rastall and the Compeny had Consented to make him awaye" a statement repeated by two witnesses. *Ib.*, XIX. 385; XXII. 2.

have been Transported and were nott, as also for theire victualls sixtie pownde sterlinge.

Yt is ordered that there be six hundred pownd waight of Tobacco allowed Capt. John Martyn, for wrongs and damages in Caryinge him to Canada and detayninge him there, wherby he Arived soe late in Virgina, which six hundred pownd waight of Tobacco at two shillings the pownde Cometh to sixtie pownde ster.

The Remander being one hundred and eight pownde ster., Capt. Martyn ys to paye in such Tobacco as shal be woorth heere two shillings a pownde, which will Amounte to one thowsand and fowerscore pound of Tobacco which Capt. Martin is to paye to Mr. Humfrey Rastell Exec. Admr or assignes at or before the twenteth daye of December now next Enswinge in James Cyttie. And that yf the said Capt. Martyn do fayle in payinge of the said one Thowsand and fowerscore pound of Tobacco in parte or in the whole at or before the days aforesaid, That then Capt. Martyn shall forfect the six hundred pownd of Tobacco allowed him for wronge and damages aforesaid.

And that vppon the Payment of the saide one Thowsand and fowerscore pownd waight of Tobacco, The said Capt. Martyn and Mr. Humfrey Rastell shall seale Releases eyther to other for and Concerninge this Business.[1]

We find another mention of Rasdell in the Virginia records of the year 1625, probably in connection with this same voyage. It proves his interest in the supply of servants for Virginia:

A Courte held the 17th of January, 1624[–25]. Present, Sir Francis Yyatt knight, Sir George Yardley, Knight, Mr. Threasurer, Doctor Pott and Capt. Smithe. . . .

It is ordered that whereas there remayneth over and aboue those Disbursements Disbursed by mr. Rastell one hundred and forty pownd ster. at three shillings per pownd in the handes of mr. Rastell, That mr. Rastell shall leave those Dept[s] that are Dew to him here in Virginia Amountinge to two thowsand two hundred pownd waight of Tobacco, to this Courte as securitie Provided that mr. Rastell at or before the first Daye of februarye which shalbe in the yeere of owr lord god 1625[–26] Do produce and send over from George Gauntlett a Discharge, that mr. Rastell shall haue those Deptes retorned him againe.

Mr. Rastell acknowledgeth that he hath receaved three hundred and fyftye pownde waight of Tobacco of Sargeant Wm. Barry

[1] *Va. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, XXI., 58.

and John Warde, vppon Condicone to bringe or send over fower servantes to be bounde for five yeeres apeece at or before Christmas next or ellse to forfect seaven hundred pownd waight of Tobaco.[1]

Rasdell was not able to perform the contract, and on December 19, 1625, the Court ordered:

That mr. Stogden shall receave the twelve hundred waight of Tobacco Dew from George medcalfe to mr. Rastell. And owt of the said 1200 *li* waight to satisfi Livt. Barry and John Warde 700 waight of Tobacco Dew to them from mr. Rastell for nott bringinge in the two servantes for them by Christmas Accordinge to Agreement. And for the other 500 waight remayninge of the 1200, and for the 400 waight receaved by mr. Stogden of Gregorie Dorye, Yt is ordered that mr. Stogden shall putt in Sufficyent securitie to be Accomptable to mr. Rastell or his Assigne for him, yf the said mr. Rastell by the first of february next send in A Discharge from George Gauntlett, Accordinge to an order made the 17th of January, 1624.

These conditions were fair on the face, but the real situation of the servant may better be measured by a statement of Weston, a man not easily swayed by his feelings.

mr. newman[2] Demanded of mr. weston at Canada, for to bringe him a servant over to Virgina. mr. weston replied he woold bringe none, yf he woold give him a hundred pownds. mr. newman asked him why, and mr. weston replied, that newman's mate was not able to keepe them, but would starve them and the said mr. westone further said, that servants were sold heere vpp and Downe like horses, and therfore he held it nott lawfull to carie any.[3]

An uglier suggestion on this traffic in indentured servants is contained in a petition noted in the Virginia records, August, 1626, and directly appertaining to Rasdell:

Wheras by a peticione preferred in courte by Sir George Yardley, Knight, Governor, etc. in the behalfe of Margarett Pelteere, wyddow, and also by a certificate under the hande of Aldeman Lumley and also by a testimonie under the handes of Edward Webb and Thomas Gittins, clerk of Set Mary Stayninge it apereth that Abraham Peltere was not bound apprentice to Humphrey Rastelle whereby he might lawfully dispose of him, yet nevertheless he was bounde

[1] *Va. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, XXI. 283.
[2] Robert Newman.
[3] *Va. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, XXIV. 342.

prentice to the said Humphrey Rastell for VII yeres contrary to justice and equitie, and afterwards was assigned and putt over to John Hassarde by the saide Rastell and againe by the said Hassard putt over to Robert Thresher for the tearme of 4 yeeres for the some of eight hundred pownd weight of Tobacco, whereof 650 was paide in Lande as he affirmeth, now the Courte conceaveth that the saide Rastell hath donne great wrong to the said Abraham Pelteere contrary to the agreement made with his mother, as by the Testimony of Aldeman Lumley apeereth. The Courte doth therfore order that the said Abraham Pelteere be presently sett free, and remaine at the disposinge of Sir George Yardley, Knight, Governor, etc., accordinge to the Peticione of his said Mother, And the tobacco paid by the said Robert Thresher to John Hassarde may be recovered owt whatsoever estate remaineth heere in this countrey which doth properlie belonge either to the saide Rastell or the said Hassarde. To which purpose a warrant shalbe sent downe to Capt. Tucker to sequester the goodes of the saide Rastell and Hassarde until further order from the Governor and Councell.

And wheras the said Abraham Pelteere hath served the saide Thresher for one yeere, that there be deductione made out of the goods of the said Rastell and Hassarde, which shalbe given unto the boy for his service.[1]

Rasdell was in Virginia, on April 10, 1625, and entered into the following agreement, interesting as showing the conditions of importing a servant:

I Humphrey Rastell of London merchant Doe promise to Deliuer to Capt. Natha: Bass of Basses Choyse in wariscoyke one boye aged about Fowerteene Yeeres sufficyently appareled, accordinge to the vse and coustome of this Countrey, to serve him the said Basse or his assignes seaven Yeers from the twenteth of november next enswinge the Date heerof, for the trwe performance I binde my selfe in the penaltie or forfecture of five hundred pownd of Tobacco. In wittnes I have heere vnto sett my hande the xviij Daye of Aprill, 1625.

HUMPHREY RASTELL.[2]

He was in James City, Virginia, June 6, 1625.[3] After that date I find no mention of his presence in Virginia until he appears as a signer of the commission issued, March 29, 1628,

[1] *Va. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, XXVI. 7.
[2] *Ib.*, XXV. 116.
[3] *Ib.*, 36.

to Sir Francis Wyatt and others, as colony commissioners to England. He must then have been a member of the Assembly, but the name of the plantation he represented is not given. Another member of this Assembly was Thomas Weston.[1]

These early court records of Virginia give more light upon the movements of Thomas Weston, whose connection with the Plymouth people when in Holland, and with the Wessagusset plantation is well known. The *Swan* was one of Weston's vessels. Bradford, after describing the end of Weston's plantation in the autumn of 1623, states that "shortly after, Mr. Weston came over with some of the fishermen, under another name, and the disguise of a blacke-smithe," left the ship, and in a boat with a man or two started for Wessagusset. His boat was cast away in a storm, and he reached Plymouth without means, to beg for help. This he received in the shape of beaver, and went off to meet an expected ship with supplies.[2] Levett speaks of meeting him at the plantation of David Thompson,[3] and "recovering" his ship Weston came to Plymouth to answer to Gorges for his conduct.[4] Unable to reduce Weston to obedience Gorges seized his ship, but finding it involved himself in difficulties he restored it, and towards spring Weston left for Virginia. The name of the ship has not been preserved. In 1624 Wollaston's party "from Weymouth in England, who are another sort of people than the former [Weston's]"[5] came in two ships to Wessagusset, and after a stay of some weeks, as stated above, the two leaders went to Virginia. One of the ships was the *Swan*. Weston was certainly in Virginia in December, 1625, for he was summoned to appear before the Governor and Council at James City, on December 12, and to "bring up his pynnace with him if winde and weather will serve."[6] Whether he had remained in Virginia in the meantime cannot be determined. At some time a vessel, the *Swan*,

[1] *Journals of the House of Burgesses*, 1619–1659, 51, where the name is printed Rashell. Too great praise cannot be given to the publication of these *Journals* by the Virginia State Library — a notable series of thirteen volumes.

[2] Bradford, I. 298. A note on Morton in the *Va. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, XXIV. 238, is a good example of historical misinterpretation.

[3] *Ib.*, 328 *n.*

[4] *Ib.*, 330.

[5] Prince, *Annals*.

[6] *Va. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, XXIV. 245; XXVI. 6.

in which he sailed, was at Damrills [Damarins] Cove, and one, Richard Williams, alias Cornish, had been executed on the ship, an incident giving some trouble.[1] The *Swan* was moored at Damrills Cove, where she was lying safe and out of danger; but being left in charge of Edward Nevell, he moved her away to a stage head, where "she hunge, and tooke hurte and within 2 or 3 Dyes after she becam leaky." Nevell placed the ship near the rocks, and at low water she lay aground. Tobacco, forming a part of her cargo, was ruined, and Weston was ordered to pay damages and one-half the judgment fell upon Nevell. It appears that Weston sailed between the north, "Canada" as the records call it, and Virginia, transporting passengers and servants, and trading in tobacco.[2] Rasdell had dealings with him, leaving to him a settlement with Captain Martin.[3]

Weston had sent in 1622 to Damarins Cove, a ship, the *Sparrow*, which brought seven passengers and some letters, "but no vitalls [for Plymouth], nor any hope of any."[4] The passengers remained at Plymouth until they went to establish a plantation at Wessagusset, and the vessel went to Virginia. At a Court held in Virginia February 20, 1626, the following testimony was taken:

> Thomas Ramshee sworne and examined sayeth that mr. westone was owner of the *sparrow*, and Did sett her owt at his Charge from london to virginia and landed Divers goodes into her. And that mander cam as purser of her, and this Deponent knoweth of no goodes that mander had in the shipp of his owne being a very poore man, and had not, as mander himselfe Confest to this Deponent money to buy himselfe necessaries for settinge him self foorth to sea but what he was faine to borrow of the said mr. weston.[5]

Still another item of New England history is contained in the following entry in the Virginia Court records, January 12, 1626:

> Vppon a suite preferred in Court by Henry Woodward against Capt. John Stone concerning the performance of Couenants made betweene the said Henry Woodward on the one party and the said

[1] *Va. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, XXIV. 244, 340; XXV. 122.
[2] *Ib.*, XXIV. 245.
[3] *Ib.*, 339.
[4] Bradford, I. 256.
[5] *Va. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, XXV. 226.

capt. John Stone and Humphrey Rastall on the other party, touchinge the deliuery of fowre men vnto the said Henry with other conditions therein contained, It is ordered as followeth, that whereas the said Henry hath Formerly receaued and accepted three men seruants of the said Capt. Stone, and hath alsoe fayled in performance of the paiment of 600 *li* waight of Tobacco by him due, he the said Henry shall accept of the said three seruants receaued in full satisfaction of three of these fowre seruants which were conditioned to be deliuered vnto the said Henry, And it is alsoe ordered that the said Capt. Stone shall deliuer vnto the said Henry one other seruant apparelled according to the said conditions with in twenty dayes after the date of these presents; which orders being performed the said conditions and all couenants and bonds to be vtterly voide. It is ordered that the charges of this suite shalbe layed vppon the said Henry Woodward.

This Capt. John Stone was the somewhat unrestrained trader mentioned in Bradford and Winthrop, who was killed by the Indians on Connecticut River, January, 1634.[1] If my supposition that Rasdell did not return to Virginia for a year or more after his first visit is correct, the relations between him and Stone were formed at Wessagusset or in Virginia in 1624, a circumstance indicating that Stone may have been of the Wessagusset plantation.

This new information may be thus summarized:

1. Captain Wollaston (his full name still remains unknown), master of the *Unity*, and Humphrey Rasdell, a merchant of London and "merchant" [supercargo] in the *Swan*, set out for Virginia in 1624, and went to the Weston plantation at Wessagusset, where the ships remained for some weeks. As the *Swan* belonged to Weston that fact may explain the voyage, but according to the charter party the ships were to go "whither Mr. Rasdell would have them to goe."

2. Wollaston took the *Unity* to Virginia, and later directed Rasdell to follow him to that colony. Nothing further is known of Wollaston, and it may be assumed that he went from Virginia to England.

3. Rasdell also sailed for England after entering into agreements to supply the planters with servants. He did not return when looked for, and his property in Virginia was in part dis-

[1] Bradford, II. 192, 233; Winthrop, I. 146.

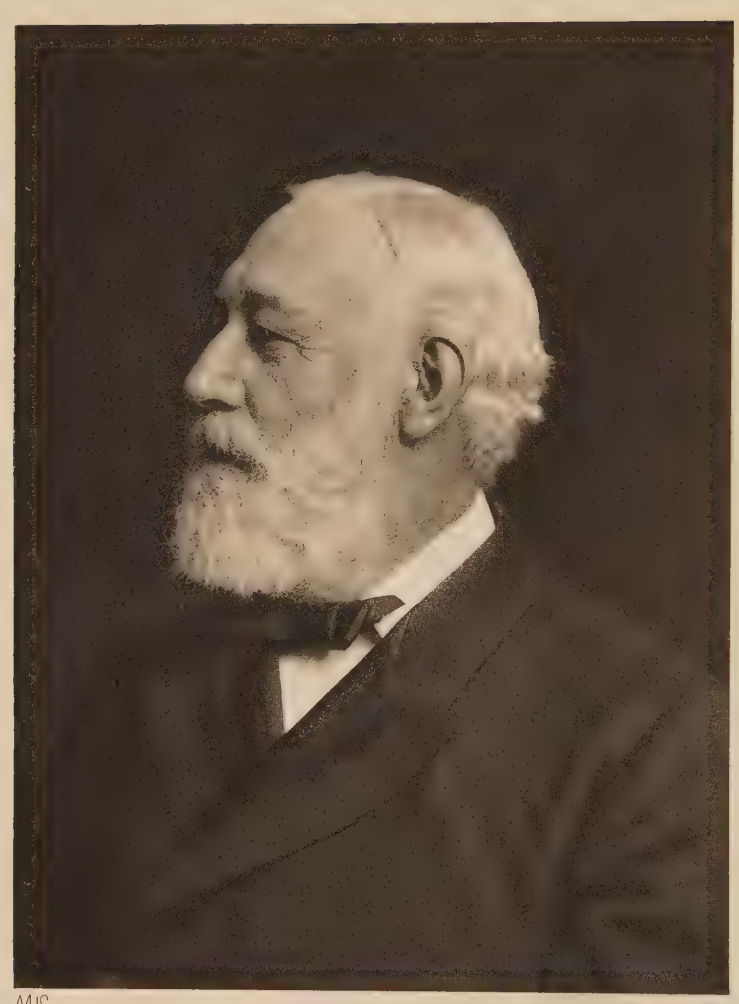
posed of by the Court to meet his obligations. Later he was a member of the Virginia Assembly.

4. Thomas Weston, well known for his relations with the Plymouth settlement, taking command of the *Swan* (possibly a second vessel of the name, and not the one in which Rasdell sailed,) traded with "Canada," that is, with the fishermen at Damarins Cove, in tobacco, fish and servants. On one of his northern voyages Cornish was hanged, the *Swan* was injured, and a consignment of tobacco damaged.

5. Captain John Martin, a character prominent in the Virginia records, was one of the "·3· or ·4· more of some eminencie" in the Wollaston party. Another was William Holland, "gent."

Mr. WENDELL called attention to the tradition that *Wool*laston was the proper pronunciation of the "mount," a tradition confirmed by the spelling found in the Virginia records.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. RHODES, THAYER, STANWOOD, and LANE.



W. W. Goodwin.

MEMOIR

OF

WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN.

By GEORGE ANGIER GORDON.

William Watson Goodwin was born at Concord, Massachusetts, May 9, 1831. His father, Hersey Bradford Goodwin, was a Unitarian minister the colleague of Dr. Ezra Ripley, in Concord, and his mother was Lucretia Ann Watson of Plymouth. Among his ancestors were thirteen of the Pilgrims who came over in the *Mayflower*. His mother died suddenly when he was six months old, and he was adopted by her father, Benjamin Marston Watson of Plymouth. Here he spent all his earlier years, with the exception of two — from 1834 to 1836 — when he stayed with his father, who died in 1836. Here, too, he received his early education, and his early love for the study of Greek, through his uncle, Benjamin Marston Watson. Professor Goodwin himself said in a tribute to his uncle: "For more than three years, during most of which he was toiling like a laborer from morning to night on his brilliant task of transforming a piece of common Old Colony meadow, enclosed by stony hills, into the beautiful estate now known as Hillside, he devoted his evenings to what he deemed the equally important task of teaching me Greek." In all his other studies, he was prepared by the Plymouth High School for Harvard, which he entered in 1847. In his senior year, he lived in Holworthy Hall, and took charge of the Phi Beta Kappa library. We are told that he was much disappointed at the elementary character of the teaching of that time at Harvard. He was graduated in 1851, and for two years afterward he lived in Graduate Hall, which is now College House, as a Resident Graduate, teaching

private pupils. But since there was then no graduate department, he decided to go to Europe for further study.

Accordingly, in August, 1853, he went abroad, going to the University of Göttingen. Here he studied under the famous classical scholars Schneidewin and K. F. Hermann, extending his knowledge of the Greek language and literature, and also mastering German. During the summer of 1854 he went to the University of Bonn for the summer term, and the following winter studied in Berlin. In 1855, however, he returned to Göttingen, and received there, in June, his Ph.D., after passing a two-hour oral examination before the faculty of Philosophy, in Ancient History, and Philology, and presenting a dissertation on the Sea Power of the Ancients (*De Potentiae Veterum Gentium Maritimae Epochis apud Eusebium*).

The following winter he spent in Rome, but in the spring, accompanied by a classmate, he went to Greece, visiting Athens, Sparta, and the Peloponnesus. He returned to America in June, and was appointed tutor in Greek and Latin to the sophomore class at Harvard. The following year he taught only Greek, much to his delight, owing to the increasing size of the classes — Greek at this time being required until the end of the sophomore year. "It may be doubted," says President Eliot, "whether in the long list of tutors who subsequently held office in Harvard College as President or Professor . . . there is a single American who, at the time of his appointment as tutor, had received so adequate a training at home and abroad in the subject he was to teach as Goodwin had received."

In 1859 he was elected a Resident Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the following year, at the age of twenty-nine, he succeeded Cornelius C. Felton as Eliot Professor of Greek Literature. This same year he published *The Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb*. This work passed through seven editions, and gave him an international reputation as a scholar. "The distinction of the book," says Professor Smyth, "rests upon its range and accuracy of observation, upon its lucid and exact statements, upon a sobriety which holds fast to facts, to the exclusion of theoretical discussion, and upon a refusal to abandon the safe ground of ascertained law for the shifting sands of comparative

syntax as it was then known." It had a very great influence upon the teaching of Greek in this country, and also in England; it remains invaluable.

On February 3, 1864, he was married at New York to Emily Haven Jenks, who died within a few years. He had two sons by his first marriage, one of whom, Horace Howard Goodwin, died young, and the other, Charles Haven Goodwin, who graduated from Harvard in 1888. He was a young man of promise and ability, and it was a terrible blow to Professor Goodwin when he died at his father's home in 1889.

Professor Goodwin married on June 6, 1882, as his second wife Ellen Adelaide Chandler, a woman of lovely character and personal charm, who made Goodwin's home singularly happy.

In 1870 his *Elementary Greek Grammar* was published, and the following summer, and many subsequent summers, he spent in Europe.

He was one of the first to propose establishing a society to further and direct archæological investigations, and was chosen a member of the executive committee of that society at its foundation.

In 1882 he was appointed the first director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. This was in his year of absence from the University. He was also at this time an agent of the United States Bureau of Education. He took much interest in the explorations in Greece, and received from the King of Greece the decoration of "Knight of the Cross of the Saviour." He spoke modern Greek with great facility and believed it essential to a thorough knowledge of classical. After his return to America he was made a trustee of this School, and was one of the most prominent members of its managing committee.

In 1886 he was chosen a Resident Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and was thereafter one of its most important members, speaking on many occasions at its meetings, and was its corresponding secretary from 1894 to 1896. He was also a member of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, and in 1893 was made its vice-president, an office which he held until his death.

At Harvard he was one of the first to advocate the "elective system," in its earlier form, and strove earnestly for a higher

standard of scholarship. He founded a scholarship in memory of his son, to be assigned "to some deserving student distinguished in classical scholarship" either a Harvard graduate, a student in the Graduate School, or a member of the senior class. In June, 1901, he retired from active service in the University, being chosen Professor Emeritus. It is said during his forty-one years he was only absent three times from his classes, on account of sickness. His colleagues, pupils, and friends, led by President Eliot, gave a dinner in his honor on June 5, on which occasion he was presented with a silver loving cup.

He received honorary degrees from Cambridge, Oxford, Edinburgh, and a renewal of his doctorate from Göttingen after fifty years, while in this country he was similarly honored by Amherst, Columbia, Chicago, Yale, and Harvard.

He still kept his interest in the University, was an Overseer from 1903 to 1909, and continued to give his courses on Plato and Aristotle for seven years. He was also an ardent believer in the education of women. He was one of the first who recommended the establishment of Radcliffe College; he taught there, and was long a member of its Council.

In the spring of 1908 he made a trip to Mexico. His health, which had always been perfect up to this time, was never the same after his return. In June, 1912, he became suddenly seriously ill, and died on the fifteenth of that month at his home on Follen Street.

The writer of this sketch was for two years a pupil of Professor Goodwin's in the study of Plato and Aristotle. It is perhaps needless to say that Professor Goodwin's translations of his authors were always models of clearness and fidelity to the text. All his expositions were marked by precision, luminousness, strength, and vitality. He was a strictly objective teacher, and rarely allowed his pupils to know whether he agreed or not with the theories and conclusions of his author. He did not think of Plato so much in terms of the philosopher as of the matchless writer of prose, and the great dramatic genius, by whom philosophic dialectic, as it had been in Athens and elsewhere in Greece, was made to live again, and live forever. He would frequently point out a bad argument in Plato, and immediately afterwards would qualify his censure by

adding that Plato must have known the argument was not good, that he was carried away by his sense of humor. Once, while reading in the Sixth Book of the Republic the passage about the sun as the offspring and similitude of the absolute good, Professor Goodwin's reserve gave way. He paused in his reading to remark that whatever one might think about the truth of the theories of Plato, no one, with any sensibility, could fail to admire the magnificence with which he set forth his ideas.

Goodwin was much more of an Aristotelian than a Platonist. Yet it was with Aristotle, as conceived by English Empiricists, that Goodwin largely sympathized. He had not reached the Aristotle of modern idealism. Perhaps it would be truer to say, that he did not believe in it. He once said to the writer, that while Aristotle could become an Arab to the Arabs, a Frenchman to the French, an Englishman to the English, and a Yankee to the Americans, it was inconceivable that he should ever be regarded as a German. This, of course, was a limitation, and the only serious limitation the writer ever saw in Goodwin's insight into things Greek. Reference has been made to the breaking of Professor Goodwin's reserve in reading a remarkable passage in Plato. In reading a famous passage in the Politics of Aristotle, again reserve gave way. In that passage, Aristotle says, in effect, "If there were human beings among us as superior to the rest of us as the statues of the Gods are to men in all ways, we should say to those supermen, 'To you we submit. You were born and raised up to rule us.'" Over this passage Professor Goodwin expressed his utmost pleasure. How near he came to German autocracy in these words it is needless to say.

To his pupils he was one of the kindest, most patient, most devoted, and fairest of men. No teacher ever had, from first-class students, greater homage for his learning and character and power. Always noble and impressive in presence, as he advanced in years he became singularly so. One never saw him, in the last two decades of his life, without thinking how completely typical he was, in body and in mind, of the best life of the race, to whose language and literature he devoted his genius and his power.

FEBRUARY MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the second Vice-President, Mr. WARREN, in the absence of the President, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Editor, in the absence of the Librarian, reported the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Frederic Winthrop, an impression in wax of an early Winthrop family seal in his possession.

From Senator Lodge, a photograph of the Rt. Hon. Arthur J. Balfour, the Duke of Devonshire, and the late Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, taken by Reid at Ottawa, on their visit to Canada in 1917.

From Fred Joy, the medal of the 26th convention of the American Numismatic Association, 1917.

From Harry Gray, the Souvenir of Boston.

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, the silver medal of General Gallieni, Paris, 1916.

By purchase, an etching of the Old South Church, Boston, November, 1917, being of the second series of Boston views issued by the Iconographic Society.

The Editor reported the following accessions of MSS.:

From Solomon P. Stratton of Boston, the records of the Association of Earthenware Dealers, Boston, 1817–1835, of value for its price lists and measures taken to control the sale of crockery and glassware. Lists of the members of this Association at two periods of its existence are:

1817+	1832
ROBERT BRIGGS	JOSEPH S. HASTINGS
HORACE COLLAMORE	OTIS NORCROSS & CO.
CLOUTMAN & STIMPSON	HAY & ATKINS
NATHAN HASTINGS & CO.	JOHN MELLEN
HAY & ATKINS	MICHAEL MELLEN & CO.
SAMUEL SUMNER	G. T. & J. WALDRON
WILLIAM ANDREWS	CHURCHILL, COLLAMORE & CO.
HENSHAW & JARVES	MITCHELL & FREEMAN
S. & J. GIBSON	ROBERT BRIGGS

William B. Simpson
Norcross & Mellen
Wainwright & Jackson
Daniel Hastings
Michael Mellen & Co.
Josiah Norcross
Joseph Eayres
Train & Stone
Edward Page
Andrew T. Hall & Co.
I. H. Parker
Isaiah Atkins
William F. Homer
William R. Sumner
Samuel B. Pierce
Taylor, Reed & Co.
Lewis Josselyn
Stephen A. Pierce
Hunnewell & Harrington
Ephraim B. McLaughlin
William Bartlett
Taylor & Waldron
Thayer & Dean
Isaac Jackson
J. S. Barbour
Robinson & Wiggin
Ezra Chamberlain & Son
John Quincy Adams Conkey
George Talbot

From Charles Francis Jenkins, of Philadelphia, autographs and papers, some of which belonged to Alfred B. Street.

By purchase: about 500 letters and documents, 1769–1839, of the Dodd family of Boston, merchants and traders, with connections in many parts of the world, and a branch house in Charleston, South Carolina.

Letters to Dr. John W. Francis, of New York, with subscription lists for restoring a boy, held in slavery in Georgia, to his parents.

William Bradford Homer Dowse, of Sherborn, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Mr. Warren read the following note:

Upon the day of the last meeting of this Society, one of our most prominent and most respected members passed away after a short illness — Col. Thomas L. Livermore. His strong and virile personality, his open and hearty manner, his enthusiasm as a student of military history, and his high reputation as a military critic, made him an unusually interesting figure at our meetings, enhanced as it was by his great business ability and his public-spirited devotion to the interests of the country and of the city of Boston. In military and in civil life his career was one of great distinction, and his loss to this community, as well as to this Society, is a serious one.

He was born in Galesburg, Illinois, in 1844, but his family removing to Milford, New Hampshire, he received his early education in the public schools of Milford, and later at Lombard University at Galesburg. Upon the breaking out of the Civil War he enlisted as a private in the 1st New Hampshire Regiment at the age of seventeen, and at twenty was Colonel of the Regiment. Later he served upon the staff of General Hancock at Gettysburg and Petersburg, and was at times upon the staff of Generals "Baldy" Smith, Ord, Warren, Martindale, and Humphreys. A brother officer, who served with him and loved him, said that when he galloped across the field with his erect and manly figure, he seemed the handsomest officer in the army, not excepting the imposing presence of General Hancock himself. But striking as he was in his manly beauty, that was but little compared to his distinguished service; he was a participant in many of the great battles of the war, and had a conspicuous record as a brave and gallant officer and a high-minded and valuable leader of men. At the close of the war he took up the study of the law, was admitted to the Bar, and practised in Boston. His eminent business ability was soon recognized, and he was offered and accepted the position of manager and agent of one of our largest manufacturing corporations, the Amoskeag Manufacturing Corporation at Manchester, New Hampshire. That position he held for six years, filling the place with distinction and success, and retired to become the counsel of the Calumet and Hecla Mining Company. There also he made his mark, and was recognized as one of the most eminent mining experts in the country. He withdrew from active business in 1910, but devoted much of his time to the service of the city of Boston as an officer of the Municipal League and the Public School Association, and as a lecturer upon municipal matters, and he also was connected with many business enterprises. Of his great eminence as a military critic Mr. Rhodes will speak later.

He was elected a member of this Society in January, 1901, and was seldom absent from our meetings, except for business engagements. He was a member of the Council for three years, 1905–1908, and his communications to the Society were numerous and valuable, no less than eight appearing in our printed *Proceedings*, in addition to his not infrequent

verbal discussions. No one was listened to with greater interest, and it may truly be said that during the years of his membership no one made a greater impression upon the Society than Thomas L. Livermore.

Another vacancy in our ranks has been caused by the death, on January 21, of Henry Morton Lovering of Taunton. He was probably less well known to many of you, because his important business activities prevented frequent attendance at our meetings. He was born in Taunton in 1840, and passed the whole of his life in that city. He was a graduate of Brown University in 1861, and a gentleman of high culture and refinement. He was a prominent and able manufacturer in Taunton, with very large business interests, and respected for his high integrity and sound business judgment. He filled with success important civic positions in Taunton, and was for many years President of the Old Colony Historical Society. Though not a writer of history, he was a devoted historical student, and of extensive historical information. He was elected a member of this Society in March, 1910, and served upon committees to examine the Library and Cabinet, and to nominate officers. He is recorded as present at a number of meetings, but it does not appear that he submitted any written communication.

Mr. Rhodes said of Colonel Livermore:

One of the best centres of military criticism of the Civil War was the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts, composed largely of officers in the Union service, who used to assemble monthly for a number of years at the house of John C. Ropes on Mt. Vernon Street, and listen to a paper on some campaign or battle read by one of their members. Founded in 1876 by Ropes, the Society had fallen during the last decade of the last century under the domination of what John C. Gray, himself a member, used to call the "Thomasites." To be a Thomasite meant to share the belief that if George H. Thomas had had the opportunity he would have done better than Sherman and as well as Grant. At the meeting of February 2, 1892, Thomas L. Livermore, in a carefully prepared paper read with great force, contested this opinion, and he

proved his thesis by constant references to the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, published by the United States War Department. Not detracting in any way from General Thomas's fame "as a patriot and soldier" he showed that the popular acclaim was just in awarding greater military ability to Sherman and to Grant. As Livermore read this paper surrounded by men to whom his assertions were unpalatable, he showed himself a master of gentle controversy, but he did not hesitate to drive home with emphasis the points which he advanced, supported as they were by documentary proof. Livermore's experience, first a private, then an officer in the Northern army, always a keen observer, now a close student, gave to his paper high authority hardly relished by the blind admirers of General Thomas. After the paper it was the custom in those days to assemble in Ropes's generous dining-room and sit, as the veterans said, around the camp fires, which in a modern furnace-heated house consisted in helping oneself from a well-furnished table to the generous provision made by the host of American whiskey and cigars. Ordinarily there were two groups in this dining-room; one stood around General Francis A. Walker, then President of the Society, and listened to his brilliant discourse; the other sat with Ropes, hearing his equally interesting comment on some episode. But the talk of both — and it was as good talk as one ever hears — was confined to the battles and campaigns of the Civil War. What would we have ever done with our long winter evenings, said a veteran, had there been no campaigns and battles of the Civil War to discuss?

On this evening of February 2, 1892, both General Walker and Ropes lost their power of attraction. All gathered about Colonel Livermore to discuss his paper. Questions and arguments were fired at him by men in total disagreement. With a smile and laugh, with courtesy rarely paralleled in a controversy, he listened with attention, responded to every argument and parried every thrust. And the great lesson he taught was that a controversy going to the base of the matter might be conducted with perfect good nature without abating a jot of his contention. When the evening came to an end Thomas L. Livermore stood forth as a star and the especial champion of Grant.

From that day to the day of his death he never ceased to plead for Grant's consummate military ability and his distinguished service as a general. This argument may be found in his papers scattered throughout the thirteen volumes of the Military Historical Society, and in some of the contributions that he read in this room. Lauding Donelson, Vicksburg, and Chattanooga, he was especially happy in depicting the Appomattox campaign, and he apparently delighted in making the contrast with Thomas's great battle of Nashville. "At Nashville," so Livermore wrote, "Thomas with 50,000 attacked Hood's 23,000, who fled with slight loss in killed and wounded, leaving 4,462 prisoners in Thomas's hands. In the Appomattox campaign of twelve days, Grant with 113,000 attacked Lee's 50,000 and drove them from their works at Petersburg and Five Forks. The Union army in hostile contact during seven of the twelve days suffered a loss of 9,066 killed and wounded and 1,714 missing, and killed and wounded more than 6,000, captured 40,000, and dispersed the remainder of the 50,000 Confederates." Subsequently treating this same campaign, Livermore wrote, "In no other modern campaign has an army ever pursued, surrounded, and captured so many men in full flight."

It was his idea that the competent military critic must have seen actual service, and, if his idea be correct, we see at once the power back of his words — the words of a trained warrior and a trained student of military affairs.

My first quotation is from a review in the New York *Nation*. General J. D. Cox used to write all the military criticisms on the generals, campaigns, and battles of the Civil War, but, on his lamented death, Wendell Phillips Garrison, the literary editor of the *Nation*, with that wonderful quality always of selecting the right man to treat of any subject chose Colonel Livermore to supply his place. And such was the unity of feeling and agreement of opinion between Cox and Livermore that few, not knowing all the circumstances, could have suspected that a change had been made after 1900.

I have spoken of Colonel Livermore's merit in controversy. John C. Ropes was inclined strongly to the "Thomasites," but on the death of General Walker selected Colonel Livermore as president of the Military Historical Society; and this

position he held at his death. The friendship between the two was warm. The devotion of Livermore to Ropes and his memory was magnificent. The useful volumes of the Military Historical Society published since Ropes's death are largely due to Livermore, who said, when preparing the last volume, "When that is done I shall have fulfilled my promise to Ropes."

In his remarkable paper of 1892 Livermore said that the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* must be regarded as "the fountain head of our military history from 1861 to 1865." When one reads of some of the criticisms of this noble work because, perchance, the editing is not fully in accordance with the modern method — pin-pricks the criticisms may be called — one likes to think that at least four distinguished members of our Society found in these 128 volumes priceless historical material — I refer to John C. Ropes, J. D. Cox, William R. Livermore, and Thomas L. Livermore. Thomas L. Livermore entitled his notable paper, "General Thomas in the 'Record.'" This calls to mind how everyone who read a paper before the Military Historical Society referred to the "Record" in terms that we once used when backing an argument by a citation from Holy Writ.

Livermore's important book was *Numbers and Losses in the Civil War*, of which a second edition was published in 1901. Painstaking and clever, it has become an authority, and anyone who uses it cannot help a feeling of gratitude to the careful student who has given the public the result of his untiring zeal. When we think of our entrance into the present great war it is agreeable to read one of Livermore's generalizations: "The record on both the Confederate and Union sides places the people of the United States in the first rank of militant nations."

An acquaintance of twenty-six years developed into a warm friendship. In Europe as well as in this country, at serious meetings, in walks on the Mill-Dam walk or in Commonwealth Avenue, at dinner, as he was an accomplished diner-out, I saw much of him. In military matters I sat, so to speak, at his feet, but conversation with him took many forms. He was intelligent, affable, and gifted, with a robust common sense. In a cheery way he adopted the maxim of poor Edmund C. Stedman, "Take all the good you can get in life from day to day."

Mr. KELLEN then read as follows:

Henry Morton Lovering, a resident member of this Society since May 12, 1910, died on January 21, 1918, in Taunton, his birthplace, at the age of seventy-eight. He was graduated from Brown University in 1861, and went at once into business with his father and brothers in Taunton. In that inland city of the Old Colony he lived, an active force in the community, throughout his long and useful life. His career afforded a striking example of the beneficial influence of a college-bred man in a rapidly growing industrial community. From young manhood to age he was an active factor in the social, business, and religious development of the city. It was natural that the Treasurer of the Whittenton Mills should become the President of the Taunton National Bank and a Trustee of the Taunton Savings Bank, as well as a director in other financial enterprises. Such men are sought for such positions; inducements are held out to them; there are not enough of them to go round. It was, however, only a fine public spirit, a sense of civic duty, that led him to give up a good part of forty years to the work of the Taunton Water Board. It was a similar desire to serve his neighbors, as well as pride in his native city — for he was a quiet, unostentatious, far from forth-putting man — which led him to serve in the Common Council for several years, and subsequently for a year on the Board of Aldermen. Nothing, in fine, that interested his fellow citizens and made for the growth and well-being of the city failed to excite his interest and secure his support.

He was a communicant of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and an influential layman. He was a frequent delegate to Diocesan Conventions, and three times he was elected and served as a deputy in successive General Conventions of that communion, the highest honor for a layman in the gift of the Church.

He was much interested in historical matters and early became a member of the Old Colony Historical Society. At his death he was — as he had been for many years — the President of that Society, which prospered exceedingly under his wise and faithful administration. He thus fitly represented his section of the State in the membership of this Society. He was on occasion an interested attendant upon these meet-

ings as long as his health and strength permitted him to do so. He never took part actively in the proceedings, but more than once this Society was the gainer in historical material through his efforts.

In his death his native city and State have lost a wise and dependable citizen, and this Society a loyal and interested member.

Mr. THAYER followed, in a tribute to Pasquale Villari, Honorary Member of the Society:

In 1901 when our late President, Mr. Adams, was planning to reorganize the scheme of honorary membership in this Society and desired to make the election of an honorary member a "crowning," as he called it, of great distinction, he asked me what Italian historian was qualified for this group. For he wished that our honorary members, limited in number to ten, should be drawn from among the eminent historians of the world and not merely restricted to Americans. I told him that Villari held beyond question the highest rank in Italy, and that his reputation was not only undisputed in Europe but was, in fact, world-wide. On December 12, 1901, this Society elected him an Honorary Member.

Pasquale Villari was born at Naples, October 3, 1827. He attended the University of Naples, and apparently planned to fit himself for the profession of lawyer. Under the Bourbon rule of the time, which Gladstone not long afterward described as "the negation of God erected into a system of government," higher education in Naples was at a very low level. But in the University there were two or three professors of real ability, chief among them being Francesco de Sanctis. He lectured on literature, literary theory and criticism, was himself a critic of original discernment and power, and above all he was one of those very rare teachers who have the God-given faculty of forming the character as well as developing the mind of their pupils. It was a time when liberal ideals were beginning to glide into the hearts of young men of promise, and Villari was among the youths stirred by them. He was sufficiently implicated in the Revolution of 1848 which forced the despicable Bourbon king, Bomba, to grant a constitution, for his future to be compromised. When the Revolution fell,

Pasquale Villari

Bomba repudiated the constitution and punished by death or imprisonment the leaders of the Liberal party. Even so inconspicuous a youth as Villari fled for his life and took refuge in Florence. There, under the genteel but foresworn Austrian Grand Duke, even conspirators were allowed to live unmolested, if they held their tongues.

Villari supported himself by giving private lessons in Italian to foreigners, devoting his spare time to vigorous historical study and investigation. He was the first Italian of note who followed what used to be regarded as the "German method" of historical research; a method which, however, since it seems to have been employed by the best ancient historians who existed long before even the Huns had plundered their way from Asia into Europe, can hardly be regarded as a German monopoly. Where Villari learned this method I do not know; he did not study in Germany, nor does it appear that any German professor taught him in Florence. But he dug in that matchless historical treasure-house, the Florentine archives, and having fresh eyes, an unusual scent for the important, and a penetrating vision for material, he unearthed much that had been left buried or neglected even about the great periods in Florentine history. The first fruits of his researches appeared in 1859 in the first volume of his *History of Savonarola and his Times*. Two years later he completed the work by publishing the second volume. The book at once took its place as the best on its subject. Readers of *Romola* will remember that George Eliot, writing her novel at that time, refers to it, and it would be easy to trace how much she drew from it in composing her own portrait of Savonarola. Villari adopted the practice of inserting into his text many of Savonarola's own words, thereby forming a mosaic and giving to it an effect of authenticity — a practice which our own Mr. Rhodes has used with such success in his works.

Meanwhile Villari filled the chair of history at the University of Pisa, and as, after 1859, Central and Northern Italy (except Venetia) were united and free, he was thenceforth unhindered in his utterances on politics. As Florence lacked a University, some influential men founded there the Institute of Higher Studies, in which Villari became professor of history. He was appointed secretary of what would correspond to our national

Bureau of Education, and his influence was considerable in the work of remodelling the general educational system of the new kingdom of Italy. He also took zealous, not to say combative, interest in many of the political questions of the day, served several terms in the Chamber of Deputies, and throughout his life was a publicist both copious and cogent. The modern Italian professors, especially of history, like the French, have never looked upon it as their ideal, to sit aloof from the Present, in order to keep unspotted their reputation for impartiality towards the controversies of the Past; quite the opposite, they seemed to act instinctively on the theory that the better a man knows the Past the better qualified he ought to be to discuss the vital issues of the Present. And so we find Villari often involved in heated discussions. A Southerner by birth and early training, the fact that he was a Florentine through all his mature life and in the substance of his intellectual work never rubbed out his sympathy for the South. Some of his most appealing pamphlets called attention to the shocking conditions in Naples and Sicily, and he strove to lighten the burdens there, not only by improving education, but agriculture and a system of land tenure. The last time I heard him speak, some ten years ago, he warned Italy, north as well as south, against the great peril she ran from the emigration of her peasants. All the money they send back, he said impressively, to their families at home will never compensate for the loss of her young men, the man-power of the nation and the hope of her future. He began his polemics early in the sixties and he continued them until within a few years of his death. His *Lettere Meridionali* on the social question in the South are still remembered, and it is worth remarking that Sidney Sonnino, the weightiest of contemporary Italian statesmen, published among his earliest political monographs one on the peasants in Sicily (*I Contadini in Sicilia*, 1877), a work in which Villari encouraged him.

In 1884 King Humbert made Villari a senator. In Italy senators hold office for life, a position which relieves them from the fluctuations of party vicissitudes, but does not necessarily prevent them from entering into the heats of party quarrels. Certainly Pasquale Villari never allowed his senatorial chair to be a post of silence; nor could any chair which he occupied

be a post of obscurity. Marquis di Rudinì made him Minister of Public Instruction, a position which seemed to offer a great opportunity to Villari's talents and knowledge; but he somewhat disappointed the friends who expected most of him; illustrating in this the great gulf which lies between the thinker who can see plainly in his study what ought to be done, and the executive who can manipulate men and things to accomplish the desired ends. It must also be said that Villari's term as minister came at a crisis of internal political disorder and of external uncertainty and menace, which were quite unfavorable to the calmness required for devising educational reforms.

Amid all his other activities, however, that of historian was his permanent vocation. In 1877 he published the first of a three-volume biography on Niccolò Machiavelli, a companion piece to his Savonarola, and a completion of the large canvas on which he drew the history of the Medicean epoch. He published also studies on the barbarian invasions of Italy, and on the first two centuries of Florentine history, works less compacted and unified than his biographies, but containing the latest information at the time, derived from his investigation of the sources. To enumerate even the chief topics into which his fugitive essays may be classified would be superfluous. He contributed articles and reviews of all sorts to the *Nuova Antologia*. He wrote essays on Dante and Dante subjects; he discussed whether history is a science or an art; he criticized with equal zest the latest book on Cavour or on Leopardi. He had, in a word, the facility of the journalist and the versatility of the typical Italian of great talent.

I find it somewhat difficult to state Villari's position as a historian. As an essayist and reviewer his work was eminently fugitive, as such work must almost always be. As the book and the issue of the year are generally forgotten, or are put into that limbo where we expect posterity to spend its time, so what is written about them fade away also; but Villari's fugitive pieces will be referred to by persons who wish to know how their subject impressed one of the keenest Italian minds of the time. His position as an historian, like that of George Bancroft in this country, became legendary long before he died. Just as Bancroft first published much original material

on American history, so Villari is a pioneer in many details of the lives of Savonarola and Machiavelli. It is sixty years since he printed the first and over forty since he printed the second, and they still remain standards. You cannot hope to know either of those great men without reading Villari's biographies of them. I do not feel, however, that they are in the true sense final, for they lack, at least to my taste, the living glow, the simplification of complex episodes, and the intimacy, charm and dignity of expression, without which no history or biography can be final. *Forma vita est:* unless any work of art has a *living* form, it has not life.

Professor Villari's biographies were translated into many languages. He welcomed to his home at Florence visitors from all over the world for half a century; and one should not forget to record how much his English wife, Miss Linda White, contributed by the translation of his books into English, and by her English connections, to the dissemination of his influence.

Villari died in Rome on December 7, 1917, having lived to see the invasion of his beloved Italy by the hordes of modern barbarians. He kept his faculties to the last. In person he was a little man, hardly above five feet tall, with a keen intellectual face, which had the quality of old ivory. He never lost his gift of acute and definite speech, and Italians remarked that his threescore years of residence in Florence never sufficed to cancel a certain Neapolitanism in his speech and in the vivacity of his gestures.

Dean HODGES read a paper on

THE OLD TESTAMENT WAY OF WRITING HISTORY.

I.

The province of the Old Testament historians is indicated by the fact that in the Hebrew Bible they are classed with the prophets. The "latter prophets," beginning with *Isaiah*, are preceded by the "former prophets," beginning with *Joshua*, and including the historical books of *Judges*, *Samuel*, and *Kings*.

There is in this no reference to the predictive elements in history. The competent historian is indeed a prophet, because

he deals with the operation of cause and effect in human conduct, and gives his readers reason to infer that what has taken place in the past shall under like conditions take place in the future. Thus an historian of the revolution in France in the eighteenth century is a prophet as to the course of the revolution which is in progress in Russia at this moment. But the title of "prophet" in the Old Testament is given not with reference to prediction, but with reference to instruction. The men who are so named have to do with the future only as the future is the result of the present. They speak on the basis of their knowledge of the divine ordering of the affairs of men, and say, "If you continue to do this and that, such and such consequences shall surely follow." But their essential business is with the present. They are preachers. The Old Testament historians are preachers.

The modern historian is writing history. His business, as he understands it, is to ascertain the exact facts so far as he is able, to set them down in their proper sequence and proportion, and to accompany them with such explanation and comment as shall make his book not merely a collection of statistics but an account of the significance of events. In this undertaking he must confine himself to his sources, and must say only so much as he can support by the evidence of his authorities. If any legendary matter is mixed up with his materials he must mark it "legendary," and any illustrative stories he must verify, if possible, or cancel.

The ancient historian, whether in the Bible or out of it, was not bound by these restrictions. Plutarch, at the beginning of his *Lives*, expresses indeed a preference for the things which may be proved, and condemns the writings of his predecessors as consisting of "strange sayings, and full of monstrous fables, imagined and devised by poets, which are altogether uncertain, and most untrue." He confesses, however, that he himself is not averse to fables if they are such as may be "graced with some appearance of historical narration." If in the course of his writing he shall anywhere fail to give a good fable this historical appearance, he offers an apology beforehand. If any things that I say seem to "range a little too boldly out of the bounds or limits of true appearance, and have no manner of conformity with any credibleness of matter, the readers in

courtesy must needs hold me excused, accepting in good part that which may be written and reputed of things so extremely old and ancient." The Old Testament historians were like minded.

A comparison of almost any page of modern historical writing with almost any page of Bible history shows on the one hand solid paragraphs of description or discussion, and on the other hand a lively play of conversation. In these Bible histories everybody talks. Abraham and Isaac go together to the place of sacrifice, and on their way they talk. Isaac says, "Father, here is the fire and the wood for the altar, but where is the lamb?" Abraham answers, "My son, God will provide himself a lamb." Moses and Joshua come down together from the heights of Sinai, and hear a sound of voices from the plains below. Joshua says, "I think they are shouting: there is a battle." Moses says, "I think they are singing. It sounds to me like the singing of those who worship an idol; there is something worse than a battle in the camp." No modern historian would venture to report such conversation unless he found it in his sources. The Bible historian found it in his own imagination. And he set it down because his immediate intention was not accuracy — accuracy had not yet been discovered: his intention was to bring the people of the past to life again for the instruction of the people of the present. For the fulfilment of this intention he made use of every art of which he was possessed, — the art of the painter, the art of the poet, the art of the dramatist, if he had it.

Somebody has wondered what Keats would have replied to a careful historian who should venture to criticize his sonnet "On First Looking into Chapman's Homer." Keats writes in his poem:

> Then felt I like some watcher of the skies,
> When a new planet swims into his ken;
> Or like stout Cortez, when with eagle eyes
> He stared at the Pacific — and all his men
> Looked at each other with a wild surmise —
> Silent, upon a peak in Darien.

The historian says, "But, Mr. Keats, are you quite sure that the Pacific Ocean was discovered by Cortez? There are excellent authorities who hold that it was discovered by Bal-

boa." Keats would probably answer, "I am not writing a history of the Pacific Ocean. The name of the discoverer is wholly indifferent to me. Balboa will not fit my metre. I shall leave it as it is." So with the men who wrote the Old Testament histories. They were not poets, like Keats, but they were prophets; they were preachers. They wrote with the intention of the preacher. Their interest was in moral values.

Thus in the *Second Book of Kings* fourteen times as much space is given to a single prayer of Solomon as is given to the entire reign of Jeroboam II. Jeroboam II was a great and successful king. "He restored the coast of Israel from the entering of Hamath unto the sea of the plain," and he "recovered Damascus." These conquests made his dominions as great as the empire of David. Any historian who was engaged in writing history, according to our understanding of that enterprise, would have given Jeroboam at least a chapter; he is given only seven sentences.

Another illustration of the homiletical character of the Old Testament histories appears in a comparison of *Chronicles* with *Kings*. *Chronicles* is a second edition of *Samuel* and *Kings*. It is a history of Israel which takes over the earlier history word for word, with additions and omissions. The omissions are significant.

Everything is omitted which might bring discredit upon the good name of King David.

The chronicler is diligently copying the pages of the *Second Book of Samuel*. "And it came to pass," he says, following word for word, "that after that year was expired, at the time that kings go forth to battle, Joab led forth the power of the army, and wasted the country of the children of Ammon, and came and besieged Rabbah. But David tarried at Jerusalem." There he suddenly stopped, at 2 *Samuel* XI. 1. He turned a page of his original, and another, and another, and resumed his copying at 2 *Samuel* XII. 26, word for word again: "And Joab smote Rabbah and destroyed it. And David took the crown of their king from off his head." And so on. Between XI. 1 and XII. 26, he has omitted the whole disgraceful story of David and Bathsheba. This he considers unprofitable reading for the Young Men's Hebrew Association. A like omission drops

into discreet silence the unpleasant account of the rebellion of Absalom. One may read *Chronicles* from beginning to end without discovering that any son of that name ever belonged to the family of David. David appears in this history as a king without reproach, and without defeat. There is no mention of the war with the house of Saul by means of which he seized the throne, nor of the conspiracy of Adonijah to dethrone him in his old age. The Chronicler's picture of David is like a photograph retouched, with all the lines smoothed out. It is one of the few exceptions to the customary frankness of the writers of the Bible in dealing with the sins of the saints. The exception is plainly made on moral grounds, and for homiletical purposes. The intention of the writer to make a record of events is distinctly subordinated to his chief and controlling purpose to make a record of such events as seem to him to convey a profitable lesson.

Another notable omission removes from *Chronicles* all mention of the affairs of the northern kingdom.

Chronicles follows *Kings* through the days of David and Solomon. The two histories agree, for the most part, in their descriptions of that era of prosperity and splendor. They agree in praising the wisdom of Solomon. The writer of the second history, however, draws his copying pencil through the account in the first history of Solomon's folly. He omits the statement that Solomon had a multitude of foreign and heathen wives, that he "went after Ashtoreth the goddess of the Zidonians, and after Milcom the abomination of the Ammonites," and that he built "an high place for Chemosh the abomination of Moab in the hill that is before Jerusalem," and to these strange gods, before their images, burnt incense and offered sacrifice.

Also he omits the statement that Solomon imposed upon his people a burden of forced labor, and made them work in the quarries and in the forests to provide materials for the cities which he built. When in consequence of this oppression the northern tribes inquired of Solomon's successor whether he intended to follow the policy of his father, and were informed that he intended to do what his father had done, and more also, they rebelled, and established a kingdom of their own. To the mind of the writer of *Chronicles* this declaration of independ-

ence was not only a revolution but a schism. As a matter of fact, it was a righteous rebellion against a heartless and intolerable tyranny. It was followed, however, by most unfortunate consequences, political and ecclesiastical. Politically, it not only divided the Hebrew kingdom, but it set the two divisions each against the other, through a long and suicidal series of civil wars. Ecclesiastically, the northern tribes made shrines for themselves in their own country, and came no more to the temple at Jerusalem. Even to the writer of *Kings* this was a separation from the true church. To the writer of *Chronicles* it was an act so hateful to God and to good men that the northern kingdom ought to be cast out of all remembrance. So far as he was able, he cast it out. He gave it no place in his records. Even the great prophets, Elijah and Elisha, he consigned to silence and oblivion. From his point of view as a good churchman they were no better than dissenting ministers.

II.

Turning now from the purpose of the Old Testament historians to their method we find that they were compilers of source-books. They used their sources as diligently as any historians of the present day, but they used them differently. Instead of studying the sources, comparing them, explaining them, debating and deciding their disagreements, digesting them, and then writing a history in the light of what they had thus learned, they followed the much simpler method of transcribing the sources. They set down what they found in the form in which they found it.

In so doing they were in no wise perturbed by the discovery of differing accounts of the same event. The idea that these differences must be somehow adjusted, or reconciled, seems not to have occurred to them. If the modern historian in the progress of his researches comes upon two reliable sources, one of which states the matter in one way, and the other in a different way, he cannot rest content until he has determined which is right and which is wrong. This is because he is primarily an historian. He may have strong prejudices: his history may be written as an argument to prove a proposition —

even so, the presence of conflicting statements distresses him like a pain. He is irresistibly impelled to decide the conflict by some solution.

That the men who wrote the historical books of the Old Testament were not of this mind is made evident by the continually recurring fact of duplication. We find them setting down side by side different descriptions of the same transaction, between which we are left to take our choice. The difference does not disturb them, because they are interested not so much in the facts as in the truths which are at the heart of the facts.

Dr. Edward Everett Hale's son who wrote his *Life* acknowledges that his father was often inaccurate, but he says that he was inaccurate only in regard to details to which he attached no importance. He did not care whether a thing happened on Tuesday or on Friday. But for the thing itself, about which he cared much, his memory or his study impelled him to exactness. He was not averse to telling the same story in different ways at different times, if only the hearer got the point. So it was in the Old Testament.

For example, the narrative of a patriarch who to save his life in a strange court tells the king that his wife is his sister occurs in *Genesis* three times. Now the patriarch is Abraham, and the king is the Pharaoh of Egypt; now the patriarch is Isaac, and the king is Abimelech, of the Philistines. It is an unpleasant story, which the writer of *Chronicles* would probably have blue-pencilled. The writer of *Genesis* found it in his sources in three forms. It seemed to him a good story, and he took it over in all three ways. He cared no more for the differences than for the discrepancy between the source which said that Noah led the animals into the ark by twos, and the source which said that he led them in by sevens.

The modern historian is like the draughtsman who draws the plans of a cathedral: the ancient historian was like the artist who makes a picture of it. The artist is not greatly concerned about the details, what he would reproduce is an impression. He would represent the antiquity, the solemnity, the sense of reverence and worship, which the building embodies. If the draughtsman should criticise the picture, pointing out a defect in the curve of an arch, or a dispropor-

tion in the shape of a turret, the artist might well reply that his work was not intended for the guidance of masons or carpenters, but for lovers of beauty or of religion.

This principle explains a certain freedom of the Old Testament historians in the treatment of their sources. In the case of the writer of *Chronicles* we have in *Samuel* and *Kings* some of the sources which they used, and we perceive that they were not always content to copy that which lay before them, but sometimes changed it to suit their own ideas. For example, the annual revenue of Solomon at the height of his glory was estimated in *Kings* to have been less than a thousand talents of gold, but we are told in *Chronicles* that Solomon inherited from David his father, for the one purpose of building the temple, a hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver. Such a deliberate increase on the part of a modern historian would be accounted by critics an offence akin to raising the figures on a cheque. But under the conditions which governed Old Testament historians it means only that the author is a man for whom figures are not statistics but symbols. To him the exact value of the revenues of David and Solomon is a matter of entire indifference. He has no more conscience about it than Fra Angelico has as to the ornithological accuracy of the texture of the wings of his angels. His sole intention is to impress upon his readers the fact that the early rulers of Judah were great and wealthy sovereigns. When the books of *Kings* were written this fact was adequately represented by the sum of a thousand talents. But since then several centuries have passed; the people of Israel have become accustomed to higher standards in the court of Babylon. In order to produce the same impression the books of *Chronicles* must say a hundred thousand.

The Old Testament method which produces not so much a history as a source-book of history accounts for the frequent, and sometimes perplexing, phenomenon of duplication. Thus the Old Testament begins with two entirely different descriptions of the creation of the world. One is dignified and stately, and is ordered like a book of science; the other brings us into a garden of magic trees, and talking beasts, and is as full of poetry as a fairy tale. The compiler of the source book found

these two accounts in the general mind and memory, and set them both down side by side. One of them starts with a great deep, the other with a great desert; in one of them man is late, in the other early, in the order of creation. Why not? The compiler assumes no responsibility.

Presently he puts together two diverse accounts of Cain: according to one he goes out into an unpeopled world; according to the other he not only finds a wife but founds a city. The idea is to copy into the book everything that anybody ever said about Cain. If the accounts hold together, well; but if not, well. The reader may do with them as he pleases.

Scholars distinguish in the first five or six books of the Old Testament two distinct strands of narrative, which represent, they say, the traditions of the old time as they were told in the northern and in the southern parts of Palestine. Then appear two quite different accounts of the conquest of Canaan: one in *Joshua*, where the united tribes win a few decisive battles, and divide the land between them; the other in *Judges*, where each tribe fights for its own place, and the land is won very gradually, after many grievous defeats. Then we come to two distinct series of historical books. In the first are four volumes, *First* and *Second Samuel*, and *First* and *Second Kings*, which begin with the establishment of the Hebrew monarchy and extend to the fall of Jerusalem. In the second series are four volumes, *First* and *Second Chronicles*, *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, which begin over again with the establishment of the Hebrew monarchy, and come on over the same ground, with the additions and omissions which we have already noted, and extend to the rebuilding of Jerusalem, after the return of the people from their deportation. The effect of this historical method, with its continual duplication and variation, is to perplex the uninitiated reader. When, for example, he finds David settled as a minstrel in the court of Saul, attending on the king, and sees him in the next chapter coming from the farm and undertaking the duel with Goliath to the amazement of Saul, who says to Abner, "Abner, whose son is this youth?" to whom Abner answers, "As thy soul liveth, O king, I cannot tell," how shall he explain the situation in which David is one day well known and the next day unknown in the same place? The confusion is produced by quoting now one source, and now

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Algernon Sidney
Manus hæc Inimica Tyrannis
Ense petit placidam sub Libertate Quietem

another, without any attempt to make them fit together. And so, in a hundred other places.

To the scholar this makes the Old Testament history an unfailing joy. He is deeply grateful to these historians who instead of rewriting their sources have preserved them almost untouched as they found them. He is thus enabled to go back to the materials out of which the books were made, to the primitive legends and traditions, to the ancient songs and stories, to documents contemporary with the events which they record.

Mr. Chester N. Greenough read the following paper on

Algernon Sidney and the Motto of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

At our last meeting two interesting and difficult questions were proposed, to which another may well be added: First, did Algernon Sidney, when he wrote certain words in the Album of the University of Copenhagen, originate or quote those words? Secondly, just what did Sidney write in the album? Thirdly, how did the words *Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem* come to be adopted as the motto of Massachusetts? To the first and second of these questions I have given little attention, although, as I have investigated the third point, certain bits of evidence have accumulated which seem to me to bear upon them.

Let me first rehearse two sets of well-known facts — those relating to the adoption of a design for the seal, and those relating to Algernon Sidney and his *Discourses concerning Government.*

Soon after the government of Massachusetts began its work of reorganization at Watertown in the summer of 1775, the need of a new seal was realized. On July 28, 1775, the Council[1]

[1] The Council consisted of twenty-eight members, as follows: "for the Territory called the Territory of the Massachusetts Bay," James Bowdoin, Benjamin Greenleaf, John Hancock, Joseph Gerrish, Jedediah Foster, Michael Farley, Joseph Palmer, Jabez Fisher, James Pitts, Caleb Cushing, John Winthrop, John Adams, James Prescott, Thomas Cushing, Benjamin Lincoln, John Whitcomb, Samuel Adams, Eldad Taylor; for the territory formerly called New Plymouth, William Seaver, Walter Spooner, James Otis, Robert Treat Paine; for the territory formerly called the Province of Maine, Benjamin Chadbourne, Enoch Free-

which had become the executive branch of the government ordered "That Col. Otis and Doctr. Winthrop, with such as the Honble. House shall join, be a Committee to Consider what is necessary to be done relative to a Colony Seal." On the same day the House concurred, and added to the joint committee Major Hawley, Dr. Church, and Mr. Cushing.[1]

On August 5, at the desire of the Council, the committee was called together; and, Dr. Church and Mr. Cushing being absent, Major Bliss and Dr. Whiting were substituted.

On the same day the committee recommended to the Council that the former device should be discontinued and that "the Devise herewith be the established form of a Seal for this Colony, for the future." Although the drawing which evidently accompanied this report appears not to have survived, we can roughly conjecture what it was from the action of the Council and of the House upon the report: the Council accepted it "with this Amendment, *viz.* Instead of an Indian holding a Tomahawk and Cap of Liberty, there be an English American, holding a Sword in the Right Hand, and Magna Charta in the Left Hand, with the Words '*Magna Charta*,' imprinted on it." The House accepted the committee's report as thus amended by the Council with one important change: the House voted that "on the devise previous to the word Petit be Inserted the word Ense and subsequent to it the word placidam." That is to say, the committee seems to have recommended the motto "Petit sub libertate quietem," the Council to have accepted this motto, and the House to have inserted the two words necessary to make the motto as we know it. All this was between July 28 and August 5, 1775.[2]

man, Charles Chauncy; for the territory lying between the River Sagadahock and Nova-Scotia, Dr. John Taylor; at large, Moses Gill, Dr. Samuel Holten. *A Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives*, etc., Watertown, 1775, 6.

[1] The original records (Massachusetts Archives, Vol. VI, f. 460, and CXXXVII, ff. 14–15) are in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth at the State House. The printed record, *A Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives*, Watertown, 1775, is in the Harvard College Library and the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[2] On the later changes in the seal (whereby the motto is not affected), see W. H. Whitmore in Commonwealth of Massachusetts, House Document No. 345 (1885); E. H. Garrett, "The Coat of Arms and Great Seal of Massachusetts" in the *New England Magazine* for 1901, XXIII, 623 ff. Mr. Garrett's article has to do wholly with the Indian and with the arm and sword in the crest. This arm, by the way, takes on additional significance when one remembers the first four words of the motto in their relation to the word *Ense*.

It seems evident that whoever suggested the motto had in mind the line usually attributed to Algernon Sidney; but whether the suggestion originated in the committee, in the Council, in the House, or in the mind of some outsider, the record fails to tell.

The more scholarly leaders of the American Revolution habitually sought to fortify their cause by appealing to certain earlier writers on political theory.[1] John Adams spoke for many when he wrote in 1775:

> These are what are called revolution principles. They are the principles of Aristotle and Plato, of Livy and Cicero, and Sydney, Harrington and Locke. The principles of nature and eternal reason. The principles on which the whole government over us, now stands.[2]

Among these earlier writers Algernon Sidney[3] holds an important place. His picturesque and independent career, his tragic death, and the solidity and vigor of his *Discourses concerning Government* combine to make him a very striking figure. His father was the second Earl of Leicester; his mother was the daughter of the ninth Earl of Northumberland. As a colonel — later a lieutenant-general — of horse, he fought with credit on the parliamentary side. Believing that "the king could be tried by no court,"[4] he refused to have any part in the later meetings of the court which condemned Charles I, and maintained a position in the matter which gained him the disapproval and suspicion of Cromwell. He became Councillor of State, however, in 1652; and in 1659 — having been in retirement under the Protectorate — he was made a commissioner to negotiate between the Kings of Denmark and Sweden. In the course of his visit to Demnark occurred the famous episode which gives us our motto. The version of the affair which had come to the rather choleric Earl of Leicester occa-

[1] See C. E. Merriam, *A History of American Political Theories*, New York, 1906, especially Chapter II; H. F. Russell Smith, *Harrington and his Oceana, A Study of a Seventeenth Century Utopia and its Influence in America*, Cambridge [England], 1914, especially Chapter VIII.

[2] *Works*, IV. 15.

[3] The best short account of Sidney's life is that by Professor C. H. Firth in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. A fuller biography is A. C. Ewald's *Life and Times of the Hon. Algernon Sydney*, 2 vols., London, 1873.

[4] Blencowe, *Sydney Papers*, 237.

sioned the following passage in a long and bitter letter to Algernon Sidney, which the Earl wrote on August 30, 1660:

> It is said that the University of Copenhagen brought their album unto you, desiring you to write something therein, and that you did write in albo[1] these words:
>
> Manus haec inimica tyrannis
>
> and put your name to them; this cannot choose but be publicly known if it be true.[2]

On September 21, 1660, Sidney replied at length and with much patience and courage. In the matter of the line in the album, he said: "That which I am reported to have written in the book at Copenhagen is true; and having never heard, that any sort of men were so worthily objects of enmity, as those I mention, I did never in the least scruple avowing myself to be an enemy unto them." [3] It will be noted that neither in the Earl's memorandum,[2] nor in his letter, nor in Algernon Sidney's reply is there any evidence that Sidney wrote in the album more than the four words, *Manus haec inimica tyrannis*. But, excepting the text as given in Rochester's *Familiar Letters* (see p. 269), these documents were inaccessible until 1835, when they were printed by Blencowe.

After the Restoration, Sidney lived abroad, not always without danger of feeling the vengeance of Charles II, until 1677, when he was allowed to return to England. He found the events of the early 1680's too exciting to keep out of, was arrested after the failure of the Rye-House Plot, tried, con-

[1] On the phrase "in albo," see *Oxford Dictionary*, *s. v.* Album, 2.

[2] Blencowe, *Sydney Papers*, 209–211. Almost exactly the same version of the affair is given in an "extract from a manuscript of Lord Leicester in the possession of Mr. Lambard": "Saturday, 28 July, I returned his visit [Mr. Pedicombe's visit is meant], and falling into discourse about my said son, and of our King's displeasure to him, he sayed, that according to the usages of Germany and Denmark, the university of Copenhagen had brought to my son a new Album, which is a book, wherein the university desired him to write some word or motto, and to sign his name in that booke, and that my said son had written in Albo, these words,

> 'Manus haec inimica tyrannis,'

and set his name to it, which, says Mr. Pedicombe, being written in the Album of the said university, must needs be knowne to many, and may doe your son somme hurt, because he hath declared himself to be a defender of the Commonwealth." Blencowe, *Sydney Papers*, 210.

[3] *Ib.*, 216.

demned on very doubtful evidence, and executed December 7, 1683.

One of the three grounds on which Algernon Sidney was charged with treason was his alleged authorship of a treatise proclaiming the subjects' right of deposing kings by violence. The treatise thus used as evidence either was or strongly resembled Sidney's *Discourses concerning Government*, first published in 1698.[1]

Like the first part of the greater and more influential treatise of Locke, Sidney's *Discourses concerning Government* is a refutation, point by point, of Sir Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha, or The Natural Power of Kings Asserted*,[2] first published in 1680. In his *Patriarcha*, Filmer advances the belief that kingship is "natural" and essentially like a father's authority over his family. Earlier writers had often, though usually by way of metaphorical adornment, termed a king the father of his people: Filmer makes this metaphor the foundation-stone of his argument. Basing his treatise upon an idea somewhat more historical than the notion of a contract, and helping much to rid political philosophy of argument from biblical texts, Filmer is more important for his methods than for his results. Indeed, his results are now chiefly remembered for the attack made upon them by Locke and Sidney.

Now, without commenting upon their validity, let me briefly summarize[3] some of Sidney's principal arguments, using mainly his own words:

Our inquiry is not after that which is preferred, well knowing that no such thing is found among men; but we seek that human constitution which is attended with the least or the most pardonable inconveniences.[4]

[1] For a short general account (with a bibliography) of English political theory in the late seventeenth century, see A. L. Smith, in the *Cambridge Modern History*, VI. Chap. 23. W. A. Dunning, *A History of Political Theories from Luther to Montesquieu*, New York, 1905, is clear and convenient, but often — as in his treatment of Sidney — slight. G. P. Gooch's *Political Thought in England from Bacon to Halifax*, London, 1914, is an excellent little book. Among the more thorough treatments of the subject two complementary volumes in the Cambridge [England] Historical Essays are pre-eminent: G. P. Gooch, *The History of English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century*, Cambridge, 1898 (see, especially, Chap. X); and J. N. Figgis, *The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings*, Cambridge, 1896.

[2] For a good account of Filmer, see Figgis, *Divine Right of Kings*, 146 ff.

[3] As Ewald does at considerable length in his final chapter. The page numbers in the following summary refer to the edition of 1704.

[4] Chapter II, Section 18, p. 125.

Antiquity teaches that kings reign only by the consent of the people, in whom lay the whole source of power, for the liberty of a people is the gift of God and nature.[1] Princes as well as other magistrates are set up by the people for the public good.[2] Hence, in all controversies concerning the power of magistrates we are not to examine what conduces to their profit or glory, but what is good for the public.[3] If disagreements happen between king and people, why is it a more desperate opinion to think that the king should be subject to the censures of the people than the people subject to the will of the king?[4] That law which is not just is not a law, and that which is not law ought not to be obeyed.[5] There can be no such thing in the world as the rebellion of a nation against its own chief magistrates. The whole body of a nation cannot be tied to any other obedience than is consistent with the common good, according to their judgment; and having never been subdued or brought to terms with their chief magistrates, they cannot be said to revolt or rebel against them, to whom they owe no more than seems good to themselves, and who are nothing of or by themselves, more than other men.[6]

Laws and constitutions ought to be weighed; and whilst all due reverence is paid to such as are good, every nation may not only retain in itself a power of changing or abolishing all such as are not so, but ought to exercise that power according to the best of their understanding; and in the place of what was either at first mistaken, or afterwards corrupted, to constitute that which is most conducing to the establishment of Justice and Liberty.[7]

All nations have been, and are, more or less happy, as they or their ancestors have had vigor of spirit, integrity of manners, and wisdon to invent and establish such orders, and as have better or worse provided for this common good, which was sought by all.[8]

Perhaps I have set forth at too great length these matters relating to Sidney and his book; but it seems to me that, in trying to connect Sidney with the leaders of the American Revolu-

[1] Chapter III, Section 33, p. 369.
[2] Chapter I, Section 19, p. 50.
[3] *Ib.*, Section 3, p. 61.
[4] *Ib.*, Section 2, p. 4.
[5] Chapter III, Section 11, p. 273.
[6] *Ib.*, Section 36, p. 376.
[7] *Ib.*, Section 25, p. 333.
[8] *Ib.*, Section 36, p. 379.

tion, we should think of him as they did — not primarily as the author of a striking Latin sentence, but as a martyr to liberty, and especially as the author of a work abounding in precisely the arguments that they required.

Our next step must be to ask how accessible this motto was before 1775 to the Massachusetts leaders of the American Revolution, who, as we have seen, had ample reason to study Algernon Sidney.

Curiously enough, we cannot understand this matter without some consideration of Thomas Hollis (1720–1774) and certain of his gifts and letters.[1] The Thomas Hollis in question is the third of his name, and is usually known as Thomas Hollis of Lincoln's Inn, by which title he himself requested that he should be styled. Upon the death of his father and his great-uncle, Thomas Hollis inherited their fortunes and the family interest in Harvard College. This interest soon began to show not only by gifts of money, but by gifts of certain books, which are for our purpose extremely interesting. Hollis, as is well known, was rich, learned, eccentric, a born collector and bibliophile, and a passionate lover of liberty. He formed the habit of sending to public libraries and to private individuals copies of certain books, prints, and medals having to do with the history of republican doctrines. Upon the books especially Hollis lavished great care. To judge from those which were sent to the Harvard College Library and which escaped the fire of 1764,[2] the bindings — especially of the books that Hollis cared most for — were apt to be rich and striking.[3] Hollis had a fancy for bright shades of Russia

[1] On Thomas Hollis of Lincoln's Inn the principal authorities are the Hollis Papers (especially Hollis's correspondence with Mayhew), in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society; Archdeacon Blackburne's *Memoir of Thomas Hollis*, 2 vols., London, 1780; Josiah Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, II. 144–147; Edwin Cannan, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[2] "The library contained about five thousand volumes, all of which were consumed, except a few books in the hands of the members of the House; and two donations, one made by our late honorable Lieutenant-Governor Dummer, to the value of 50*l* sterling; the other of fifty-six volumes, by the present worthy Thomas Hollis, Esq., F. R. S., of London, to whom we have been annually obliged for valuable additions to our late Library; which donations, being but lately received, had not the proper boxes prepared for them; and so escaped the general ruin." *Massachusetts Gazette*, February 2, 1764, quoted by Josiah Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, II. 482.

[3] In regard to the bindings of his books Hollis wrote to President Holyoke, June 24, 1765: "The bindings of books are little regarded by me for my own

leather, and his binder used certain dies made to Hollis's order and often representing portions of his arms. The figure of Britannia, an owl, an olive branch, a dagger, or a lion will often be found on the back or the panel of one of Hollis's books. He was, furthermore, in the habit of writing inscriptions upon the fly-leaves, in which his eager devotion to the cause of liberty found full expression.

President Holyoke and the other authorities of the College were naturally appreciative of this munificent patron and did what they could to display his gifts effectively. On July 9, 1766, President Holyoke wrote as follows to Hollis, describing the alcove in the College Library where the Hollis books were arranged:

SIR, — Having reserved one of the alcoves in our Library, of which there are ten in all, for your books, we have now placed them; and a most beautiful appearance they make: we have some other alcoves that look very well, but not as the Hollis.[1] Though I look upon this as a small thing in comparison with the wise choice you have made of the subjects in them treated of, and the excellent authors among them; as they well nigh fill one alcove, we have hung therein a table, whereon is inscribed the name of Hollis, in large gilt capitals; besides which there is pasted on the inside of the cover of each of your bo[o]ks the inclosed, cut in black as to those of them we suffer to be lent out, and in red as to those we think too precious for loan, which those gentlemen who want them may consult in the library, we having all conveniences for that purpose, and the Librarian always ready to attend them.[2]

The splendors of the Hollis alcove are also sung by the unknown author of *Harvardium Restauratum* (1766):[3]

proper library; but by long experience I have found it necessary to attend to them for other libraries; having thereby drawn notice, with preservation, on many excellent books, or curious, which, it is probable, would else have passed unheeded and neglected." Blackburne's *Hollis*, II. 603.

On January 7, 1767, Andrew Eliot wrote to Hollis: "As a friend to Harvard College, I sincerely thank you for your liberality to that society. The books you have sent are vastly curious and valuable, and the bindings elegant. I hope their external appearance will invite our young gentlemen to peruse them, which I am persuaded was your principal design in sending them." 4 *Collections*, IV. 402.

[1] A plan of Harvard Hall showing these alcoves, drawn to scale, is in *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XIV. 16.

[2] Blackburne, *Hollis*, II. 603.

[3] Printed in the *Boston Gazette*, April 7, 1766. See *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XI. 59.

Harvard's new built walls contain
Fairest memorials of thy [1] lib'ral soul.
From that grand alcove, destin'd to receive
The learned treasures by thy bounteous hand
Presented, we behold, with wond'ring eyes,
The splendid tomes, throughout the spacious room,
Like orient sol diffuse their beamy glories!

We have here, I think, a very interesting situation. At a time when the College Library — originally classical and theological for the most part — was just feeling the need of books on affairs of the state, these striking gifts of Thomas Hollis must have been for young men of the Adams, Mayhew, and Otis type one of the great formative influences of their lives.[2]

But Hollis by no means confined his generosity to Harvard College. Early in the 1750's he was attracted by the learning and vigor of the Reverend Jonathan Mayhew, whom he speedily made his most intimate New England correspondent. To Mayhew he sent such frequent and magnificent gifts that the good minister professed himself to be almost overwhelmed with Hollis's generosity. He was in the habit of sending a number of extra copies of certain books and prints and of relying upon Mayhew's discretion to place them to the best advantage.[3]

The temptation is strong to go on speaking at length about Thomas Hollis as an influence upon the formation of revolutionary sentiment; but we must leave him for the moment, to return to him later in connection with certain of his gifts.

In 1694 Robert Viscount Molesworth (1656–1725) published

[1] Addressed to Thomas Hollis, as a footnote to the poem indicates.

[2] "The books he sent were often political, and of a republican stamp. And it remains for the perspicacity of our historians to ascertain what influence his benefactions and correspondence had in kindling that spirit which emancipated these States from the shackles of colonial subserviency, by forming 'high-minded men,' who, under Providence, achieved our independence.

"Doubtless at the favored Seminary her sons drank deeply of the writings of MILTON, HARRINGTON, SYDNEY, LUDLOW, MARVELL, and LOCKE. These were there, by Mr. Hollis's exertions, political text-books. And the eminent men of that day were —

"'By antient learning to the enlightened love
Of antient freedom warmed.'"

William Jenks, *Eulogy on Bowdoin*, Boston, 1812, 21.

[3] On May 21, 1760, Mayhew writes of certain books just received from Hollis that "they have afforded both me & my friends a great deal of pleasure." *Hollis Papers*, 5.

the first edition of An / Account / Of / Denmark, / As / It was in the Year 1692. / [motto] / London: / Printed in the Year 1694. / Molesworth had himself been an ambassador to Denmark in 1689, and was an ardent republican and admirer of Sidney. The introduction of his book is a vigorous plea for popular government. On page xxiii of this introduction, Molesworth writes:

> That Kingdon [*i. e.* Denmark] has often had the Misfortune to be govern'd by French Counsels. At the Time when Mr. Algernon Sidney was Ambassador at that Court, Monsieur Terlon, the French Ambassador, had the Confidence to tear out of the Book of Mottos in the King's Library, this Verse, which Mr. Sidney (according to the Liberty allowed to all noble Strangers) had written in it:
>
> Manus haec inimica Tyrannis
> Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem.
>
> Though Monsieur Terlon understood not a Word of Latin, he was told by others the Meaning of that Sentence, which he considered as a Libel upon the French Government, and upon such as was then setting up in Denmark by French Assistance or Example.

Here, then, is one place where the motto might have been read. How accessible was Molesworth? There was a copy of the first edition in the library of John Adams, who also owned a copy of the sixth edition, Glasgow, 1752.[1] The Harvard College Library received in 1764 a copy of the edition of 1738, on the fly-leaf of which Thomas Hollis wrote the following inscription:

> The preface to the Acc. of Denmark, and the Translator's preface to Hottoman's Franco-gallia[2] are two of the NOBLEST in the English language.

[1] An / Account / Of / Denmark, / As it was in the Year 1692. / By the Right Honourable / Robert Lord Viscount Molesworth. / [motto] / The Sixth Edition. / Glasgow: / Printed by R. Urie, MDCCLII. Boston Public Library, Adams, 223. 22.

[2] *Franco-gallia: Or, An Account of the Ancient Free State of France, and Most other Parts of Europe, before the Loss of their Liberties. Written originally in Latin by the Famous Civilian Francis Hottoman, In the Year 1574. And Translated into English by the Author of the Account of Denmark.* London: 1721. The Harvard copy, presented by Thomas Hollis in 1764, has on the fly-leaf an inscription by Hollis which virtually constitutes a cross-reference to Molesworth: "The Translator's preface to the Franco-gallia, and the preface to the Acc. of Denmark are two of the NOBLEST prefaces in the English language. THOMAS HOLLIS."

It appears, therefore, that Molesworth in 1694 was the first to use the complete motto in connection with Algernon Sidney. Three years later, the complete motto reappears, but in a slightly different form. This is in Rochester's *Familiar Letters*, which (p. 57) contains the following version of the Copenhagen episode, with the motto in a novel form:

It is said, That the University of *Copenhagen* brought their *Album* unto you, desiring you to write something therein, and that you did *scribere in Albo* these words,

Manus haec inimica Tyrannis,
Ense petit placida cum Libertate quietem.[1]

More important still were the various editions of Sidney's *Discourses concerning Government*. Of these there seem to be the following:

Discourses / Concerning / Government, / By / Algernon Sidney, / Son to *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, and Ambassador / from the Commonwealth of *England* to *Charles* / *Gustavus* King of *Sweden*. / *Published* from an *Original Manuscript of the Author*. / London, / Printed, and are to be sold by the Booksellers of / *London* and *Westminster*. MDCXCVIII. Folio.

No portrait. Copenhagen episode not given.

Discourses / Concerning / Government, / By Algernon Sidney, / Son to *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, and / Ambassador from the Commonwealth of *Eng-/land* to *Charles Gustavus* King of *Sweden*. The Second Edition carefully corrected. / To which is added, / The Paper He deliver'd to the Sheriffs / immediately before his Death. / And an Alphabetical Table. / London. / Printed by J. *Darby* in Bartholomew-Close. MDCCIV. Folio.

Portrait, with motto below. Copenhagen episode not given.[2]

Discourses / Concerning / Government; / By / Algernon Sidney, / Son to Robert Earl of Leicester, / And / Ambassador from the Commonwealth of England / to Charles Gustavus King of Sweden. / Published from an Original Manuscript of the Author. / To which is added, / A Short Account of the Author's Life. / And a Copious Index. / In Two Volumes. / Vol. I. / Edinburgh: / Printed for G.

[1] The same version appears (Vol. I. 55) in "The Second Edition with Additions" of these *Familiar Letters*, London, 1697.

[2] An edition of 1740 in folio is mentioned by Professor C. H. Firth in his article on Sidney in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Since no other authority appears to mention an edition of 1740, and since Firth's list of editions omits the folio of 1704, I am inclined to think that his 1740 edition is simply a printer's error for 1704.

Hamilton and J. Balfour. / M.DCC.L. Boston Public Library, Adams, 292.17.

No portrait, Copenhagen episode (p. xiv), with motto in full and usual form.

Discourses / Concerning / Government. / By / Algernon Sidney, Esq; / To which are added, / Memoirs of his Life, / And / An Apology for Himself, / Both Now first published, / And the latter from his Original Manuscript. / The Third Edition. / With an Alphabetical Index of the principal Matters. / [cut] / London: / Printed for A. Millar, opposite Catharine's-street in / the Strand, M.DCC.LI. Folio.

Portrait, with motto below. Copenhagen episode (p. vii), with motto in full and usual form.

Discourses Concerning Government / By Algernon Sydney/ With His Letters Trial Apology / And Some Memoirs Of His Life / London: Printed For A. Millar / MDCCLXIII / Or To The Tribunals Under Change Of Times. 4°.

Portrait, with Molesworth version of Copenhagen episode below. The episode retold in text (p. 8) with motto in full and usual form.

The Works Of Algernon Sydney / A New Edition / London, Printed, by W Strahan Iun. / For T. Becket and Co. and T. Cadell, / In The Strand; T. Davies, / In Russel / Street; And T. Evans, In King Street / MDCCLXXII / [cut of liberty cap] / "Or To The Uniust Tribunals Under Change Of Times." 4°.

Same as edition of 1763, except that Copenhagen episode occurs on p. 10 of text.

Of these, the edition of 1698 does not contain the motto. The edition of 1750 was published at Edinburgh in two volumes. There is a copy in the library of John Adams (now at the Public Library of the City of Boston) which contains on the fly-leaf of the first volume the inscription "John Adams 1766." In this edition (pp. vii ff.) is "A Short Account of the Life of Algernon Sidney," which (p. xiv) contains an account of the Copenhagen episode and the complete motto. It is very important to note that John Mein's circulating library on King Street, "Second Door above the British Coffee-House" contained in 1765 a copy of the Sidney of 1750, which the compiler of Mein's catalogue regarded as deserving an analysis of its contents to the length of about twelve lines.[1]

[1] There is a copy of this catalogue in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. On circulating libraries in Boston at this period, see C. K. Bolton in *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XI. 196 ff.

Besides the English editions of Sidney, there are several translations in French.[1] There is in the library of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences a highly interesting copy of the French edition of 1702, published at The Hague in three duodecimo volumes:

Discours / Sur / Le Gouvernement, / Par Algernon Sidney, / Fils de Robert Comte de Leicester, / Et / Ambassadeur / De / La République D'Angleterre / Près De / Charles Gustave / Roi de Suéde. / Publiez sur l'Original Manuscrit de l'Auteur. / Traduits De L'Anglois, / Par P. A. Samson. / Tome Premier. / [cut.] / A La Haye, / . . . . / M.DCCII. /

The first volume has a portrait of Sidney entirely different from any that I have seen in the English editions. The fourth page of the preface tells the Copenhagen incident, with the motto in the form found in Rochester's *Familiar Letters* in 1697. Each volume has the autograph of Jeremiah Gridley[2] and a bookplate showing that it was given to the Academy by the Honorable James Bowdoin, Esq.,[3] in 1790. This copy is important because it not only brings into our story James Bowdoin and Jeremiah Gridley, but — from Gridley's relation to John Adams and the other young lawyers of Adams's generation — it suggests a very considerable influence.

This leaves to be considered the four very interesting editions of 1704, 1751, 1763, and 1772. I must confess that I began this investigation supposing that, in order to come across this motto, readers of John Adams's day would have to go pretty far afield; but a glance at the portraits opposite the titlepages of these four editions will show that whoever turned to any one of them, even for a moment, could hardly help noticing the motto: in the editions of 1704 and 1751 it stands out alone and conspicuously below Sidney's portrait; in the quartos of 1763 and 1772 it is similarly placed, though imbedded in Molesworth's account of the Copenhagen episode.

Of the edition of 1704 there is at present a copy in the Boston Public Library, which was given by Mrs. W. S. Fitz, February 14, 1894. It contains the autograph of Henry Ward

[1] Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, Paris, 1864, mentions three editions.

[2] On Jeremiah Gridley (1702–1767) see Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography;* John Adams, *Works, passim;* J. T. Morse, Jr., in Winsor's *Memorial History of Boston*, IV. 574.

[3] James Bowdoin (1752–1811), son of Governor James Bowdoin (1727–1790).

DISCOURSES

CONCERNING

GOVERNMENT,

BY

Algernon Sidney,

Son to *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, and Ambaſſador from the Commonwealth of *England* to *Charles Guſtavus* King of *Sweden*.

Publiſh'd from an Original Manuſcript.

The Second Edition carefully corrected.

To which is Added,

The Paper He deliver'd to the Sheriffs immediately before his Death.

And an ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

Dulce & decorum eſt pro Patria mori. Hor.

LONDON,
Printed by *J. Darby* in *Bartholomew-Cloſe*. MDCCIV.

Post, 1859, the bookplate of James Birch, and an almost illegible autograph (perhaps that of James Birch), below which the words "Middle Temple" can be distinguished. I have no evidence that there was a copy of this edition in Massachusetts before 1775.

Of the edition of 1751 there is an extremely interesting copy in the Harvard College Library, splendidly bound in red Russia leather, with elaborate stamping in gilt of a very special design. The volume is one of four copies printed on large paper and extra illustrated with six prints of Algernon Sidney, which are so important in their bearing upon our problem that they must be spoken of separately a little later. There is strong reason for believing that this copy of the edition of 1751, which came to the Harvard College Library from President Walker, belonged to the Reverend Jonathan Mayhew of Boston, who appears clearly to have been Hollis's most intimate friend in Massachusetts. If this was Mayhew's book, we may be perfectly sure that more than one person who was later to take a prominent part in the events of 1775 saw the book in Mayhew's study.

That there was a copy of the 1751 edition in the Harvard College Library is more than probable, though proof is almost necessarily lacking, since there is no catalogue of the College Library between 1723 and 1773. In 1723, of course, this book had not been published; in 1773 nearly the whole library had been wiped out by the fire of January 24, 1764. It will be remembered that at the time of that fire the Council was meeting in the very room which contained the folio of 1751, if the College possessed it. It is, of course, mere speculation to suggest that in that case several members of the Council would doubtless have examined a volume which in typography and binding must have been one of the handsomest in the library and which in subject-matter was of peculiar interest to Massachusetts statesmen.

Of the edition of 1763 there is a particularly interesting copy in the Harvard College Library. On the back is stamped the owl, indicating that Thomas Hollis thought that there was much wisdom in the book. On one of the fly-leaves is the following inscription:

Thomas Hollis, an Englishman, a Lover of Liberty, his Country, and its excellent Constitution, as nobly restored at the happy Revolution, is desirous of having the honour to deposite this book in the public library of Harvard College, at Cambridge in New England.

Pall Mall, ap. 14, 1763.

On the next leaf, below the printed figure of Britannia, Hollis wrote:

Felicity is freedom, and freedom is magnanimity!

Thucyd.

I need not emphasize the accessibility of a motto opposite the title-page of a book thus bound and inscribed, placed in the Hollis alcove of the Harvard College Library.

It is certain that Jonathan Mayhew also received a copy of this same edition of Sidney, although he had probably received previously the folio of 1751; for on November 21, 1763, Mayhew wrote to Hollis as follows:

I received, together with your last another Box of Books.

Indeed, Sir, you so confound me with your repeated favors of this Sort, that I know not what to say by way of Acknowledgement; I shall therefore leave you to conjecture with what sentiments of gratitude I receive them. Tho' I have of late been much engaged, I have read most of the Books & Publications which you last sent me excepting two or three which I had before met with.

After mentioning several other books sent by Hollis, Mayhew says of the Sidney:

"By the *Spirit* of the Notes on the New Edition of the admirable *Sydney*, I am so well satisfied *who* added them, as not to desire *any Information on that* head."

Late in the same letter Mayhew assures Hollis that "Duplicates of Books sent, are distributed agreeably to your Directions, and my best Discretion."[1] It is probable, therefore, that some of these duplicates were copies of Sidney and that Mayhew gave them to two or three other Massachusetts men.

After Mayhew's death in 1766, Andrew Eliot[2] became

[1] Hollis Papers, p. 25.
[2] As is clear from the Hollis Papers.

THE WORKS OF ALGERNON SYDNEY

A NEW EDITION

LONDON, PRINTED BY W. STRAHAN IUN.
FOR T. BECKET AND CO. AND T. CADELL,
IN THE STRAND; T. DAVIES, IN RUSSEL
STREET; AND T. EVANS, IN KING STREET
MDCCLXXII

"OR TO THE UNIUST TRIBUNALS UNDER CHANGE OF TIMES"

Thomas Hollis's chief correspondent in New England, although no one could quite fill Mayhew's place in Hollis's affection. That Hollis sent Andrew Eliot a copy of Sidney in November of 1767 is clear from Eliot's letter to Hollis of 10 December, 1767.[1]

The remaining edition, that of 1772, is in the Harvard Library, though there is no evidence that it was in Massachusetts before 1775.[2] There is a copy of the book in the John Adams library, though the absence of his autograph makes it not perfectly certain that he owned the book before 1775.[3]

Another source of local but real interest is a "set of prints" from Thomas Hollis, sent to the Harvard College Library. The volume is a handsome thin folio, characteristically bound at Hollis's order, and with his initials on the side. Within, he has written on the fly-leaf:

> Thomas Hollis, an Englishman, a Lover of Liberty, Citizen of the World, is desirous of having the honour to present this set of prints to Harvard College at Cambridge in New England.
>
> Pall Mall, sept. 14, 1764.

The book contains thirteen handsome prints all engraved at Hollis's order. Of these the seventh in order is Sidney's, with the motto below, approximately as in the frontispiece to the editions of 1763 and 1772.[4]

[1] 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, IV. 412.

[2] This copy, a part of the Sumner Bequest, was given to Sumner by George Livermore.

[3] Mr. Lindsay Swift has pointed out that the Adams Library contains some books that have been added since the death of John Adams. *Catalogue of the Adams Library*, Boston, 1917, viii.

In addition to the Adams copy of the 1772 Sidney, the Boston Public Library has a copy given by Theodore Parker. In rebinding it all the original fly-leaves have been removed, and there is no clue to its history before 1864.

[4] Thomas Hollis's note on these prints, written on the fly-leaf of the book containing them, is as follows:

"Years ago Mr. George Vertue made a Drawing of Algernon Sidney by permission of John the last Earl of Leicester of the Sidney Family, from the Original in Oils of Iustus at Egmondt at penshurst; with the Intention to engrave a print by it, to be placed among the illustrious Men then publishing by Knapton. By a variety of Accidents no print however was executed. Long after a Gentleman purchased the Drawing; and that the Memory of so excellent a person might be still better preserved and extended, He caused a print to be made from it by the ingenious Mr. Jackson of Battersea, the same who studied many Years in Italy, and acquired Reputation by divers Works produced there, and afterwards in

Although no actual proof can be attached to it, a word ought to be said here about the very interesting set of prints bound up with the large paper copy of the 1751 edition of Sidney, which is now in the Harvard Library and which was originally, I think, presented to Jonathan Mayhew. These six prints are in different states, but in each case the motto appears very conspicuously.

Another interesting gift of Thomas Hollis to the Harvard Library was a fine copy of Lucan [1] in the quarto edition printed at Leyden in 1728. From the binding, and the "Floreat Libertas" which Hollis has written into the text at one point,[2] it is clear that he considered the gift an important addition to his republican propaganda. On the fly-leaf at the end of the book Hollis has written

Manus haec inimica Tyrannis
Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem.

A. Sidney.

Not less striking than any of the books thus far discussed is a copy of John Locke's *Letters concerning Toleration*, London, 1765, for the gift of which to the Harvard Library we are again indebted to Thomas Hollis, who wrote on the fly-leaf:

England. It is cut in Wood, on four Blocks, to receive four Impressions in Chiaro oscuro with Oyl; chiefly after the principles of Albert Durer, and Ugo di Carpi. The five first prints in this Book are compleat proofs from the four several Blocks of Mr. Jackson's print. The sixth is from the first and second Block only, and is curious for the outline. But all the six vary in some Respect each from the other. N. B. There are but four Sidney's of the large paper, in which these six prints have been bound up; neither is it now possible to bind another set in this same Manner, the Copys of that size being all already sold."

[1] One can hardly mention Lucan without being drawn into the question of the source of our motto. After the vain efforts of Mr. George Birkbeck Hill (see the preface to his edition of *Gibbon's Autobiography*) I have thought it useless to search the Latin poets. Lucan, however, does contain (Book vii, l. 348) an *ense petat* which Sidney may have borrowed, for Sidney cites Lucan fully a dozen times in the *Discourses*. There seems to be no doubt that the motto *Manus haec inimica tyrannis* was in use by at least three families (Probyn of Bramton, Hunts; Tonson, Baron Riversdale; Tufnell of Boreham, Essex) before Sidney wrote the words in the album. But I cannot pretend to have gone with any thoroughness into either this question or the equally puzzling one of the relation between the Earl's version, the Molesworth version, and the Rochester version of what Sidney is supposed to have written. The inscription in the album at Copenhagen having been destroyed, and there being no clear light on the question whether the full line and a half can be found in any Latin author, I have thought it wisest to limit myself to the situation in Massachusetts from 1750 to 1775. There, unquestionably, the story as Molesworth tells it was accepted.

[2] See Book i, l. 128.

Thomas Hollis, an Englishman, Citizen of the World, is desirous of having the honor to present this Book to the Library of Harvard College, at Cambridge in N. England.

Pall Mall, jan. 1, 1765.

The profound influence of Locke upon the leaders of the American Revolution is well known. "Locke, in particular, was the authority to whom the Patriots paid greatest deference. . . . Almost every writer seems to have been influenced by him, many quoted his words, and the argument of others shows the unmistakable imprint of his philosophy."[1] It is safe to assume, therefore, that many readers before 1775 handled the Hollis copy of Locke's *Letters concerning Toleration* in the Harvard Library. As they did so, they inevitably came across the last four words of the motto, for on the back cover these words are stamped as below:

——PLACIDAM SVB LIBERTATE QVIETEM

It would seem, therefore, that those who between 1751 and 1772 knew the Harvard College Library, or enjoyed the friendship of Thomas Hollis or of his most intimate New England correspondents, could hardly have failed to have the Sidney motto impressed upon their memory as a striking summary of his doctrines.

In the case of a few prominent Massachusetts men, we fortunately have real evidence that they knew their Sidney. Josiah Quincy, Jr., in his will, which is dated February 28, 1774, wrote: "I give to my son, when he shall arrive at the age of fifteen years, Algernon Sidney's Works, John Locke's Works, Lord Bacon's Works, Gordon's Tacitus & Cato's Letters." "May the spirit of liberty rest upon him."[2] On May 13, 1767, Andrew Eliot writes to Thomas Hollis to say that he is pleased with a certain treatise which "justly gives the author a place among the most noble writers on government." "I could have wished, however," he adds, "that when the editor mentioned him as inferior *only* to *Milton*, he had also inserted *Sydney*, 'that,' as you justly style him, 'Martyr to Civil Liberty.' I am perhaps prejudiced in favor

[1] C. E. Merriam, *American Politcal Theories*, New York, 1906, p. 90.

[2] *Memoir of Josiah Quincy, Jr., by his son*, Josiah Quincy, second edition, Boston, 1874, p. 289.

AT THE TIME WHEN MR. ALGERNON SYDNEY WAS AMBASSADOR AT THE COVRT OF DENMARK MONSIEVR TERLON THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR HAD THE CONFIDENCE TO TEAR OVT OF THE BOOK OF MOTTOES IN THE KING'S LIBRARY THIS VERSE WHICH MR. SYDNEY ACCORDING TO THE LIBERTY ALLOWED TO ALL NOBLE STRANGERS HAD WRITTEN IN IT

MANVS HAEC INIMICA TYRANNIS
ENSE PETIT PLACIDAM SVB LIBERTATE QVIETEM

THOVGH MONSIEVR TERLON VNDERSTOOD NOT A WORD OF LATIN HE WAS TOLD BY OTHERS THE MEANING OF THAT SENTENCE WHICH HE CONSIDERED AS A LIBEL VPON THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT AND VPON SVCH AS WAS THEN SETTING VP IN DENMARK BY FRENCH ASSISTANCE OR EXAMPLE. *LORD MOLESWORTH'S PREFACE TO HIS ACCOVNT OF DENMARK.*

of that great man, because he was the first who taught me to form any just sentiments on government."

On Friday, May 17, 1766, the Reverend Jonathan Mayhew preached a Thanksgiving sermon which was afterwards published under the title of *The Snare Broken*.[1] On page 35 of this sermon he wrote:

> Having been initiated, in youth, in the doctrines of civil liberty, as they were taught by such men as Plato, Demosthenes, Cicero, and other renowned persons among the ancients; and such men as Sidney and Milton, Locke and Hoadley, among the moderns; I liked them; they seemed rational. . . . As I advanced towards, and into, manhood; I would not, I cannot now, tho' past middle age, relinquish the fair object of my youthful affections, LIBERTY; whose charms, instead of decaying with time in my eyes, have daily captivated me more and more.

But Mayhew and Andrew Eliot, interesting as they are, yield to John Adams, who stands forth conspicuously among those who may well have been responsible for bringing about the adoption of our motto.

On 17 September, 1823, John Adams wrote to Jefferson: "I have lately undertaken to read Algernon Sidney on government. There is a great difference in reading a book at four-and-twenty and at eighty-eight. As often as I have read it and fumbled it over, it now excites fresh admiration that this work has excited so little interest in the literary world. As splendid an edition of it as the art of printing can produce, as well for the intrinsic merits of the work, as for the proof it brings of the bitter sufferings of the advocates of liberty from that time to this, and to show the slow progress of moral, philosophical, political illumination in the world, ought to be now published in America." [2]

This letter seems to show that John Adams first became acquainted with Sidney's *Discourses concerning Government* in the year 1759, although — as we have seen — it was not until 1766, apparently, that he possessed a copy. In his *De-*

[1] The Snare broken. / A / Thanksgiving-Discourse, / Preached / . . . . / In / Boston, N. E. Friday May 23, 1766. / Occasioned By The / Repeal / Of The / Stamp-Act. / By / Jonathan Mayhew, D.D. / . . . / [motto] / Boston / 1766.

[2] John Adams, *Works*, x. 410. Editions of Sidney's *Discourses* appeared in New York and in Philadelphia in 1805.

fense of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America, 1778,[1] the fifth chapter consists of extracts from various writers on government. Of these, three pages are from Sidney. Later, in the same work[2] Adams names certain writers on government — Sidney first of all — and then remarks: "Americans should make collections of all these speculations, to be preserved as the most precious relics of antiquity, both for curiosity and for use." Most interesting of all, however, is a passage in the final paragraph — the peroration itself — of John Adams's speech in defence of Captain Preston in 1770. No one here needs to be told that, by defending the officer who was thought to have ordered the firing which began the Boston massacre, Adams was taking a very serious step. It is inconceivable that he did not prepare his speech with the greatest care. When, therefore, we find him, at the peroration of this speech, appealing to the authority of Sidney, that fact has great weight in settling the question of Sidney's place in the thought of the period. But notice the words with which John Adams introduces his quotation from Sidney's *Discourses:* "To use the words of a great and worthy man, a patriot and a hero, an enlightened friend to mankind, and a martyr to liberty — I mean Algernon Sidney — who, from his earliest infancy *sought a tranquil retirement under the shadow of the tree of liberty, with* his tongue, his pen, and *his sword*,"[3] — and then follows the quotation. Here we have, five years before the motto was officially adopted, at least one bit of clear evidence that it was known. Had Adams been in Watertown instead of in Philadelphia from July 27 to August 5, 1775, one might easily imagine that he suggested the motto.

But John Adams was in Philadelphia at this time; Andrew Eliot had gone to Connecticut;[4] Jonathan Mayhew had died in 1766 and Josiah Quincy, Jr., in April of 1775. Others were left on the scene, to be sure, who knew their Sidney well enough to have suggested the motto, and doubtless many such persons have eluded my search; but so far as the immediate suggestion of the motto between July 27 and August 5 is con-

[1] *Works*, IV. 271 ff.
[2] *Ib.*, VI. 4.
[3] The italics are mine.
[4] Andrew Eliot had become minister of Fairfield, Connecticut, in 1774. 1 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, X. 189.

cerned, it seems to me that — unless led by positive evidence — we are not very safe in going outside of the committee, the members of which were, it will be remembered, Colonel Otis, Dr. Winthrop, Major Hawley, Major Bliss, and Dr. Whiting.[1] Perhaps it is because I know so little about the last three; but at any rate I am strongly impressed by the eligibility of Dr. Winthrop to fill the missing place. Dr. Winthrop is, of course, Professor John Winthrop (1714–1779)[2] who graduated from Harvard in 1732, was appointed to the Hollis Professorship of Mathematics and Natural and Experimental Philosophy in 1738, and received the degree of LL.D. from the University of Edinburgh in 1771 and from Harvard in 1773.[3] Professor Winthrop was twice offered the presidency of the College, and was generally regarded as its most eminent professor. His eminence, furthermore, extended beyond the field of science: not only was he internationally famous for his discoveries in regard to comets, but he impressed the Rev. Charles Chauncy as knowing "a vast deal in every part of literature,"[4] and is regarded by President Quincy as "perhaps better entitled to the character of a universal scholar than any individual of his time, in this country.[5] Winthrop would not have been afraid of a Latin motto, for he himself wrote Latin prose and perhaps Latin verse;[6] and the fact that he held the Hollis Professorship from 1738 to 1779 guarantees his special interest in the benefactions of the Hollis family. If anyone feels that even Winthrop might easily miss seeing the Hollis books, let him remember that the

[1] Dr. Whiting I have not identified. Colonel Otis is of course James Otis of Barnstable (1702–1778). Major Hawley is Joseph Hawley of Northampton. Major Bliss is John Bliss of Wilbraham (1727–1809), on whom J. G. Holland has a little information (*History of Western Massachusetts*, II. 162). I find scattered accounts of these men (except Whiting), and a few of their letters; but nothing to throw light on the matter of the motto. It is greatly to be desired that those who have access to the papers of persons prominently mentioned in this article should search for some conclusive evidence.

[2] See Honorable John Davis, *Life of John Winthrop*, Boston, 1811.

[3] This, as Mr. Henry H. Edes has shown in *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, VII. 321 ff., is the first LL.D. granted by Harvard College.

[4] Letter of Charles Chauncy to Ezra Stiles, May 8, 1768. 1 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, X. 159.

[5] Josiah Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, II. 223.

[6] For John Winthrop's *Cogitata de Cometis* see the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society, 1768, Vol. 57, 132 ff. On Winthrop's not undisputed authorship of No. xxvi ("Dum servat stellas") in the *Pietas et Gratulatio* of 1761, see Justin Winsor, *Pietas et Gratulatio: an Inquiry into the Authorship of the Several Pieces*, Cambridge, 1879, 6. *Library of Harvard University: Bibliographical Contributions*, No. 4.

library consisted of only five thousand volumes, that it was all in one room, that the Hollis books were much the most conspicuous part of it, and that John Winthrop's son, James Winthrop (1752–1821) was librarian from 1772 to 1787,[1] and so would almost inevitably have called each of the Hollis books to his father's attention as fast as it came. In fact, so long as we are obliged to be content with mere probabilities, is not the claim of John Winthrop to have made the immediate suggestion of the motto strong enough to stand until it is overthrown by positive proof in favor of someone else?

I end, as I began, with three unsolved questions. It would have been delightful to run down that Latin quotation. It would be pleasant to know whether Sidney wrote in the album one line or two, and, if two, precisely what form he gave to the second line. It would be still more worth while to discover positive evidence in regard to the identity of the person who first suggested the motto in or to the committee. But to me this problem is most interesting not as a threefold puzzle in such details, but as a broader study in the development of one very important formative influence upon our people from 1750 to 1775. When it is so considered, it seems to me that the dominating figure is, ultimately, not Mayhew or Adams, but our republican benefactor, Thomas Hollis of Lincoln's Inn — the man who in 1766 wrote to Jonathan Mayhew:

> More books, especially on government, are going to New England. Should those go safe, it is hoped that no principal books on that FIRST subject will be wanting in Harvard College, from the days of Moses to these times. Men of New England, brethren, use them for yourselves, and for others; and God bless you!

SHIPMENTS TO NEW ENGLAND, 1636–1639.

By the courtesy of Capt. Eben Putnam, of Wellesley Farms, the following items found among the "port books" in the Public Record office, London, are published. They are in continuation of what are printed in *Proceedings*, XLVII. 178, and were compiled from the records by Mr. V. B. Redstone.

[1] A. C. Potter and C. K. Bolton, "The Librarians of Harvard College, 1667–1877," Cambridge, 1897. *Library of Harvard University: Bibliographical Contributions*, No. 52.

20 June 1636. In the Philip of London, master, Richard Hussy for New England: — John Wenthorpe esq. for the Plantation, Massachusetts Bay in New England several remnants of stuffs cost £26; five ordinary yard broad sayes, forty goads Welch Cottons.

12 July 1636. In the William and John of London, master, Rowland Langrum for New England: — John Wenthorpe esq., one single serge, 26 yds of flannel, 211 goads of Welch, and 100 Northern cottons, 108 pair men's woollen stockings, 40 goads Manchester cottons, 200 yards Norwich stuffs cost 20 pence a yard, 4 yard broad perpetuanoes, 50 gallons Aquavitae, 2 tons of Cast lead and 10 Double bayes.

14 September 1636 In the George of London master John Severne for New England John Wenthorpe esq. for the Plantation there, 870 yards of Dornix with thread, 2 ordinary yard broad sayes, 1 cwt. pewter, 120 goads of Northern cottons, 80 yards of freizes with others.

20 June 1636. In the Philip of London, master, Robert Huson for New England, John Winthorpe for the Plantation 13 barrel small band pitch, 4½ cwt Raisins, 10 cwt prunes, 5 cwt. sugar, 2 hhds. of vinegar, 38 iron pots and Kettles cost £6. 13s. 4d., iron work value £40. 250 ells of Vitrii canvas, 200 ells packing canvas, 600 ells coarse linen cost 8 pence an ell, several remnants of stuff cost £26, 5 ordinary yard broad sayes, 40 goads Welsh cottons, 14 gross Sheffield Knives, 14 dozen pair shoes with other things.

8. July 1636. In the William and John of London, master, Rowland Langrum for New England: — John Wenthorpe esq for the Plantation at Massachusetts Bay in New England one single serge, 36 yards of flannel, 250 goads Welch cottons, 100 goads Northern cottons, 240 yards ruggs for beds, 7 pair of blankets, 2 cwt. of wrought iron, 200 ells of vittry canvas, 36 pair of canvas breeches cost 45s., 19 cotton waistcoats cost 40s., 108 pair woollen stockings, 3 dozen children's woollen stockings, 40 goads Manchester cottons, 200 yards of Norwich stuffs cost 20 pence a yard, 4 yard broad perpetuanoes, 8 pieces of Tregar, 20 dozen of shoes, 3 dozen of boots 50 gallons of Aquavitae, 150 yards coarse linen for breeches cost 7 pence a yard, 2 tons of cast lead, 5 cwt. of currants, 17 cwt. of raisins, 1 cwt. of figs, 50 lbs of pepper, 20 doz. of Irish stockings packed in divers parcels with other goods, 10 pieces of double sayes.

14 July 1636. In the William and John aforesaid: — John Wenthorpe esq. 50 goads of Welsh cottons, 50 yards coarse linen for breeches cost 5 pence a yard, 4 yard broad pieces of perpetuanoes, 2 pieces single serges, 2 pieces single bayes, and one piece of Phillip and Cheny.

13 September 1636. In the George of London, master. John Saborne (sic) for New England: — John Wenthorpe esq. for the Plantation in New England. one butt of Spanish wine in rundletts, 610 yards of Darnix with thread, 5 pieces of single velures, 9 Irish ruggs for beds 15 cwt wrought iron, 11 barrel of head nails, 2 ordinary yard broad sayes, 1 cwt. of pewter 110 goads of Northern cottons, 4 dozen shoes, 5 dozen Irish stockings, 600 ells Normandy canvas, 400 ells English linen cloth cost 10 pence an ell, 250 ells of Holland cloth, 6 pieces of Treagar, 100 ells narrow Hamborough linen cloth, 20 pieces sack cloth to make sacks, 24 canvas suits cost 20s 6d a suit, 1 ton of cordage, 1 last of small band pitch and tar, 90 yards of frieze, 4 hhds. of vinegar, 10 cwt. of currants, 7 cwt of raisins, 5 cwt. of prunes, 56 lbs of pepper, 56 lbs. of West Indies ginger, ½ cwt. of sugar, 4 doz. tallow candles, 30 cwt. of cheese, and 50 firkins of butter with other things.

3 October 1636. In the Elizabeth and Sarah, master, Edward Turner for Virginia: — Nathaniel Deane 4 bales containing 32 pieces of duffells.

16 Oct. 1636. The Charitie of London, master. John Cole for Virginia: — Nicholas Phelps 220 goads of Northern cottons: — William Allen 36 pair men's woollen stockings

15 April. 1639. In the Maieflower of London, master, William Cane for New England: — The Planters and Passengers 1200 pair of woollen stockings, 9 ordinary yard-broad sayes, 490 yards of bayes, 10 Norwich stuffs cost £15, 26 yard broad perpetuanoes, 16 single sayes, 430 lbs of Pewter 1200 goads of Welch cottons 14 dozen plain felt hats 480 yards frises

In the George of London, master, John Severn for New England: — Samuel Wade had 1 cwt. of lead shot, 7 yard-broad perpetuanoes, 2 paragons, 2 ordinary yard broad sayes.

In the St. John for New England: — Jonathan Ince had 15 goads of Welsh cottons, 6 dozen men's woollen stockings, 6 yards of freise.

11 April 1639. In the St. John: — Giles Barrow had 4 single bayes, 18 yard bayes in remnants, 2 ell-broad perpetuanoes.

In the George of London: — John Jackson had 5 cwt. of cast lead.

The Castell of London for Newfoundland.

6 April. 1639. In the St. John of London, master Richard Russell for New England: — Thomas Grigson had 250 goads of Welsh cottons, 2 double bayes, 1 single bay, 70 yards of friese.

5 April 1639. In the George for New England: — John Farlaby had 22 Runletts containing 62 gallons of Aquavitae.

Israel Stoughton to John Winthrop.[1]

[July, 1637]

Honored Sr. — By the Pinnace being Giggles you shall Receiue 48 or 50 women and Children, vnlesse there stay any here to be helpful, etc. Concerning which there is one I formerly mentioned that is the fairest and largest that I saw amongst them to whome I haue giuen a coate to cloath her: It is my desire to haue her for a seruant if it may stand to your good likeing: ells not. There is a little Squa that Steward Calacot[2] desireth to whom he hath given a coate. Life-tenant Damport allso desireth one, to witt a tall one that hath 3 stroakes upon her stummach thus ||| + he desireth her if it will stand to your good likeing: Solomon the indian desireth a young little squa which I know not. But I leaue all to your dispose: We had one here for one of his men.

At present Mr. Haynes, Mr. Ludlo, Capteyne Mason and 30 men are with us in pequid Riuer, and we shall the next weeke joyne in seeing what we can do against Sasacos, and another great Sagamore: Momomattuck:[3] Here is yet good ruff worke to be done, And how deere it will cost is vnknowne: Sasacos is resolud to sell his life and so the other with their Company as deere as they cann: but we doubt not but god will giue him to vs; we are in a faire way — one of the former that we take (or that we [haue] taken to our hands in a great measure) is a great Sachim, the 3d of the pequids: whom we reserue for a help, and find Gods prouidence directed it well, for we are all cleere he is like to do vs good, yet we are farr from giuing him any assurance of life. we see so much worke behind that we dare not dismiss more men yet:

we hope to find a way to bring them in plentifully, and to get the Murderer too: and to make their assosiates tributory if they still adheare to them: for we heare of a great Number vp the Country among the Neipenetts: but we shall not deale with them without your advice, vnless more remotely.

we haue settled on a place for our randavooze: not full to our content but the best we could for the present: vpon the Mouth of Pequid Riuer, on the Naanticot side, where we haue 200 acres corne if not 2 or 300 men at hand, and a curios spring of water within our pallazado, and may be great Gunns Command the Riuer.

[1] From the Emmet Collection in the New York Public Library. Two letters of Richard Davenport to Governor Winthrop, written about this time from the expedition against the Pequods are printed in 5 *Collections*, I. 244, 248.

[2] Richard Collicot.

[3] A name given by Davenport as Momonothuk, Momonotuk Samm and Momonootuk.

So the Charg of keeping the fort need not be great, seeing corne, water and wood are so neare att hand: and fishing etc.

I pray lett not provisions be neglegted with the first, such as the Country affordeth shall content vs: only when we haue frends, as now, we could beteeme them a peece of Beefe etc: if we had it. The Ru[n]dlet of Sack we haue is some comfort and Credit: but many hands make light worke: and in case of fayntings, sicknes etc among a many, It cannot be but occasions will happen of some expens of such things as are a little better then ordinary.

Thus with my deerest Respects remembered to your self with the Councell etc I take leaue Resting yours as in duty euer bound

Israel Stoughton.

Endorsed: Mr Stoughton Rec 5. 6.
Addressed: To the Right wor'ff the Gouernor of the Massachusetts. These present.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. Norcross, Kellen, and Bowditch.

Edwin P. Seaver

MEMOIR

OF

EDWIN PLINY SEAVER

By CHARLES PELHAM GREENOUGH.

Edwin Pliny Seaver was born in Northborough, Massachusetts, where his ancestors had lived for many generations, on February 24, 1838, the son of Samuel and Julia Conant Seaver and died in New Bedford, December 7, 1917. He was elected a Member of this Society, December 8, 1887. He paid tributes to Edward E. Hale in October, 1898, to Henry F. Waters in October, 1913, and to Charles Francis Adams in April, 1915. He was also occasionally present at meetings of the Society.

He fitted for college partly at the Friends' Academy in New Bedford while a teacher in that school and partly at Phillips Exeter Academy. He entered Harvard College as a sophomore and graduated with high rank in the Class of 1864. After graduation he became Principal of the boys' department in the Friends' Academy and in July, 1865, was tutor in Mathematics in Harvard University and in 1869 became Assistant Professor. He also studied law from 1866 to 1869 and received the degree of LL.B. in 1869. In 1873 he was elected Head Master of the English High School and held that position until 1880. He never attempted to practise law and it was plain that teaching was not only his vocation but his avocation, and he became one of the most prominent educators in this country. In 1880 he was elected Superintendent of the Public Schools of the City of Boston and re-elected every other year for two-year terms until 1904 when he failed of re-election. His first report was also the first annual report of the Superintendent of Public Schools of

Boston. He had worthily and satisfactorily filled that important office for twenty-four years and had introduced many reforms in the management of the schools, when to his own and everybody's else surprise he was unexpectedly defeated for re-election by a man named Conley as the result of the votes of the worst elements of the school board secretly combined by religious prejudices. He lived in Newton after his retirement from office until 1908, when he moved to New Bedford, where he died.

He was elected one of the Overseers of Harvard University in 1879 and re-elected in 1885. In 1894 he was again elected to fill a vacancy and was re-elected in 1896 and in 1902.

He prepared in connection with George A. Walton, a well-known mathematician, a series of arithmetics for the use of schools known as the Franklin Arithmetics. He was also the author of "The Formulas of Plane and Spherical Trigonometry" in 1871 and a larger work of the same character called "A Mathematical Handbook containing the chief Formulas of Algebra, Trigonometry, Differential and Integral Calculus and Analytical Geometry" in 1907. He delivered an address on Democracy and Education in 1898 before the National Educational Association, which was afterwards published. He was a Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was a man of high character, quiet and unassuming in manner, and a close student of English literature and educational methods.

MARCH MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the PRESIDENT, Mr. LODGE, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and in the absence of the Librarian, the Editor reported the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From Mr. Washburn, photograph of the ticket and letter of Mr. Roosevelt in his campaign of 1881 for the New York Assembly.

From George L. Shepley, of Providence, of six photostat copies of prints relating to Providence, Rhode Island.

From William G. Farlow, two silver medals of the Adams School, Boston, 1829, a silver medal of the Central Universalist Sabbath School, Boston, of about the same date, and the Boston "City Medal for Females," 1834.

By purchase, eighteen photographs of paintings by Feke, Earle, Blackburn, Sharples, Copley, Badger, and Stuart.

The Editor reported gifts:

From Mrs. Edward Bangs Drew, of Cambridge, MS. notes by Abbie Bates ("Abbie the Drummer") and Rebecca W. Bates, of Scituate, who, in the War of 1812, with drum and fife drove off two British barges from the shore, and thus saved two American vessels from capture. These notes were written in 1880, when Abbie was 85 years old and Rebecca 87, and were given to Mrs. Drew's grandmother when visiting Scituate.

From Edward D. Harris, a corresponding member, some letters of the Dolbeare family of Boston, and a note book of expenditures, and medical and other recipes. These papers were of the period of the War of Independence. The Dolbeares were merchants in Boston.

From Frederic Amory, some legal papers of the Amory family, a welcome addition to the large collection of the Amory papers now held by the Society.

From Miss Susan H. Pickering, a number of Waldo papers, 1746–1844.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from William B. H. Dowse, accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

Mr. BOWDITCH presented, in behalf of the children of Samuel H. Walley, of Boston, his autograph album while a member of Congress, 1853–55, containing the signatures of President Pierce, members of his Cabinet, senators and representatives, also the signature of Anson Burlingame written probably in 1861.

William Sturgis Bigelow was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The PRESIDENT announced the death, on March 3, of Hubert Howe Bancroft, the Senior Corresponding Member of the Society.

The PRESIDENT announced the appointment of the following Committees, in preparation for the Annual Meeting in April:

To nominate Officers for the ensuing year: Messrs. BARRETT WENDELL, PAUL REVERE FROTHINGHAM, and SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON.

To examine the Library and Cabinet: Messrs. CHARLES L. NICHOLS, LAWRENCE PARK, and WILLIAM B. H. DOWSE.

To examine the Treasurer's Accounts: Messrs. JOSEPH GRAFTON MINOT, and HENRY H. EDES.

Professor MOORE read a paper on

EZRA STILES' STUDIES IN THE CABALA.[1]

President Stiles' reputation for learning was great in his own day; his son-in-law and admiring biographer, the Rev. Abiel Holmes,[2] stands in evident awe of it, and not least of Stiles' attainments in the Oriental languages. The ability to

[1] Ezra Stiles was born in North Haven, Conn., December 10, 1727; graduated A.B. at Yale, 1746; was tutor in that College, 1749–1755; minister of the Second Church in Newport, R. I., from 1755 till compelled by the war to leave the place in 1776 (the pastoral relation was not formally dissolved till 1786); President of Yale College, 1778–1795.

[2] *Life of Ezra Stiles*, D.D., LL.D. Boston, 1798.

read strange alphabets so easily imposes on the imagination of those unacquainted with them — *omne ignotum pro mirifico* — that when thirty years ago I wrote for a foreign journal a short history of Old Testament studies in America,[1] I confess I had some doubts as to how much of a "Hebrician" — to use his own word — Stiles was.

The publication of his *Diary*, by our Corresponding Member, Prof. Franklin B. Dexter,[2] showed how far and wide his interests ranged, and how large and varied his reading was. He records, for example, that he possesses and has read all Newton's works, and the *Principia* repeatedly. To observe the transit of Venus, June 3, 1769, he equipped himself with a reflecting telescope of 18 inches focal length, a sextant of 5 foot radius constructed for the occasion and furnished with telescopic sights and a vernier reading to 5 seconds; determined the meridian by plumb threads ranged on Alioth [3] and the Pole Star when on the meridian; regulated two clocks by the sun, and had the satisfaction of getting his observations on a fine clear afternoon with the assistance of eight of his fellow-townsmen, and of comparing them subsequently with similar observations made in Providence. The subject of his sermon the following day, which was Sunday, was suitably chosen from Job 38: 31–33, "Canst thou bind the sweet influences of the Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion?" In September of the same year he laconically records the death of an infant daughter, "aged seven weeks and three days," at 3.45 A. M., between two observations of the position of a comet which he was sitting up that night to watch; and he was much interested in the eccentric behavior of the comet (Lexel's) of 1770. He dabbled a little in alchemy, and is somewhat concerned to dispel the suspicion that he knew more about the "Rosacrucian Philosophy" than he really did: "I have no Knowledge of it at all; I never saw Transmutation, the aurific Powder, nor the Philosopher's Stone; nor did I ever converse with an Adept knowing him to be such." [4]

He was also keenly interested in the inventions, practical or

[1] "Alttestamentliche Studien in Amerika," in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, VIII (1888), 1–42; IX (1889), 246–302.

[2] *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*. 3 vols. New York, 1901.

[3] The star in the tail of the Great Bear nearest the rump.

[4] *Diary*, II. 173 f.; cf. III. 345, 348, 472.

curious, in which his countrymen were so prolific, whether it was the plan of a Yale student for a submerged drifting mine charged with a ton of powder and fired by clockwork, to blow up the ships of the British fleet in Boston harbor; or the scheme for a rolling breastwork to be pushed forward against the British batteries on the Neck — a kind of primitive "tank" — being masked from the guns of the fleet meanwhile by the dense smoke of burning tar-barrels between; or the ingenious device by which a mechanic made a revolving ventilator in his window keep his clock wound up without further attention from the owner; or a Vermont newspaper printed on wood-pulp paper made from the inner rind of basswood; or Eli Whitney's cotton gin, of whose immense possibilities he had a partial foresight.

Stiles early planned an "Ecclesiastical History of New England" in the first hundred and fifty years, and for it assiduously collected and transcribed local sources, but did not complete more than the opening chapters.[1] His *Diary* through the years of the Revolution evinces both his curiosity to get the news and a wholesome skepticism about the truth of official reports as well as floating rumors. In New Haven he became much interested in the local legends of the regicide judges, on whom, shortly before his death, he published a volume.[2] Nor was one continent wide enough to bound his inquisitive enterprise. He was perpetually sending Latin letters, by whatever means of communication offered, to make inquiries about other lands and peoples; for example, by a Jew from Safed to any Greek bishop or priest in Syria, to ask about the geography and population of Palestine, and the numbers, Scriptures, and customs of the Samaritans; to scholars conversant with India, about the religion, laws, and sacred literature of the Hindus. He was especially eager to know what had become of the Lost Ten Tribes, and pursued inquiries in various directions about the peoples eastward of the Caspian, whether Jewish traits and customs were found among them.

The *Diary* opens on Sunday, January 1, 1769, and its records for the following days are: "2. Read a chapter in Hebrew, and

[1] The unfinished manuscript is in the Library of this Society.

[2] *History of Three Judges of King Charles I. . . . who at the Restoration*, 1660, *fled to America*, etc. Hartford, 1794.

some Arabic; 3. Read two chapters in Hebrew, and Arabic"; and similar entries, frequently more detailed, are found throughout the volumes. In Stiles' day as a student at Yale, Hebrew was a prescribed part of the curriculum, but not expecting at that time to enter the ministry, he compromised with the requirement in a way familiar to all teachers of obligatory subjects — he took Hebrew because he had to, and did not learn it because he did not want to. It had been so even in the palmier days of Puritan learning. Michael Wigglesworth, tutor at Harvard (1652–54), made this pathetic confidence to his diary, August 28, 1653, "My pupils all came to me this day to desire that they might cease learning Hebrew: I withstood it with all the reason I could, yet all will not satisfy them. Thus am I requited for my love; and thus little fruit of all my prayers and tears for their good."[1] "My pupils' froward negligence in the Hebrew" is later put down as a motive for relinquishing his office.

Stiles had been more than twenty years out of college, and more than ten years settled as pastor at Newport before he seems to have felt either need or desire to supply this deficiency in his professional equipment. But when, in 1765, the University of Edinburgh conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity, his biographer says, "his ambition was touched, or rather a sense of shame excited" that a Doctor of Divinity should not understand so important a language, and in 1767, in his fortieth year, he finally addressed himself to the task of acquiring a knowledge of the sacred tongue. Setting about it with the energy which he threw into everything he did, he made rapid progress, and, one world at a time not being sufficient for him when the ambition of conquest was aroused, he shortly attacked Arabic and Syriac also.

Newport was at that time the seat of a very flourishing mercantile community of Portuguese Jews engaged in commerce with the West Indies and Europe and in the sperm-whale fishery. They had built, in 1763, the synagogue, which all visitors to Newport know,[2] and had a minister (Hazzan),

[1] *Proceedings*, XVIII. 122.

[2] A description of this synagogue and of the dedication ceremonies from unpublished papers of Dr. Stiles is printed by G. A. Kohut, *Ezra Stiles and the Jews*, 58 f.

Isaac Touro, who came to them from Jamaica about 1758. The Hazzan's calling required him to be familiar with the Bible and the liturgy; but he was not a Rabbi, that is, a scholar learned in the Talmud and the Codes and authorized by diploma to give decisions in legal and ritual matters, nor was there at that time a Rabbi settled in any of the Jewish communities in the American Colonies, though there were three or four in the West Indies.

The *Diary*, commenced in 1769, throws no light upon the beginnings of Stiles' Hebrew studies. His biographer, Holmes, tells us that he got some assistance at the start from the Jewish minister in reading and pronunciation, and in the Rabbinical alphabet in which the Jewish commentaries are printed. It is not improbable that this assistance was more considerable than would appear from Holmes' pages, but in the main Stiles was doubtless his own teacher. Good books for his purpose were available, such as Montanus' edition of the Hebrew Bible, with an interlinear Latin translation and a key to the more difficult roots in the margin, and there were adequate dictionaries and grammars. Moses Stuart, with whom the revival of Hebrew studies in New England in the 19th century began, learned Hebrew in the same way,[1] though without the opportunities of intercourse with Jewish scholars which Stiles enjoyed. The self-taught man usually has reason to confess with Jerome, "pessimum magistrum memetipsum habui," and it is probable that Stiles' Oriental learning was more extensive than exact; but for such purposes as his, since he did not aspire to be an editor of texts nor even an independent interpreter, extensive reading was more profitable than superlative accuracy in vowel-points and accents. As if to make up by proxy for his own lost time, he started his son Ezra in Hebrew at the age of ten, and from time to time records his progress with the double pride of parent and teacher. With no less evident pride he notes the achievements of his second wife, who, in three weeks from her introduction to the Hebrew alphabet, finished reading, translating, and parsing the first Psalm. How much further she got is unfortunately not related.

[1] Stuart entered Yale College the year that Stiles died. He was Professor of Biblical Literature in Andover Seminary from 1810 to 1852.

Stiles' relations to the Newport Jews were friendly and even intimate. He was a frequent attendant at the services of the synagogue on Sabbaths and at the festivals, and describes in considerable detail the liturgy and ceremonies; with the prayer book he made himself familiar by reading it through in Hebrew. Besides the acquaintance thus gained with the religious observances of the Jews, he doubtless profited much by accustoming his ear to the language as read and spoken. Along with the Hebrew text of the Bible he read the Targums — translations into the Aramaic vernacular of the Jews in the first centuries of our era — and the commentaries on the text written by Jewish scholars in the Middle Ages. In December, 1774, he notes the receipt of a box of books from New Haven, "containing six folio volumes intirely Hebrew, not having a single letter of another tongue or character. It is a complete edition of the Bible, with the most eminent Rabbinical commentaries. . . . I have now a feast of Hebrew, as I can at pleasure turn to any text and examine the criticism of these commentators." A year earlier he had got a copy of the Antwerp Polyglot in eight folio volumes, containing the Bible in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Syriac, the Targums, etc., with Latin translations and apparatus. There are occasional references also to readings in the Talmud.

In Syriac, it was natural that he should occupy himself chiefly, if not exclusively, with the version of the New Testament in that language. In Arabic the earliest entries show him engaged in translating Eutychius, *Origines Ecclesiae Alexandrinae*, which had been published by Selden. Of much greater intrinsic interest was another Arabic book, which he read somewhat later, Ibn Tofail's *Hay ibn Yakzan*, a philosophical romance, the hero of which, from childhood isolated on a desert island, thinks his way through nature and human nature to the realm of pure intellect, where his purified spirit is united with the world of spirit, and to the vision of God[1] — the *anima naturaliter Platonica* discovers for itself its nature and destiny.

These pursuits he kept up to the end of his life, though the commotions of war and the official duties of President of Yale

[1] In a somewhat similar way the heroine of Auerbach's *On the Heights*, in the isolation of her mountain exile thinks out the philosophy of Spinoza.

College and Professor of Ecclesiastical History, besides the untitled professorship of general utility which sometimes required him to take two or three men's classes, so that in one emergency he was filling three professorships and the presidency, left him in later years less leisure for study than he had enjoyed at Newport. At once on going to New Haven he revived the requirement of Hebrew for all students, and taught them himself; but after thirteen years' experience, during which "this has proved very disagreeable to a number of students," he determined to instruct only those who offered themselves voluntarily.

When he had his portrait painted in 1771, he himself designed an intricate emblematic background, which certainly needed the detailed interpretation of its symbolism given in the *Diary* (August 1, 1771). The only parts of it, however, that here concern us are the bookshelves which fill the space at the left of the figure, where, along with Eusebius, Livy, and Du Halde's *History of China*, stand a volume lettered "Talmud," and others bearing the names of the rabbinical commentators, Aben Ezra and Jarchi, and the Jewish philosopher Maimonides; while on another shelf are Newton, Plato, Watts, Doddridge, and Cudworth, "and the New England primæval divines." From the *Diary*, as well as from the very qualified approbation of the biographer, we may gather that the portrait was not a flattering likeness even after the artist's second attempt on the face, but Stiles was satisfied with the symbolism of the background: "These emblems are more descriptive of my mind, than the effigies of my face." He seems to think it necessary to apologize for his interest in Talmudic and rabbinical literature, or at least to explain it; for, after enumerating the works of this kind to which he had given a place on the painter's bookshelves, he adds: "I prize this learning only for the scattered remains of the antient doctrine of the Trinity and a suffering Messiah preserved in the opinions of some of the Rabbins before Christ — the very labors of the modern Rabbins to obviate or interpret them into another sense and application evincing their genuineness and reality."

Presently we find him in the same quest of the Trinity and the suffering Messiah turning his explorations to a more promising quarter than the Talmud and the mediæval Jewish com-

mentators, or the *Moreh Nebokim* (*Guide of the Perplexed*) of the rationalistic philosopher Maimonides, namely, the theosophical literature to which collectively the name Cabala, i. e. (Secret) *Tradition*, is given. In the very first pages of the *Diary* he records writing a letter to Mr. Whittlesey of New Haven "on the Import of יהוה and the Trinity of the Zohar," and another to Doctor Francis Allison of Philadelphia, "on the Plurality of Elohim in Jehovah, and the rabbinical Trinity in the Zohar." He was not a man to be content, however, with what he found about these things in other men's books, and on October 29, 1772, he sets down: "This day I received from London the *Zohar*, a Hebrew Folio Volume of 800 or 770 pages,[1] Sultzbac Edit. 1684, and published at Nuremberg. It is a mystic or cabbalistic *Commentary upon the Penteteuch* by Rabbi Simeon ben Jochai."

The Zohar is the bible of Jewish mysticism. Attributed to Simeon ben Jochai and his contemporaries in the middle of the second century after the Christian era — an attribution which Stiles accepted without question — it was in reality composed in Spain in the thirteenth century. Its authenticity had been challenged by Elijah Delmedigo in the fifteenth century, and its spuriousness demonstrated by Leon of Modena in the seventeenth century and Jacob Emden in the eighteenth, but both Jewish and Christian readers who found its contents to their taste ignored the critics. And in truth the Cabala is far older than the compilation of the Zohar. Besides much that is borrowed from the Talmud and Midrash, Jewish Gnosticism from the beginning of our era, mediæval Oriental theosophy and magic, and Neoplatonic philosophy through Moslem intermediaries, all contributed to it. The contents of the Zohar thus represent many centuries, countries, and schools — circumstances which, it may be imagined, do not conduce to consistency or intelligibility.

In the European Renaissance, in the revival of Neoplatonism through acquaintance with the works of Plotinus and his successors and the "primitive philosophy" of the Hermetic books and the Zoroastrian oracles, Christian scholars discovered in the Zohar the same fundamental ideas. It also started with

[1] In this edition the several parts are paged separately. Stiles, for convenience of reference, added a continuous pagination.

an Absolute, and got down to earth by a ladder of successive emanations; and the Absolute with its primary emanations of primal light, reason, and will, or by whatever other names they are called, was not a bad correspondence to the Trinity; while the primæval Adam (*Adam Kadmoni*) seemed to be the pre-existent Christ of the Church. This attitude is well represented by Pico della Mirandola (d. 1494), who first aroused the enthusiasm of Christian scholars for the Cabala. According to him it is the repository of those sublimer religious doctrines revealed to Moses at Sinai which were not originally written down but transmitted by oral tradition; in the time of Ezra they were committed to writing for preservation, but were communicated only to those who were worthy to receive them (see 4 Esdras, 14, 45). In this ancient revelation Pico found all the doctrines of Christianity,[1] "the mystery of the Trinity, the incarnation of the Word, the divinity of the Messiah, original sin and its expiation through Christ, the heavenly Jerusalem, the fall of the demons, the orders of angels, purgatory and the punishments of hell." "There is hardly a point in controversy between us and the Jews on which they cannot be so refuted out of the books of the Cabalists that there will not be a corner left for them to hide in." And besides such supposed adumbrations or esoteric revelations of Christian dogmas, there was much in the Cabala to fascinate souls in quest of adventures in the occult.

It is not strange that partly a desire to confound, if not to convert, the Jews by appeal to their own authorities, partly an intellectual bent toward theosophy, partly a predilection for alchemy and magic, led men of such diverse character as the romantic genius Pico della Mirandola (d. 1494), the German humanist Reuchlin (d. 1522), the Roman Cardinal Aegidius of Viterbo (d. 1532), Agrippa of Nettesheim, Paracelsus, van Helmont, Fludd, and many others, to addict themselves to cabalistic studies. Stiles had, therefore, eminent precedent for his interest in the Cabala.

Numerous entries in the *Diary* relate to his occupation with the Zohar, which at one time made part of his daily religious reading, and to conversations about it with Rabbis who from time to time visited Newport; but how much he had actually

[1] *De hominis dignitate*, 329 f. (Ed. Basil. 1572.])

read of the 700 or 800 folio pages in fine print for which he spent his 22/ 6*d.*, could not be gathered from this record. The book is written in a mixture of Hebrew and a peculiar Aramaic, which would be laborious reading even were it all about matters apprehensible by the unsophisticated intelligence; but when to this is added the obscurity of theosophical speculations in mythological form, and the intentional mystification of adepts in the occult, whose motto has always been, "Seal the book among thy disciples!" it does not seem reasonable that any ordinary Christian could make anything out of it — at least of the esoteric part of it — without an exponent of the living tradition at his elbow, or that any more modest expectation than the discovery of an entire Trinity would sustain him through the enterprise. The question therefore was, Did Stiles really read it, and if he did, how?

A few years ago, having occasion to look up some references in the Zohar, I found that the copy in the Harvard Library had belonged to Ezra Stiles, whose name is inscribed on the fly leaf with the date "29 Oct. 1772," corresponding to the entry in the *Diary* recording his acquisition of the volume.[1]

A cursory inspection of the volume shows that Stiles had really been over, if not through, its formidable bulk. In all parts of it he had underlined places which from some reason interested him, and there are many marginal notes in his handwriting, indicating the contents of the passages thus signalized. For example: "Antiquity of the Points" (with a reference to Buxtorf, *Comment. Masor.* p. 6);[2] "The soul of God is soul of

[1] The history of the volume has some further interest. It came from the library of John Gill (1693–1771), an English Baptist scholar; author, besides other works, of an *Exposition of the Holy Scriptures*, in nine volumes folio — three on the New Testament, and six on the Old — finished in 1766, which according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, with whose testimony I am content to leave the matter, displays extensive rabbinical learning. The only note in the Zohar in Gill's handwriting is prefixed to the printed Index and explains the method of reference in it. At Stiles' death, the book became the property of his son-in-law, Abiel Holmes (1763–1837). Then there is a gap in the record. In 1867 it was in the possession of Steven Montfort Vail (1818–1880), who was from 1849–1868 professor in the General Biblical Institute at Concord, N. H. (subsequently transferred to Boston as the School of Theology in Boston University). From Vail's widow it was bought with some other books by the Harvard College Library in 1881.

[2] The antiquity of the "points" (vowels and punctuation) was a subject of hot controversy. Most Protestant theologians felt bound to defend it in the

Messiah"; "Messiah ben David and ben Joseph"; "Shiloh"; "Angel of Death," etc. Occasionally there are longer notes, and in one or two instances translations or summaries. On a fly leaf at the beginning is a kind of index to these marginal notes and to other places in the book which he wanted to be able to find again. This index shows the kind of thing which especially attracted his attention, and it may be worth while to reproduce it here complete.[1]

On the Name of God
New Heaven & new Earth
Midrash Ruth
Two Messiahs, Ben David & Ben Joseph: and Exposition of the Sceptre & Shiloh.
Book of Adam & Book of Enoc.
Melchizedec.
Places mentioning Messiah and his Kingdom. p. 143
Messiah Ben Ephraim
Destruction of the Ismaelites or uncircumcised Turks by Edom or Russians.
Jacob blessing XII Sons.
Third Temple
Messiah
Book of Generations of Adam. 55
The Secret of Secrets
Angel of the Conven^{t} — the דודי of Canticles
Three Degrees
Messiah Ben David 362
Angel Cov^{t} same as Beloved in Cant.
Plurality in Unity of the סוד
Trinity in God. דרנא. 225
On ם in Lemarba Isai. ix. 7.
First Resurrection of the good. man
Book of Enoc. & of Generations of Adam the Same. 678
By my Name JEHOVAH have I not ^{c}
Book of Adam. 105
The Names of the Vowel points: p. 2
So as antient at least as first Century.

interest of the doctrine of verbal inspiration, and the evidence of the Zohar was often alleged.

[1] The numbers of the pages, standing on the inner margin are partly defaced and sometimes illegible. As they are without importance for our purpose, they are here omitted.

Angel of Death. The Serpent
Onkelos
Resurrection in Book of Enoc
Light of the Messiah &c
R. Eleazar cites the Book Zeniuta & Satari Torah. Trinity. Law given by 3 Things, or קדישות. Exposition of Holy, Holy, Holy.
Two Thousd Years
No proselyting in the days of Messiah. Hence circumcision to cease.
Mark a Tav or + on their Foreheads

Stiles also made for himself a catalogue of the names of the Rabbis which he found in various parts of the book:

Names of the Rabbins whose opinions are delivered in the Zohar as I find them in examining different parts of this Book. I hoped to have found the Documents of the antient Literati of the Rabbins before Christ. But the most of the Authors or Rabbins in the Zohar flourished just after Christ.

Page 6. R. Simeon. R. Eleazar. R. Hezekiah
7. R. Hamnuna Saba
8. R. Jodai
12. R. Aba, R. Chaija
15. R. Phineas
33. R. Jose
40. R. Jehudah. 56. R. Aha
58. R. Ishaac
93. R. Jose Bar Simeon ben Lekonia
120. R. Bajnah
126. Rabbanan i,e.
130. R. Johanan
139. R. Jacob
383. R. Berachiah
617. R. Illaj
253. R. Jisa

The observation prefixed to this list shows for what purpose it was made, and exhibits also a certain critical sense. Stiles does not doubt that the Rabbis named really took part in the discussions recorded in the Zohar; but he recognizes with disappointment that the testimony, taken at its face value, does not carry the teaching back to the centuries before the Chris-

tian era, but at the utmost to the second century after Christ. There is a similar list of the rabbis whose names occur in one of the originally independent tracts incorporated in the Zohar, "The Rabbinical Assembly of the Iddra Rabba," p. 590, which it is unnecessary to reproduce here.

On the back of the Latin title-page is a characteristic note, unfortunately mutilated by a triangular tear out of the page, the substance of which is however plain enough. It appears that one of the visiting Rabbis with whom Stiles studied or discussed the Zohar had retailed to him the legend of Simeon ben Jochai and his son Eleazar, who in the persecution of the Rabbis after the revolt of the Jews in the time of Adrian lived hidden in a cave for thirteen years.[1] During this time Moses and Elias appeared in bodily shape and conversed with them on the esoteric doctrines of the Cabala, and there R. Simeon wrote the Zohar, which contains the substance of these revelations. Stiles adds: "I did not believe it;[2] but R. Moses seemed to believe it. He [said that the Zohar] was the highest perfection of the Hebrew literature. — EZRA STILES."

One or two examples of Stiles' longer notes may be added. Upon the occasion of the occurrence in the text of the words Mishneh Torah, he remarks:

"The Mishna Torah was antient; long before & far sublimer than that of R. Judah Hakodesh which was the Basis of the Gemara & Talmud. This latter respected an antient observance of the Letter of the Law — the sublimer, the same spiritual טעם sense which Jesus Christ gave to his Disciples, Luke XXIV 44. 45. Heb. X. 1." At Exod. 6, 3, he observes: "Surprising that R. Hezekiah should only discourse upon philosophy, precious stones, and chemical principles, when commenting on Exod. VI. 3 — 'by my name JEHOVAH have I not been known unto them.'"

The passages Stiles marked, as well as his notes and observations, have to do chiefly with parts of the Zohar which are derived from the ancient Midrash — the homiletic exposition of the Synagogue — or are of similar nature; and not with its esoteric theosophy and mysticism or its excursions into al-

[1] Sabb. 33b and parallels. See also *Jewish Encyclopedia*, XI. 360.

[2] Probably his incredulity was about the bodily appearance of Moses and Elijah.

chemy and magic. Only in one or two cases does he seem to have had the curiosity to decipher one of the diagrams. But he can hardly have needed help from index or notes to lay his hand upon the treatises incorporated in the Zohar which contain the quintessence of its higher doctrine.

Six months before Stiles acquired the Zohar, he received from London the bible of Christian mysticism, the works of Dionysius the Areopagite, two folio volumes in Greek and Latin; and from this time to the end of his life there are many records in the *Diary* of his reading in that "truly divine and sublime writer." The resemblance between these writings and the Cabala was obvious. Within a few days after he received the Zohar he wrote: "This day I paid for my Zohar, 22/6*d.* sterling. This forenoon, I spent reading Dionysius Areopagit., which I find to have the same sublime mysteries as the Zohar." Somewhat earlier, he entrusted to his *Diary* the following "curious" reflections on the influence of Platonism.

It would be curious to consider a Platonist under several views as 1. Plato himself and his Disciples still continuing in Idolatry: this we may see in Nonius,[1] Plotinus &c. 2. One become a Jew, or one being a Jew yet instituted also in Platonism. This we are said to have in *Philo.* However I differ from the whole learned world and suppose that Philo received nothing from Plato, but took all his supposed Platonism from the Caballa. 3. A platonic philosopher converted to Christianity. This we have in *Dionysius the Areopagite, Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus* &c. If they were not particularly platonists yet they were philosophers, who imbibed the most important Principles of Platonists. 4. One converted to Mahometism. . . .[2] Now I think it most natural to consider Dionysius particularly as an Athenian Philosopher, after his Conversion, retaining the philosophic Language in speaking Gospel Truths, as the Jewish Christians spake of them in Hebraisms, and Converts of every nation in the Idioms of their respective Languages. The Moravians on the Volga are learning the Kalmuck and Tangut Language and the phrases in which they express spiritual Ideas concerning God, Angels, Religion, that they may communicate Christian Truths in their oriental phraseology. The language of the American Indians expresses the Gospel in a very

[1] Who "Nonius" may be is a mystery. Did he mean Numenius?

[2] Editor's omission. Perhaps Ibn Tofail and his *Philosophus Autodidactus* are intended.

peculiar Manner. A Platonist would talk of Christianity in a different Manner from a Jew. Hence the Peculiarity of *Dionysius* and his Master *Hierotheos*. He calls the Sun in the Firmament *της αγαθοτητος θειας-εικων-ηλιος*. de div. Nomin. &c. p. 555. Col. i, 15, Christ *εικων θεου*.

It is evident that ancient philosophy was not one of the branches of the author's wide-spreading erudition or he would not have had the temerity to contradict Philo himself about his indebtedness to Plato.[1] After that, it is not surprising that he did not recognize the indebtedness of the Cabala itself to Neoplatonism, but took it for an original concurrent philosophy which by other ways arrived at the same "sublime mysteries," or perhaps — like Christian Cabalists before him — as the source of the Pythagorean and Platonic philosophies.

What Stiles would have done with his Zohar after he got it if he had been left to his own resources it is hard to say; so far as I have ascertained he did not have Knorr von Rosenroth's *Cabala Denudata*, by the aid of which a man so adventurous in learning might have been bold enough to be his own teacher. He was not put to that necessity, however. The active commerce of Newport with Europe and the West Indies brought thither many voyagers on their way back and forth, and the prosperity of the Jewish community there ensured them frequent visits from travelling collectors for the poor Jews of Palestine and other causes. Stiles invariably sought out the notabilities who came to town, and not least the Jewish Rabbis. At a later time in his life he enumerates six with whom he had thus become acquainted.[2]

Shortly after he got his precious Zohar one of these wandering Rabbis made his appearance in Newport, Rabbi Moses ben David Ashkenazi, a native of Poland. As his custom was, Stiles called on him as soon as he heard of his presence. With equally punctual courtesy, the Rabbi, in company with the Hazzan Touro, returned the call the same afternoon and Stiles narrates: "We had much conversation both of his travels and on the Talmud and Rabbinical literature. I showed him the

[1] There is no indication that he ever read any of the Greek philosophers he here discourses about.

[2] What can be learned from Jewish sources about these Rabbis has been gathered by G. A. Kohut, *Ezra Stiles and the Jews*. New York, 1902.

Zohar, with which he was delighted, speaking with raptures of the sublimity and mysteries of its contents; he told me if I could comprehend that book, I should be master of the Jewish learning and of the greatest philosophy in the world." During Rabbi Moses' brief stay in Newport — he sailed for the West Indies three weeks later — he several times visited Stiles again, and it may safely be surmised that their conversation ranged on the same subjects.

In the following spring there arrived another cabalist, R. Hayyim Isaac Carrigal, a native of Hebron in Palestine, who remained in Newport four months and a half. During that time he fills a large and picturesque space in the *Diary*, and after his departure for the West Indies Stiles corresponded with him in Hebrew. Numerous entries in the *Diary* refer to meetings between them, and it is altogether probable that Stiles' induction into the mysteries of the Zohar was chiefly accomplished under Carrigal's guidance.

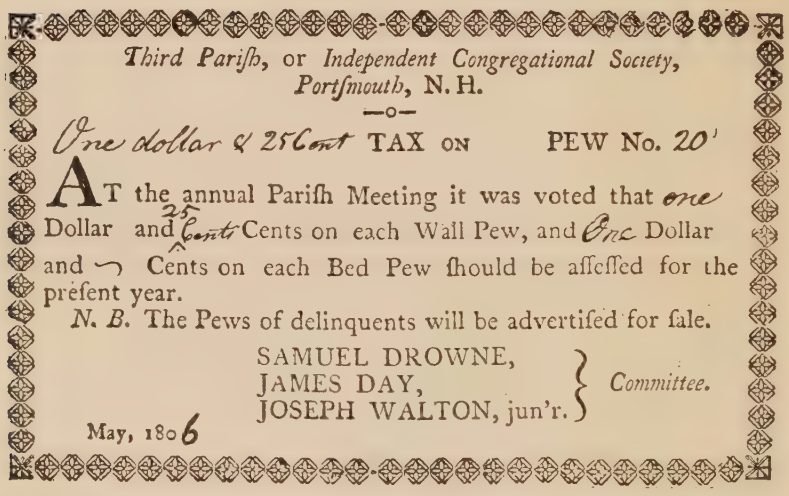
The procession did not end with Carrigal. In November of the same year came Rabbi Tobiah ben Jehuda from Poland, who was, according to Stiles, a great cabalist and philosopher. On the occasion of their first interview he notes: "We had much conversation on the Zohar." In another place, he writes: "The only Man that I ever suspected as a real and true adept [in the Rosicrucian philosophy] was Rabbi Tobias of Poland, but he evaded my interrogatories and communicated to me nothing — I believe he was only a conjectural speculative philosopher" — that is to say, not a practical alchemist who had actually experimented on the transmutation of metals or the production of the philosopher's stone. The following year a new rabbi came to town, "Rabbi Bosquila from Smyrna in the Levant," who had for many years been engaged in trade to the neglect of rabbinical studies. "He says, he has not read the Talmud, which I was surprised at, as by the certificate under the hand of a London Rabbi, he appears to be indeed a Rabbi [1] — but he has read the Zohar. The Bible and Zohar he is versed in and few other books." This is all he has to say about Rabbi Bosquila, of whose "contracted and limited

[1] It is possible that Stiles misunderstood what Bosquila meant about the Talmud. It would indeed be surprising if a rabbinical certificate were issued to one who had not studied the Talmud.

literature" he evidently had a poor opinion. Thus, between 1772 and 1774, three or four cabalists were for a longer or shorter time in Newport, and it is evident that Stiles made the most of his opportunities to learn from them the contents and teachings of the Zohar. Having obtained such an introduction to the subject, he continued to take up the Zohar from time to time for his private edification, but in his later years these readings evidently became infrequent or lapsed altogether, while with Dionysius he kept up his intimacy to the end.

A paper by Mr. BRADFORD on "Harriet Beecher Stowe" was read by Mr. FORD. It will appear in a series of like studies to be published elsewhere.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. SHATTUCK and WENDELL.



Third Pariſh, or *Independent Congregational Society*, *Portſmouth*, N. H.

—o—

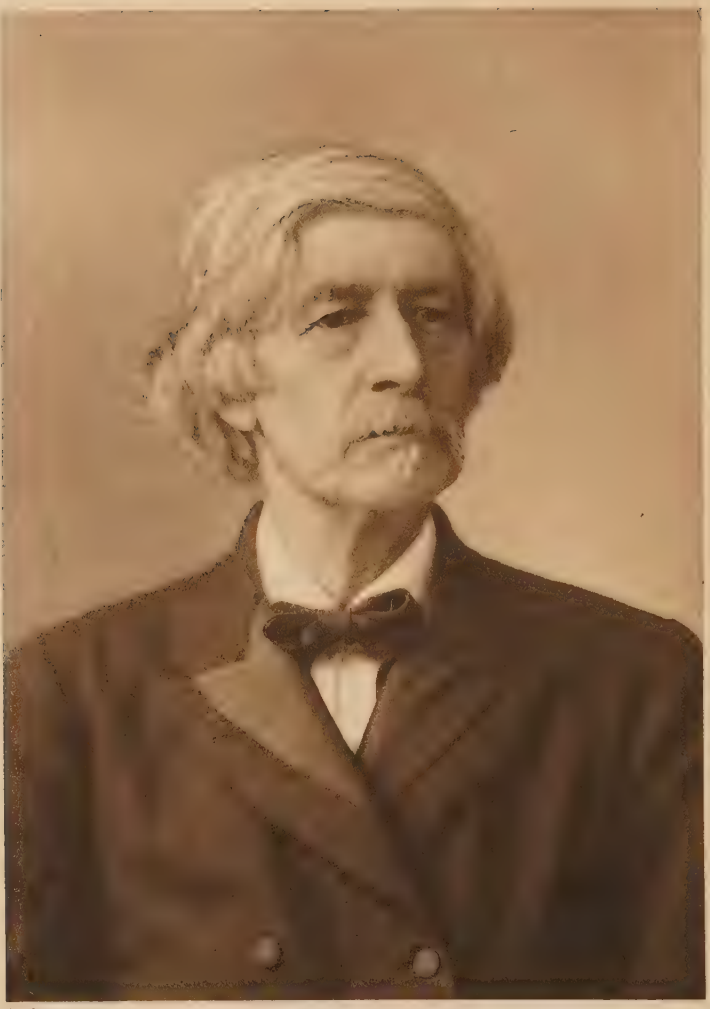
One dollar & 25 Cent TAX ON PEW No. *20*

AT the annual Pariſh Meeting it was voted that *one* Dollar and *25* *Cents* Cents on each Wall Pew, and *One* Dollar and ⌢ Cents on each Bed Pew ſhould be aſſeſſed for the preſent year.

N. B. The Pews of delinquents will be advertiſed for ſale.

SAMUEL DROWNE,
JAMES DAY,
JOSEPH WALTON, jun'r. } *Committee.*

May, 180*6*



MHS

Yours Truly
F. B. Sanborn

MEMOIR

OF

FRANKLIN BENJAMIN SANBORN.

By EDWARD STANWOOD.

Franklin Benjamin Sanborn was born at Hampton Falls, New Hampshire, on December 15, 1831, and died at Westfield, New Jersey, on February 24, 1917. He was the son of Aaron and Lydia (Leavitt) Sanborn, and was born in a house already nearly a century old at the time of his birth, on a farm that had been occupied by six generations of his ancestors.

His early life was that of the New Hampshire farm-boys, his neighbors; but he had the advantage of the use of a library left to the church in the town by Dr. Langdon, who had been its minister after retiring from the presidency of Harvard College. He made good use of the opportunity, and from early boyhood was a great reader and student. At the age of eleven years he had begun the study of both Latin and Greek, and although it was discontinued for a time, was resumed later; and all his life he kept up his acquaintance with Greek authors.

As a youth he was deeply in love with Ariana Walker, a cousin of Dr. James Walker, then President of Harvard. Through her influence he was led to take a year's course at Phillips Exeter Academy, and entered Harvard as a sophomore in 1852. In August, 1854, while still in college, he married Miss Walker, then in the last stages of a mortal illness, for she died within a week of the marriage. He was graduated seventh in the class of 1855. Among his classmates were Francis Barlow, Alexander Agassiz, Phillips Brooks, and

other men who were afterward prominent in public affairs and the professions.

Already, before graduation, it had been suggested to him by Mr. Emerson that he should establish a private school in Concord. He did so in the spring of 1855. The school was continued until the time of the Civil War, and Mr. Sanborn's residence in Concord was maintained, with a brief interval, until his death.

Long before the Concord school was given up Sanborn's course in life had been determined by the public events of the period. He seems to have been a politician, in the sense of having taken an extraordinary interest in political movements and intrigues, almost from infancy. He narrates in his *Reminiscences* that he had a bet of fourpence ha'penny on the election of Van Buren, in 1840, at the mature age of nine years. His father and most of his relatives were Democrats, but his otherwise-mindedness was developed early in life, and when the Kansas-Nebraska turmoil began he broke loose from the party. From that time until the end came he was always a politician, but never a party man. That he never held — indeed, he never sought — political office is not surprising, both because he did not covet such positions, and because no party with which for the moment he was acting could have confidence that some policy which he did not approve would not drive him into opposition.

He plunged into the contest to make Kansas a free State with impetuosity. He became first the secretary of the Concord committee, next of the Middlesex County committee, and finally of the State committee, all of which had for their purpose to collect money, arms and ammunition for the men engaged in the fray against the Border Ruffians. These connections brought him into close relations with the coterie of Massachusetts abolitionists and free-soil men, with whom his association was to continue so long as any of them survived. He outlived them all.

In the late summer of 1856 he was despatched by his State committee to inspect the approaches to the Kansas battlefield, and made a tour through Illinois, Iowa and Nebraska. Later he became an acquaintance, friend and intimate of John Brown, and was aware beforehand of the intended attack

upon Harper's Ferry. After the collapse of the *émeute* and the execution of Brown, he was apprehended in his home, arrested after a spectacular resistance on a warrant issued by the Sergeant-at-arms of the United States Senate, citing him to appear as a witness in the investigation of the Brown outbreak; but was released on a writ of *habeas corpus*. His connection with the struggle in "Bleeding Kansas," in which, however, he had no active participation in the Territory, and his association with John Brown constituted an episode in his life in which he took great satisfaction. He never wearied of publishing his unbounded — was it extravagant? — estimate of the moral and intellectual grandeur of John Brown. He held strong opinions — on what subject that he touched did he not entertain a strong opinion? — in some cases favorable, in others quite the reverse, as to the characters and careers of those who were engaged in the Kansas contest.

The Civil War ended that chapter in his history. It also put an end to the Concord school and to Sanborn's activity as a teacher of youth. Up to that time his incursions into journalism had been many, but brief and scattering. In 1862 he undertook the editorship of the Boston *Commonwealth*, a weekly political newspaper always distinguished for its independent radicalism. After about seven months of that editorial service he was, in 1863, appointed by Governor Andrew Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Charities. The Board was a novelty not only in Massachusetts but also in the country, and Mr. Sanborn had much to do in organizing it and developing the theory on which other boards have since carried on their work. For twenty-five years thereafter, until 1888, he continued, as Secretary or Chairman of the Board, or as Inspector of Charities, to exert an important influence upon the policy of the Commonwealth in its care of the lunatics, paupers and deficients who were its wards.

But that was merely occupation of his spare time. In 1872 he accepted a position as an editorial writer for the *Springfield Republican*, and removed to Springfield. He remained there less than two years, and returned to Concord in 1874; but the connection with the *Republican* ended only with his death. For more than forty years he sent regular letters to that paper, dealing with State and municipal politics — not ex-

cluding those of the nation — literature, history, reminiscence, whatever for the moment interested him. And still he found time to produce and publish an amazing number of books: biographies of the Concord worthies with whom he was on most intimate terms, a history of New Hampshire, and a large two volume book of reminiscences, among others. In the brief account of himself and his qualifications which every member of this Society is desired to give on his admission to membership, he replies to a request for the titles of books he had produced, "too numerous to catalogue here." He was elected to this Society in January, 1903, and it is characteristic of him that he attended the February meeting and took part five several times in the proceedings by "remarks." Indeed there was hardly one of the many meetings at which he was present at any time thereafter when his voice was not heard. He also frequently presented and read papers containing results of his research — not always strictly appropriate to our proceedings; as, for example, his several papers on the Kansas struggle, and others on purely family affairs in New Hampshire, and on the career of St. John de Crevecœur; nevertheless he did not wander so far from the field which is the proper tillage of this Society as have some others.

In 1874 Mr. Sanborn married his cousin Louisa Augusta Leavitt, by whom he had three sons, two of whom survive. The eldest died in 1889 at the age of twenty-four. In the later years of his life he passed the winters with his youngest son Francis, at Westfield, New Jersey. In returning thither from a trip to New York, on January 17 of last year, he met with an accident by which his hip was broken. He did not recover from the shock, and died, February 24, 1917. The funeral was held at the old Unitarian church in Concord, and was largely attended. Mrs. Sanborn survived him almost exactly a year, and died at the end of February, 1918.

Few men of our time and our community were better known than Frank Sanborn. He was a man who compelled attention to what he said by voice or pen. All his life he was an unsparing critic of public men and public policies. The possession and the exercise of such gifts of sarcasm and denunciation as were his are not favorable to the acquisition and retention of intimate friends. On the other hand they did not create much

personal animosity toward him, perhaps because it was seen and tolerated that his normal attitude was that of opposition to whatever and whomsoever were for the time being in the ascendant in public affairs; and those whom he attacked were goodnaturedly willing to take their turn in receiving his shafts. There is no doubt that on the whole his letters to the *Springfield Republican*, in which he was permitted to speak his mind without restraint, were beneficial in Commonwealth politics. He was not always so well informed as to what was going on and what was contemplated as he believed himself to be; and the politicians whom he criticised were not all so debased as he represented them to be. Nevertheless his letters were widely and eagerly read, and where they exposed real evils and evil men, his warnings were not always unheeded.

It is a mere commonplace to say that he was a many-sided man. His mind had no fully predominant interest. Politics, the Concord group of philosophers, social and charities reform, historical research, journalism, each had its period of predominance and gave way to something else. Devotion to them each in turn brought him into association with many prominent men and women in various walks in life; and he was never a more agreeable companion than when he was pouring forth the reminiscences of them with which his memory was richly stored.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1918.

THE Annual Meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the second VICE-PRESIDENT, Mr. WARREN, in the absence of the PRESIDENT, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and in the absence of the Librarian, the Editor reported the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From Miss Annie Haven Thwing, two miniatures of Henry Hertzog, of Louisiana (1815–1865), a graduate of the Harvard Law School in the class of 1839.

From Mr. Norcross, a collection of postal-card views, made in France, showing the arrival of the American troops.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow, accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society. He also read a letter from Prof. William E. Dodd, of the University of Chicago, who is to represent the Society at the centennial celebration of the State of Illinois at Springfield.

The Editor reported the gift, by Dr. J. Collins Warren, of the day-books and ledgers, 1777–1822, of Dr. John Warren, including two account books, one with the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in connection with the Almshouse, 1782–1783, and the other with the United States as hospital surgeon in Boston, 1783.

Russell Gray, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The VICE-PRESIDENT announced the death of Charles Card Smith, long the Treasurer and Editor of the Society, and Mr. Tuttle, for many years his assistant and associate in the duties of the Society, read a tribute to his memory, which will later be printed.

In announcing the death of Mr. Henry Adams, which occurred at Washington, D. C., on March 27, the VICE-PRESIDENT called upon Mr. RHODES, who read as follows:

In the death of Henry Adams our country and this Society have lost a great historian. His "monumental study of Jefferson and Madison," to use the words of Gooch in his book on historians in the nineteenth century, placed him in the front rank of historians. He gave ten or twelve years to Jefferson and Madison, but a thousand copies was the extent of the sale. Not that he desired the money compensation, for of all men used to money he seemed to despise it most, but he did desire the appreciation which a large sale would signify. It was his custom to send around printed copies of his work before publication to a dozen or more friends for their criticisms and, in one of his sombre moods he wrote, I have "but three serious readers — Abram Hewitt, Wayne McVeagh and John Hay." [1] And he said somewhere that the value of a historian does not depend on an enormous sale but on the quality of the buyers: this truth is thoroughly realized by his own work. Professors and advanced students of history possess it, admire it, and wonder at the author, but this knowledge did not come to Adams at once. When it was made known to him, however, some years after the publication of Jefferson and Madison he was gratified that his work was appreciated by the intellectual élite. This would have been increased could he have felt the real enthusiasm in this hall at the proposal to make him an honorary member.

The first volume of Jefferson and Madison was published in 1889, the ninth and last in 1891. The work deserves all the praise it has received and it cannot be superseded. If certain phases of these sixteen years are elaborated by other writers, they must go for their political and diplomatic history to Adams, whose work will be preserved by his profound knowledge and virile style. Moreover, he had the gift of narration. What can be more interesting than his picture of Napoleon when negotiating the sale of Louisiana! His two brothers, Joseph and Lucien, went to the Tuileries to lodge their protest and found Napoleon in his bath, which according to his custom was strongly perfumed with cologne. We protest, said the

[1] *Education of Henry Adams*, 286.

brothers; the Chambers will not give their consent. I tell you now, answered Napoleon, "glaring from his bath at the two men," that "I shall do without the consent of any one whomsoever." Then Joseph threatened to lead the opposition in the Chambers when Napoleon "burst into a peal of forced laughter." As the discussion went on both became angry, and after "terrible" words from Joseph "Napoleon half started up, crying out: 'You are insolent! I ought —' then threw himself violently back in the bath with a force which sent a mass of perfumed water into Joseph's flushed face, drenching him and Lucien, who had the wit to quote, in a theatrical tone, the words which Virgil put into the mouth of Neptune reproving the waves." [1] Of course Napoleon put the sale through.

Adams had likewise a rare gift of characterization due to his thorough knowledge of his characters and his power of expression. "Napoleon Bonaparte," he wrote, "like Milton's Satan on his throne of state . . . sat unapproachable on his bad eminence; or when he moved, the dusky air felt an unusual weight. His conduct was often mysterious, and sometimes so arbitrary as to seem insane." [2] The often quoted remark of Talleyrand in regard to Hamilton may be applied to Adams. He divined Europe and he also comprehended thoroughly the position of the United States which though far away was drawn into the conflict of the warring European powers. He drew a phase of Jefferson as remarkable as his portrait of the Frenchman who bestrode "the narrow world like a Colossus." Jefferson, he wrote, was reserved; he "never showed himself in crowds; . . . nor indeed was he seen at all except on horseback, or by his friends and visitors in his own house. With manners apparently popular and informal, he led a life of his own, and allowed few persons to share it. . . . His true delight was in an intellectual life of science and art." [3] But Adams later remarked, "The White House was filled with an atmosphere of adulation. Flattery, gross as any that man could ask, was poured into the President's ear." [4] In his concluding volume he showed his comprehension of the sentiment of his own country. "In the American character," he wrote,

[1] *History*, II. 35.
[2] *Ib.*, I. 334.
[3] *Ib.*, I. 144.
[4] *Ib.*, II. 203.

"antipathy to war ranked first among political traits. . . . No European nation could have conducted a war as the people of America conducted the War of 1812." [1]

The merits which Gibbon ascribed to an historian, diligence and accuracy, Adams possessed in an eminent degree. Fully recognizing this, a scholarly reviewer of his third and fourth volumes in the *Nation* of May 8, 1890, spoke of his "even-handed impartiality." To this quality many will demur, but, if Adams was a partisan he was an honest partisan like Gibbon and Macaulay. Lounsbury in his book on *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist*, speaking of the contemporary criticism of Shakespeare's failure to observe the unities of time, place and action, expressed the opinion that in the Tempest Shakespeare "deliberately determined to show to the adherents of the classical school that he could not only write what they called a regular play better than they could themselves, but could make it conform even more closely than they generally did to their beloved unity of time." Now we may imagine Henry Adams listening to the Virginian whom his Jefferson did not satisfy, and to others who averred that he could never forget that he was an Adams, and saying, Go to! I will show these good critics what impartiality and detachment are, and so he wrote the first six chapters of Volume I and the last four chapters of Volume IX, recording the ideas of a detached and impartial observer, who brought to his work neither a pre-conceived opinion nor a bias of any sort. The chapters tell for all time what the United States was in 1800 and at the close of the War of 1812, and equal Macaulay's celebrated chapter "State of England in 1685."

Before Henry Adams wrote the Jefferson and Madison, he taught history at Harvard College for seven years. In response to the invitation he said to President Eliot, "But, Mr. President, I know nothing about Mediæval History." "With that courteous manner and bland smile so familiar for the next generation of Americans," so Adams related, "Mr. Eliot mildly but firmly replied, 'If you will point out to me anyone who knows more, Mr. Adams, I will appoint him.'" [2] The result showed that this insistence was wise. "I exhausted all my strength," Adams wrote, "in trying to keep one day ahead

[1] *History*, IX. 226. [2] *Education*, 255.

of my duties. Often the stint ran on, till night and sleep ran short." [1] But from the study and teaching of these seven years came *Mont St. Michel and Chartres*, which Morse Stephens, who teaches European History at the University of California and is one of our corresponding members, informed me is the best thing on the Middle Ages in the English language. Normandy is "a small place," Adams wrote, "but one which like Attica or Tuscany has said a great deal to the world." [2] He intimated that the smaller spire of Chartres is "the most perfect piece of architecture in the world;" [3] that the windows are "the most splendid color decoration the world ever saw." [4] "The pointed arch," he wrote, "revelled at Rheims and the Gothic architects reached perfection at Amiens." [5] In short there was in France during the twelfth century an expenditure of wealth in developing a system of architecture "that would make a railway system look cheap." [6] Now it is no wonder that Jefferson and Madison and Mont St. Michel and Chartres should have been written, but it is a wonder that both should have been written by the same man; that an author should have shown himself equally at home in the crude early life of the United States and amid the artistic creations of the Middle Ages.

"Beware," said Emerson, "when the great God lets loose a thinker on the planet." This is a fit introduction to his greatest work, *The Education of Henry Adams*. In the revelations of a soul, richly endowed by nature and education, the thought at times is wonderfully profound, amazing the reader at the confidences reposed. Deep every-day philosophy is communicated, but the author never forgets that he is a historian and the historic sense runs through the whole book. Never published but privately printed, it was sent to some friends and intimate acquaintances for criticism and comment and it made the subject of conversation as men and women gathered together. The first criticism that it was egotistical may be disregarded. Egotism inheres in an autobiography, but what is so called in a living man becomes the record of a valuable experience when that man is dead. It may be suspected that members of this Society and others who shall hereafter read

[1] *Education*, 261. [2] *Mont St. Michel and Chartres*, 50. [3] *Ib.*, 56.
[4] *Ib.*, 115. [5] *Ib.*, 307. [6] *Ib.*, 124.

this book will not share this friendly critical comment. Another criticism ran that it was pessimistic. But perhaps Adams saw further in 1907, when this book was printed, than the rest of us.

Exceedingly modest about his venture, he wrote to me in 1908: "If you can imagine a centipede moving along in twenty little sections (each with a mathematical formula carefully concealed in its stomach) to the bottom of a hill; and then laboriously climbing in fifteen sections more (each with a new mathematical problem carefully concealed in its stomach) till it can get up on a hill an inch or two high, so as to see ahead a half an inch or so, you will understand in advance all the *Education* has to say."

Let me close with a letter written to me one year later when Adams was seventy years old, that is, in 1908:

> You are still young and have the ten best years of working life to employ. I envy you the amusement but I envy you, still more, the experience. Twenty years would be better still. Almost every day some new attempt is brought to my notice to calculate the date when the world will begin to feel its next squeeze or evolution. I notice that whether the calculation is based on population or exhaustion of cheap minerals or on mind, etc., all the speculations come out where I did in my ratio of unity to multiplicity — about twenty years hence. My *a priori* calculation as a law of history is not worth much, but as a curiosity I am amused by it and would like to see the situation in 1930. Capitalism, socialism, anarchism or restriction of the birth-rate, all squint at the same end, with the exhaustion of cheap steel. The world should be a curious study between 1930 and 1940 — even more curious than in my own very curious time.

The VICE-PRESIDENT then read the following letter from Mr. LODGE:

WASHINGTON, April 4, 1918.

DEAR MR. FORD: — I cannot be present at the meeting of the Historical Society next week when formal announcement will be made of the death of Mr. Henry Adams. For forty-seven years he has been my most intimate friend, to whom I have not only been indebted for help, wise counsel and unfailing sympathy throughout my active life, but whose affection was one of my most cherished, most precious possessions. No ties of blood could

have made him closer or more devoted to me and mine than he has been for nearly half a century. To me the loss caused by his death is inexpressible.

I was a Senior at Harvard when he came there as Professor of History and I became at once one of his students. The course he gave that first year was in mediæval history, of which he was fond of saying he knew nothing and that he learned it by teaching, keeping only one lecture ahead of his pupils. However he acquired his knowledge, he knew more of his subject than anyone with whom I have ever come in contact, and his instruction was the most inspiring and effective I had ever known or imagined. He then took up American history. At that time it was possible for a boy to go through school and Harvard College without learning anything of the history of his country, without knowing who wrote the Declaration of Independence or who drafted the Constitution of the United States. Mr. Adams founded and established the Department of American History at Harvard, and, what was still more important, he revolutionized the methods of teaching and studying history in the University. His coming to Harvard where he did this great work for education was one of the many debts which we owe to President Eliot.

This is not the moment to trace in detail or to describe his later achievements after he left the University. His *Life of Gallatin* and his wholly admirable *History of the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison* will always remain as his enduring contribution to the history which his ancestors so largely helped to make.

He was much more, however, than an eminent historian, — he was a great man of letters whose place and importance in literature will loom ever larger as the years go by. I will speak here of only one book, *The Education of Henry Adams*, which he left in my charge to be printed by the Society. This is in my judgment one of the most remarkable autobiographies which have been given to the world and will, I think, be so regarded as the generations of men succeed each other. Not only does it contain the charming picture of the Boston of his youth and of the Washington of his later years and of the London where he lived and worked with his father during the Civil War, a most important contribution to history, but it concludes with an exposition of his philosophy of life and of human development which has the permanence of a profound addition to the thought which in the last analysis instructs and guides the race.

He had the most remarkable mind which I have ever known, in its range of knowledge, in its grasp of the meaning and causes of events and in its wholly original and independent action. There

was no subject upon which, however he might disclaim it, he was not informed, upon which he had not reflected and where the last word and the latest authorities were not familiar to him. Whether it was geology or biology, science or history, art or architecture, or pure literature, it was always the same. His penetrating intellect and his apparently effortless power of absorbing knowledge had mastered them all. He lived a life of strict retirement. He shrank from anything resembling publicity, but his fame will grow as his work, so much of which he kept in the shadow, comes forth into the light and is studied and known by men. Very truly yours,

H. C. LODGE.

The following letter has been received from Mr. BRYCE since the meeting:

April 15th, 1918.

MY DEAR PRESIDENT, — May I be permitted to convey to you and to my colleagues of the Massachusetts Historical Society my deep sense of the loss which the Society and the students of American history everywhere have suffered in the death of our friend, Mr. Henry Adams? And may I express to you and them my sincere condolences? Worthily maintaining the high traditions of his family and of the great University in which he at one time taught history, he had set a conspicuous example in his elaborate treatment of the period of Jefferson's and Madison's Administrations of how history should be written with insight, thoughtfulness and accuracy, rendering a permanent service to all students of the earlier period of your Republic. It was my privilege to observe and to admire in the years I spent at Washington the vigor and keenness of his mind and the fine qualities of his character. Believe me to be most faithfully yours,

JAMES BRYCE.

The Society then proceeded with the business of the Annual Meeting, and

Mr. WENDELL read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

The year opens with an unusual number of vacancies in the membership list. Two of our honorary members have passed away — Pasquale Villari and Henry Adams — and the requirements laid down for an election to that roll make it impossible at present to fill their places. In the roll of resident

members there are four vacancies, and in Mr. Charles Card Smith the Society lost one who had rounded out full fifty years of membership and of active service. A vacancy exists in the list of corresponding members. As there was one vacancy already in the Honorary roll the membership lists are lacking in all eight names, or one-twentieth of its total membership, a situation almost unparalleled in the history of the Society.

It is a pleasure to note the important gifts of manuscript and other material which have been made to the Society during the past year — a recognition of its high standing. One gift that received no notice in the monthly list was that made by Mrs. Frederick L. Gay, of books from the Gay library. This gift easily takes precedence because of the nature and condition of the volumes. Numbering about 373 volumes, a good proportion consisted of the now rare issues by the early ministers of the plantation of the Massachusetts Bay — John Cotton, Thomas Shepard, Thomas Hooker, Roger Williams, and the Mathers — all in perfect condition and in handsome bindings. Mr. Gay possessed to such a degree the higher qualities of a collector that nothing but the best satisfied him, and the group of volumes now received by the Society from his library fully expresses this refined taste. Purchases in London and at auction have strengthened the consulting library as well as that on English and American history, and an unusual opportunity to obtain some early issues of the *Boston News-Letter* not only completed four years of the Society's file of that newspaper but gave it five hitherto unknown issues. Such opportunities do not come once in a generation, and it is to be regretted that there is no sufficient fund for taking advantage of them. The collecting activity of the Society has been largely supported by gifts in the past, and the same restriction is imposed upon it for the immediate future. Rich as have been the results of this policy they could be multiplied by a moderate increase in ability to purchase. This does not affect the general policy of the Society, not to enter the collecting field in competition with the great libraries of this region. In seeking to specialize on New England material it will find its utility, and in manuscripts and newspapers alone it has a province competent to engross all its funds available for purchases.

The Society invites the gift or deposit of family and historical documents, and it has become the recognized depository of such collections. Not only is full protection given against the ordinary dangers surrounding material of this description — the dangers of fire, damp, theft and division — but the papers are assorted, arranged and made available for use and study. Already rich in its manuscript material the Society welcomes additions, for every new collection not only adds to and explains what is already on its shelves, but is itself interpreted by papers of the same time and place. In the same manner the Society is always glad to examine and to copy single pieces of historical moment now in private hands. Not only are interesting records thus uncovered and recorded, but such papers often supply the one long missing and necessary link in a chain of evidence, modifying accepted views of history, providing surprises and indicating new lines of investigation. It is hardly necessary to add a word on their genealogical value.

In publications one volume of the *Proceedings*, volume L, and a volume of *Collections*, volume LXXII, the *Warren-Adams Letters*, have appeared in regular course. A second volume of *Collections*, the volume of The Papers of Jasper Mauduit, based upon the Washburn gift, will be soon distributed to members. It is proposed to issue in the coming year the Phips volume, containing papers from the Frederick L. Gay gift, and to complete the second volume of the *Warren-Adams Letters*. Publication will necessarily be somewhat affected by war conditions. Not only has the cost of printing steadily risen until it is appreciably higher than it was five years ago, but the uncertainty of labor conditions causes delays which cannot be foreseen and prove costly. Actual publication may be postponed until a return of normal conditions.

Largely because of the economic situation the Society's bindery has been suspended. It is to be hoped that the suspension will be temporary, for the utility of having its own bindery was fully proved, and in binding manuscripts had become a necessity. The risk of sending such records out of the building is too great, and the advantage of having them treated under the immediate direction of the library is too obvious to be questioned. The bindery had passed beyond

the point of experiment and its speedy restoration is greatly to be desired.

In no respect, however, has the function of the Society been more modified than by the photostat. Content in the past to print its volumes of *Proceedings* and *Collections*, the possession of that instrument opened for it an opportunity for reproducing at a low cost original records — printed or manuscript. This opportunity proved greater than was at first anticipated, for it has enriched the Society's collections with photostat prints of unique New England material held elsewhere, and encouraged an exchange of these prints with other institutions. What had been available in only one place, has by this process become accessible in a number, a decided gain in the study of the original document, so much more fruitful than a study of a printed copy. Broadsides, manuscripts, pamphlets and even volumes have been thus reproduced, and placed on the Society's shelves, permitting a systematic accumulation of certain material needed to complete or to supplement what is already here, and enabling those interested to use what would otherwise have involved long journeys and great inconvenience.

While seeking to bring into its own collections what New England issues of historical interest are not possessed in the originals in the neighboring libraries, the Society continues to offer to other collections a share of its own wealth of material. Of the *Boston News-Letter*, as reproduced by the Society, there were sent out the issues for the years 1723 to 1729, and the years 1730–1732 will be ready for delivery this month. At least nine years of the journal, 1733–1741, will be sent out in the next twelve months. That represents, however, but a small part of what the photostat has accomplished in the year. The number of prints made was 23,000, about the same number as was made in the previous year. By the courtesy of Mr. Milo M. Quaife, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, the Society has been enabled to make photostat negatives of the large and quite unique file of the *Boston Gazette*, 1724–1741, which many years ago found a resting place in the Draper Collections at Madison, Wisconsin. For this period the Massachusetts Historical Society had only 101 issues, or less than one-eleventh of the full file. It has now obtained from seven other sources 606 additional issues,

394 of which were derived from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. This readiness on the part of sister societies to meet our wants deserves the fullest recognition, for it makes an important colonial newspaper of Massachusetts available here for study, and prevents an irreparable loss should fire destroy the originals.

With such an instrument of service at hand the Society has been able to assist in ventures which would otherwise have been too costly or difficult in execution to undertake. One such series deserves special mention, for it rests upon the reproduction of manuscript material, usually represented in a single unique example which has been saved out of the destruction of the past. Our colleague, Mr. Charles P. Bowditch, has carried his enthusiasm for the Indian languages of Mexico and Central America so far as to furnish the Peabody Museum with reproductions of many vocabularies and devotional works prepared or translated by the Spanish fathers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These reproductions were at first made by the photographic process, but the photostat offered advantages not to be denied, and the Society has issued for Mr. Bowditch the following six works: *Platicas de la Historia Sagrada en lengua Cacchi (Kekchi) del Siglo* xviii*mo.; Doctrina en Lengua Quiché; Vocabulario de Lengua Kiche*, 1787; *Diccionario Pocomchi-Castellano y Castellano-Pocomchi* (XVIth century); Martinez, *Manual breve Lengua Zapoteca*, 1633, and *Ydioma Zapoteco del Valle*, 1793. Too great praise cannot be given to the generous devotion which is thus placing these hitherto unique and almost inaccessible linguistic records in the leading universities of the land, an encouragement to studies in American archæology.

After an existence of a century and a quarter the Society changes its methods slowly and has found its chief activities largely conditioned by the past and by the reputation it has acquired. It is primarily a publishing Society — a fact that should always be borne in mind; connected with that function are the study and preparation of historical material for publication, the results of which form the volumes of *Proceedings* and *Collections*. Suggestions have been made for changing the procedure in the stated meetings, so as to encourage discussion and debate, but experience makes accomplishment diffi-

cult. Formal debates demand preparation and informal discussion is apt to wander. It is nevertheless to be hoped that whoever thinks of anything to the point at a meeting will not hesitate to say it.

As in all growing societies there is a need of additional funds, and most of all one for an extension of the present building. The last bequest of moment was the Hunnewell Fund of $5,000, received in 1910, and before that it would be necessary to go back to the Sibley Funds, 1904, for an increase of endowment of a like amount for the free use of the Society. The Society enjoys the reputation of being well-endowed, but its widening activities and responsibilities impose upon it increasing expenditures. The centenary funds are a promise of wealth in the far future, but there are present needs to be met. With the utmost care in managing income and expenditure the annual budget balances, but it necessitates the postponing of immediate opportunities in many directions. The Society counts upon the generosity of its members for the means to maintain its high reputation.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

In presenting his annual statement Mr. LORD said:

I desire to make a brief statement of the financial condition of the Society, supplementing what is set forth in detail in the Treasurer's report.

The property of the Society may be divided conveniently as follows:

1. The Land and Buildings, which stand on the books at $97,990.32 and are valued by the City Assessors at $196,000.

2. The Library and Collections, which have never been appraised.

3. The Investments of the Society, which are carried on the books, as appears in the Investment Account, Exhibit I of the Treasurer's Report, at $497,834.30. Of this sum the two centenary funds amount to $76,425.49, of which amount $70,340.58 is the principal of the Sibley Centenary Fund and $6,084.91 the Anonymous Fund. Under the terms of the bequests the income of these funds must be added to the

principal until the expiration of one hundred years from their receipt, in the case of the Sibley Centenary Fund, the year 2002, and in the case of the Anonymous Fund the year 1991.

The income of the Society from its investments the past year was $28,021.61. From this income must be deducted the income of the two centenary funds, which under the terms of the gifts are to be added annually to the principal, amounting to $3,639.30, and leaving a balance of income from investments available for the purposes of the Society under the terms of gift of $24,382.31. The miscellaneous receipts from all sources was $6,251.30, making the total receipts $30,633.61. The total expenditures were $28,391.19, as appears in the Cash Account and in Exhibit V, leaving a balance of $2,242.42, for the year.

The increase in invested funds the past year is $3,747.18, as shown in detail in Exhibit V.

REPORT.

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, Chapter VII, Article 2, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report, made up to March 31, 1918.

The special funds now held by the Treasurer are thirty in number. A list of these funds, with the income and expenditure of each fund the past year, appears in Exhibit V in this report. An account of twenty-nine of these funds, giving a brief history of each fund, will be found in the Treasurer's Report for the year ending March 31, 1910 (*Proceedings*, XLIII. 529); the thirtieth is described in the Treasurer's Report for the year ending March 31, 1911 (*Proceedings*, XLIV. 568). The securities held by the Treasurer as investments on account of the above-mentioned funds are as follows:

INVESTMENTS.

SCHEDULE OF BONDS.

Rio Grande Western R. R. Co.	4%	1939		$5,000.00
Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Co.	4%	1959		3,000,00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R.	4%	1995		14,500.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R.	4%	1995	"adjustment"	9,000.00
Chicago Jct. & Union Stock Yards	5%	1940		10,000.00
Oregon Short Line R. R. Co.	5%	1946		10,000.00
Oregon Short Line R. R. Co.	4%	1929		10,000.00
Boston & Maine R. R. Co.	4½%	1944		6,000.00
American Tel. & Tel. Co.	4%	1929		10,000.00
Northern Pacific & Gt. Northern R. R.	4%	1921	"joint"	50,000.00
Long Island R. R. Co.	4%	1949		6,000.00
New York Central & Hudson River R. R.	4%	1934		15,000.00
Bangor & Aroostook R. R. Co.	4%	1951		10,000.00
Fitchburg R. R. Co.	4%	1927		9,000.00
Kansas City, Clinton & Springfield R. R.	5%	1925		3,000.00
Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill St. R. R.	5%	1923		2,000.00
Washington Water Power Co.	5%	1939		10,000.00
United Electric Securities Co.	5%	(1)		25,000.00
Blackstone Valley Gas & Elec. Co.	5%	1939		10,000.00
Western Tel. & Tel. Co.	5%	1932		5,000.00
Seattle Electric Co.	5%	1929		5,000.00
Detroit Edison Co.	5%	1933		5,000.00
Boston Elevated Railway	5%	1942		8,000.00
New England Tel. & Tel. Co.	5%	1932		10,000.00
Connecticut Power Co.	5%	1963		10,000.00
Boston & Albany R. R. Co.	5%	1938		10,000.00
Cleveland Short Line R. R. Co.	4½%	1961		10,000.00
Arlington Gas Light Co.	5%	1927		10,000.00
United Elec. Lt. & Power Co.	4½%	1929		10,000.00
Wilmington City Electric Co.	5%	1951		5,000.00
Old Colony Gas Co.	5%	1931		5,000.00
Dedham Water Co.	5%	1935		5,000.00
Railway & Light Securities Co.	5%	1946		5,000.00
Plymouth Electric Light Co.	5%	1925		4,000.00
New Bedford Gas & Edison Light Co.	6%	1922		5,000.00
U. S. Steel Corporation	5%	1963		5,000.00
United States Liberty Loan	4%			10,000.00
Pere Marquette R. R.	5%	1956		15,000.00
Pere Marquette R. R.	4%	1956		2,000.00
United Zinc & Chemical Co. (with 60 shares pfd., and 60 common)	5%	1928		30,000.00
			Par value	$391,500.00

[1] 1936, 1939, 1940 and 1942.

Schedule of Stocks.

50	Merchants National Bank, Boston		$5,000.00
50	National Union Bank, Boston		5,000.00
50	Second National Bank, Boston		5,000.00
50	National Shawmut Bank, Boston		5,000.00
35	Boston & Albany R. R. Co.		3,500.00
25	Old Colony R. R. Co.		2,500.00
25	Fitchburg R. R. Co.	Pfd.	2,500.00
150	Chicago Jct. Rys. & Union Stock Yards Co.	Pfd.	15,000.00
75	American Smelting & Refining Co.	Pfd.	7,500.00
158	Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. Co.	Pfd.	15,800.00
302	Kansas City Stock Yards Co.	Pfd.	30,200.00
10	Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co.		10,000.00
6	Boston Real Estate Trust		6,000.00
5	State Street Exchange		500.00
150	Pacific Mills		15,000.00
52	Puget Sound Traction Light and Power Co.	Pfd.	5,200.00
5	" " " " " " "	Common	500.00
50	American Telephone & Telegraph Co.		5,000.00
50	American Sugar Refining Co.	Pfd.	5,000.00
1298	Shares	Par value	$135,200.00

Schedule of Savings Bank Books.

M. A. Parker Fund	$1,311.59
Brattle St. Church Model Fund	228.72
	$1,540.31

Recapitulation.

Bonds, par value	$391,500.00
Stocks, par value	135,200.00
Savings Bank Books	1,540.31
	$528,240.31

Balance Sheet, March 31, 1918.

Investment Account, Exhibit I	$497,834.30	Funds, Exhibit II	$452,285.92
Cash on hand, Exhibit IV	5,392.86	Accumulated Income of Funds, Exhibit III	50,941.24
	$503,227.16		$503,227.16

EXHIBIT I.

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

Balance, April 1, 1917		$494,087.12
Bought during year:		
$5,000 New Bedford Gas & Edison Light	$5,000.00	
10,000 United States Liberty Bonds, 4%	10,000.00	
Accrued Interest M. A. Parker Savings Bank Book	50.90	
" " Brattle St. Church Model Bank Book	8.85	
Total Additions, Exhibit IV		15,059.75
		$509,146.87
Securities matured and sold:		
$2,000 City of New York, 6%	$2,000.00	
8,000 City of Cleveland, 5%	8,000.00	
Pere Marquette	1,312.57	
Total Deductions, Exhibit IV		11,312.57
Balance, March 31, 1918		$497,834.30

EXHIBIT II.

INCREASE OF FUNDS IN YEAR 1917–1918.

Amount of Funds, April 1, 1917		$448,646.62
Added during year:		
Centenary Funds:		
Anonymous Fund	$289.75	
J. L. Sibley Fund	3,349.55	3,639.30
Total of Funds, March 31, 1918		$452,285.92

EXHIBIT III.

ACCUMULATED INCOME OF FUNDS.

Balance Accumulated Income, April 1, 1917	$48,698.82
Income during year, Exhibit IV	34,272.91
	$82,971.73
Expenditures, Exhibit IV	28,391.19
	$54,580.54
Less additions to Centenary Funds	3,639.30
Balance, March 31, 1918	$50,941.20

EXHIBIT IV.

Cash Account.

Balance on hand, April 1, 1917			$3,258.32
Receipts during year to March 31, 1918:			
Sales by Library:			
Publications	$823.25		
Photostat	3,785.20		
Duplicates	50.91		
Bindery	738.05		
Royalties, Little, Brown & Co.	7.94		
" Houghton Mifflin & Co., "Adams"	737.10		
Bradford	108.00	$6,250.45	
Rebates		.85	
Credited to General Fund Income		6,251.30	
Interest on Bank Balances	122.61		
" " Savings Bank Books	59.75		
Income from Investments	27,839.25		
Total		28,021.61	
Total credited to Income, Exhibit V		$34,272.91	
Credited to General Funds			$30,633.61
" " Centenary Funds			3,639.30
Securities matured and sold			11,312.57
			$48,843.80
Charges during year to March 31, 1918:			
Investment Account: Securities bought		$15,000.00	
Savings Bank Interest		59.75	
Total Additions, Exhibit I		$15,059.75	
Income Account:			
Bindery, Wages	$948.60		
Supplies	604.67	$1,553.27	
Binding	132.74		
Books, Pamphlets, Newspapers, and Mss.	1,777.14		
Building:			
Cleaning	$348.24		
Engineer	1,090.20		
Fuel	734.35		
Insurance	40.22		
Furniture	64.33		
Light	298.42		
Repairs	374.56		
Telephone	111.60		
Water	50.40	3,112.32	
Carry forward		$6,575.47	$15,059.75 $48,843.80

CASH ACCOUNT — *Continued.*

Brought forward	$6,575.47	$15,059.75	$48,843.80
Photostat	3,944.34		
Portraits and Medals	287.35		
Postage	174.22		
Printing:			
Proceedings, vol. 50	$1,287.92		
" " 51	691.99		
Illustrations and Reprints	780.92		
Collections, vol. 72	1,419.70		
Miscellaneous	125.25	4,305.78	
Salaries:			
Librarian's Assistants	$4,962.68		
Editor and Assistant	5,990.00	10,952.68	
Stationery		321.33	
Treasurer's office:			
Bond	$75.00		
Bookkeeper	1,000.00		
Safety Vault	10.00		
Certified Public Accountant	25.00	1,110.00	
Miscellaneous Expenses		720.02	
Charged Income of Funds, Exhibit V			28,391.19
Total Payments			43,450.94
Balance on hand, March 31, 1918			$5,392.86

EXHIBIT V.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF FUNDS FOR THE YEAR ENDING MARCH 31, 1918.

	Balance Mar. 31,'17	Income	Expenditures	Balance Mar. 31,'18	Principal of Funds
Amory	$1,952.96	$194.70	$170.00	$1,977.66	$3,000.00
Appleton	5,699.87	792.00	1,390.00	5,101.87	12,203.00
Bigelow	468.10	129.80	114.60	483.30	2,000.00
Billings	3,410.19	649.02	753.15	3,306.06	10,000.00
Brattle St.	119.87	8.85		128.72	100.00
Chamberlain	80.07	79.98	50.40	109.65	1,232.33
Dowse	56.59	649.01	583.30	122.30	10,000.00
Ellis	172.23	2,055.22	1,944.18	283.27	31,666.66
Frothingham	2,710.93	194.71	175.00	2,730.64	3,000.00
General	787.56	9,931.82	9,166.90	1,552.48	56,709.16
Hunnewell	1,965.91	324.51		2,290.42	5,000.00
Lawrence	455.50	194.70		650.20	3,000.00
Lowell	400.60	194.71	175.00	420.31	3,000.00
Mass. Hist. Trust	6,550.40	649.02	372.68	6,826.74	10,000.00
Parker	24.96	50.90	45.92	29.94	1,000.00
Peabody	2,851.78	1,435.82	1,287.92	2,999.68	22,123.00
Salisbury	163.25	324.51	286.62	201.14	5,000.00
Savage	846.52	389.41	355.34	880.59	6,000.00
C. A. L. Sibley	337.68	1,460.90	1,372.04	426.54	22,509.48
J. L. Sibley	3,756.95	7,858.10	7,626.00	3,989.05	121,077.00
Slafter	224.97	64.90	71.30	218.57	1,000.00
Waterston No. 1	1,629.67	324.51	146.30	1,807.88	5,000.00
Waterston No. 2	4,011.14	649.01	305.76	4,354.39	10,000.00
Waterston No. 3	3,726.21	649.02	374.23	4,001.00	10,000.00
Waterston Library	49.83	251.50	207.29	94.04	3,875.14
R. C. Winthrop	4,718.23	649.01	1,030.52	4,336.72	10,000.00
T. L. Winthrop	406.76	153.47	125.00	435.23	2,364.66
Wm. Winthrop	1,120.09	324.50	261.74	1,182.85	5,000.00
Balance, Mar. 31, 1917	$48,698.82				375,860.43
General Income		$30,633.61			
" Expenditures			$28,391.19		
" Balance				$50,941.24	
Sibley Centenary		3,349.55			70,340.58
Anonymous Centenary		289.75			6,084.91
Total Income, 1918		$34,272.91			
Total Funds, March 31, 1918					$452,285.92

The income for the year derived from the investments and credited to the several funds in proportion to the amount in which they stand on the Treasurer's books was nearly six and one half per cent on the funds.

The real estate, which is entirely unencumbered, represents an investment of $97,990.32, and before 1916 has been carried at this sum and balanced by the items,

Building Fund	$72,990.32
Ellis House	25,000.00

The aggregate amount of the permanent funds including unexpended balances represented by securities at par and deposits is $528,240.31, as per schedules of investments.

ARTHUR LORD,
Treasurer.

BOSTON, April 1, 1918.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society as made up to April 1, 1918, have attended to that duty, and report that they find that the securities held by the Treasurer for the several funds correspond with the statement in his Annual Report.

They have engaged the services of Mr. Gideon M. Mansfield, Certified Public Accountant, who reports to them that he finds the accounts correctly kept and properly vouched, that the balance of cash on hand is satisfactorily accounted for, and that the trial balance is accurately taken from the ledger.

JOSEPH GRAFTON MINOT,
HENRY H. EDES,
Committee.

BOSTON, April 8, 1918.

Report of the Librarian.

The Librarian reports that during the last four years there have been added to the library:

	1915	*1916*	*1917*	*1918*
Books	1,502	910	2,565	1,687
Pamphlets	1,056	1,436	1,296	1,516
Manuscripts, bound	43	84	155	27
Broadsides	178	54	96	181
Maps	35	10	25	14
	2,814	2,494	4,137	3,425

In the collection of manuscripts there are estimated to be 1,666 volumes.

In the Rebellion collection there are now 3,598 volumes and 6,654 pamphlets.

The Library is estimated to contain 63,020 volumes, 119,974 pamphlets, and 5,517 broadsides. The manuscripts have never been entirely counted, but number some hundreds of thousands.

Samuel A. Green,
Librarian.

Report of the Cabinet-Keeper.

The additions by gift and purchase to the Cabinet of the Society during the past year have been reported at each meeting and printed in the *Proceedings* and need not be repeated here.

Dr. Storer, Curator of coins and medals, reports that there have been added to the collection sixty coins and medals of which fifty-three were of Massachusetts. It is hoped that the new case for these collections will be in place before the next annual meeting and the pieces arranged each in its separate box with a brief description.

Grenville H. Norcross,
Cabinet-Keeper.

April 11, 1918.

Dr. NICHOLS read the

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY AND CABINET.

Your Committee have visited the Society's building and under the guidance of Mr. Norcross, Dr. Storer and Mr. Tuttle have inspected the condition of the building and its contents. So many matters of interest presented themselves to our attention that we find it difficult to select even a few that appear to require modification and improvement. Some of these matters have been brought forward by former committees, and still persistently obtrude themselves with a demand for speedy attention. There is no elevator to aid and comfort our older members; there is no wall-space for the proper exhibition of the pictures; there is no sufficient space or proper showcases for the display of the museum; there is a shortage of shelf-room and no unoccupied corners, except in the basement, where new shelves can be placed; there is no fit room for the reception and arrangement of accessions before they are placed on the shelves; there are still some wooden shelves; there is no reading room to invite members or due arrangement of old and new historical material to encourage a frequent visit and a convenient and fruitful study; there are no tables placed in good light and comfort for the student wishing to use the richness of the Society's holdings in manuscript and in printed material; some of the pictures could be cleaned and many could be hung in better light; the museum might be opened more frequently than two hours in the week, especially in the months from May to November, when the city has many visitors.

The list of defects may seem a long one, but the details all come to one great need — an addition to the building. The Society owns the land and with a simple but perfectly fireproof construction of a stack and other features most of the defects named would be remedied and full provision made for future growth. Such an addition would provide an elevator for passengers and for books; it will give a large and properly lighted room for museum and picture gallery; it will provide shelving ample for a generation of growth; it will afford better accommodation for the photostat; and it will give space for dealing with material as it is received. To take up each defect

by itself and undertake to treat it as a separate problem must result in patch-work, makeshift, heavy expense and unsatisfactory result, with a certainty that when the addition comes, these halfway measures will be discarded. The simplest, most direct and least costly is to provide for this addition to the building. Your Committee appreciates that it is a poor time in which to expect the fulfilment of such a conception, but they feel strongly that any other plan will be ineffective and more costly in the long run. We hesitate even to suggest a method of making a beginning, but a building fund would be the one least open to difficulties.

As to actual conditions your Committee can propose no radical changes. The building is insured and well protected against fire, the collections are well cared for and given the attention which space permits, and the general aspect of the rooms impresses us with the fact that as much is being done for building and contents as can reasonably be expected.

The valuable collection of coins will be housed in its new steel cases within a short period, for the invoices of shipment have been received. As an insurance against all forms of danger, and as an assurance of the most modern manner of preserving and arranging coins and medals, the cases mark a decided, permanent and long-needed improvement. They were designed, tested and accepted by the American Numismatic Society, by whose courtesy the Society has been enabled to have the advantage of its experience along these special lines. Your Committee desire to commend the faithful labors of those at the head of all the departments and to recall to your attention the riches of the manuscript collections in particular, the foundation stones on which this Society rests, some of which riches are still unexplored.

Charles L. Nichols,
Lawrence Park,
Wm. B. H. Dowse.

Mr. Wendell, for the Committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, made a report, upon which a ballot was taken.

The officers are as follows:

President.

HENRY CABOT LODGE.

Vice-Presidents.

WINSLOW WARREN.
JAMES FORD RHODES.

Recording Secretary.

EDWARD STANWOOD.

Corresponding Secretary.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

Treasurer.

ARTHUR LORD.

Librarian.

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.

Cabinet-Keeper.

GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS.

Editor.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

Members at Large of the Council.

JOSEPH GRAFTON MINOT.
LINCOLN NEWTON KINNICUTT.
WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT.
EPHRAIM EMERTON.
FREDERICK CHEEVER SHATTUCK.

Professor Perry read a chapter, entitled "The Second Discovery of America," from a forthcoming volume.

Mr. Minot showed four documents of the first half of the

eighteenth century giving the conditions of membership and the lists of members of the Episcopal Charitable Society of Boston, a society established in 1724 and still in active existence.

Mr. BOLTON presented the following:

When I was collecting material for a book on the Scotch-Irish migration to America I searched in vain for letters written to and from Ireland between the years 1718 and 1775. The scarcity of such letters gives added interest to the following epistle written June 18, 1764, by Robert Neilson of Maddybenny, a town near Coleraine in the North of Ireland, to Jeremiah Smith of Milton, Massachusetts, husband of Neilson's sister Rachel. The subjects discussed are exactly those which one would expect to find — gossip about children and neighbors, the journeys of friends, and the growing of flax.

Jeremiah Smith's coming was of more than ordinary concern to the colony for he undertook important manufactures which have continued down to the present day. He arrived at Boston, a young man of 22 in the year 1726, and ten years later settled in Milton where he became known as the first papermaker of note in the Province. He was a neighbor and friend of Governor Hutchinson, knew the Hancocks well, and survived the Revolution, dying in 1790, a year before his wife Rachel passed away. His daughter, Elizabeth Smith, married Captain James Boice or Boies, a papermaker, and their son Jeremiah Smith Boies in 1795 began to operate a corn, chocolate and paper mill at Milton, employing Mark Hollingsworth of New Jersey as his foreman. The manufacture of chocolate and paper continues to be associated with Milton families.

Jeremiah Smith's daughter Rachel married Daniel Vose, the leading merchant of his day in Milton. Their daughter Elizabeth Vose married first Edmund Baker, of a family long associated in the public mind with the manufacture of chocolate. Among her descendants is Mrs. Lydia Bowman Taft through whose kindness I am permitted to print the letter. Mrs. Elizabeth (Vose) Baker by her second husband, Major John Lillie, of Major-General Knox's staff, had a daughter, Elizabeth Lillie, who became the mother of two distinguished mem-

bers of this Society, Edward L. Pierce,[1] the biographer of Charles Sumner and Henry L. Pierce,[2] mayor and member of Congress.

ROBERT NEILSON TO JEREMIAH SMITH.

MADDYBENNY, 18th June, 1764.

[D]EAR BROTHR. — I Recd a letter from you last winter with the agreeable News of the health and welfare of your family which affords great pleasure to me and all your friends here.

William Neilson is now here and sold a large Cargo of flaxseed this season in Dublin, he sets out from home tomorrow on his way to London and from that to Newyorke; my mother is still alive and in good health. I have 5 Children alive and Intend to send my oldest Son to Newyork this Summer.

this Country abounds with great plenty of every thing at present. flaxseed sold this season from £3 to £4–10 Newry is the best market in this Kingdom allways; I should be glad to hear from you every opportunity that offers and shall mis none to answer you. let me know how my sister enjoys her health and how your son James grows up. Please to give my Complements to your sons by law and all yours; I am, Dr. Brothr., yours most affectionately,

ROBT. NEILSON.

P:S my Brothr Benjm left 2 sons who live at their uncle Gedeons and are fine boys. Pray inform me what you know about Brothr. William.

Please to give my Complements to Couzn Sarah T[odd?]. I should with all Pleasure correspond with her but She declined it: haveing wrote to severall people [here?] and in the country but Never to me. her old acquaintance Doctr Ferguson is Dead and the Revd Robt Higginbothom[3] next door by.

Per favr. Capt. Willson.

PRINTING BILLS, 1758–1768.[4]

1758	Province of the Massachusetts Bay to Thos. & John Fleet *Dr.*			
May 1.	To advertising Sale of Excise on Tea for Barnstable	£	.	4. –
	To Ditto on Ditto for Worcester		.	4. –
8.	To publishing Notifica'n for Officers to cancel their Bonds before they March .		.	4. –

[1] Pronounced by him as Peerce.
[2] Pronounced by him as Purse.
[3] Presbyterian Minister at Coleraine.
[4] The two bills are in the New York Public Library.

	To Ditto Treasurer's Notifica'n to Constables, Collect'rs and Farmers of Excise	£	5. 4
15.	To Ditto, to permit Fishing Vessels to go their Voyages, the Embargo notwithstanding		10. 8
22.	To Ditto Notifica'n to send Provisions to Halifax		6. –
29.	To Ditto Proclamation ab't Deserters		1. —. –
June 5.	To Ditto Notifica'n for Deserters to conform to Governor's Proclamation		4. –
12.	To Ditto Act about Deserters		18. –
19.	To Ditto Order about French Neutrals		6. –
26.	To Ditto Vote of Council about Bayonets		4. –
July 10.	To Ditto, Militia Officers to make Oath to their Acco:		4. –
17.	To Ditto Proclam'n for proroguing Court		12. –
	To Ditto Scheme of Lottery, May 22d		1. 4. –
Aug 7.	To Ditto Proclam'n for proroguing Court		12. –
	To Ditto Vindication of Commissary General against Colo. Doty		1. 4. –
21.	To Ditto Proclam'n for proroguing Court		12. –
Sep 4.	To Ditto about Ditto		12. –
	To Ditto Proclam'n for Prayer and Thanksgiving		12. –
11.	To Ditto Proclam'n for proroguing Court		12. –
	To Ditto Notification for those that have Friends in Canada to send in their Names etc.		4. –
Nov. 13.	To Ditto Proclam'n for Thanksgiving		1. —. –
20.	To Ditto Proclam'n for proroguing Court		12. –
Dec. 4.	To advertising Sale of Snow *Prince of Wales*		4. –
11.	To publishing Proclam'n for proroguing Court		12. –
	To Ditto Notification for Tavernkeepers to send in their Accounts		4. –
18.	To Ditto, Proclam'n ab't Reception of Troops		12. –
1759			
Jan. 1.	To Ditto, Notifica'n for those return'd from Captivity to give in their Names to the Secr'y		4. –

Jan'y 22.	To publishing Notification for Officers to bring in their Muster Rolls, that the Soldiers may be paid	£ 5. 4. –
	To Ditto long Act ab't Billeting and Quarter'g Soldiers	1. 10. –
		£15: 17: 4

Errors excepted.

Per THOMAS & JOHN FLEET.

Province of Massachusetts Bay to Edes & Gill, Dr.

1767		
July 20	To publishing Order Council respect'g Gov't Securities	£ . 5. 4
	To Do. an Advertis't for Gen'l Brattle respect'g his Reg't	. 6. –
Sept'r 28	To notify'g Public prorogation Court . .	. 3. –
	To Do. his Majesties disallowance Act Compensation	. 6. –
1768		
March 4	To Paper and Printing 1000 Valuation Lists as per Agreement with the Committee Collo. Bowers and Capt'n Fuller	40. —. –
7	To Do. proceedings Governor and Council respecting a Publish't in the Gaz't. . .	1. 10. –
	To Do House's Answer	13. 4
	To Do. Messages from his Excellency to the House and their Address respecting Lord Shelburnes Letter	2. —. –
21	To Do. Order House respecting Land Bank	. 6. –
	To 542 more Valuation Lists @ 9*d* accord'g to agreement with the Committee abovementioned	20. 6. 6
	To one years News	. 6. 8
		£66. 2. 10

Suffolk, June 27. 1768. John Gill above named made oath to the above account and that there is now thereupon due from this province to him and his partner Benj'n Edes the sum of sixty and six pounds two shillings and ten pence of lawfull money.

RI'D DANA, *Jus's pacis.*

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. WENDELL, W. WARREN, and RHODES.

MAY MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the first Vice-President, Mr. WARREN, in the absence of the President, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Editor reported for the Librarian the following:

From England was obtained a copy of Robert Fleming's *Scripture Truth Confirmed and cleared*, 1678, a publication "not seen" by Rev. Alexander Gordon, who wrote the life of Fleming in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. This volume contains the signature of Rev. John Robinson (*d.* 1745) of Duxbury, and also the following: "The Gift of the Revd. Mr. John Robinson To his Daughter, Faith Trumble, A. D. 1745." She married Jonathan Trumbull, the governor of Connecticut.

In presenting a copy of a Gaelic calendar for 1918, Mr. Fred N. Robinson writes:

> The document in itself has some curious interest as an evidence of one of the numberless cross-currents of sentiment that are now running their course in Europe. The object of the compiler was to help revive the traditional friendship of the Gaelic Irish for France, and thus to quicken, if possible, their sympathy for the cause of the Allies. On the first page he refers to the old stories of contact between Gauls and Irishmen in the remote legendary period of Irish history. The second page recites the relations of the two peoples in the age of the great Celtic missionaries and scholars — *Naisimh agus Olhamhain* ("Saints and Doctors"). Then the page following the calendar proper deals with the settlement of the Irish in the New World, and especially with their participation, alongside of the French, in the American Revolution. Finally, on the last page, the writer exhorts the Gaels to do their part, with the French and the allied nations in the present war.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Miss Sara Norton, a banner with the arms of Hungary, probably brought to this country in 1849, by Kossuth or one of his companions, and given to her Sedgwick relations who had befriended the Hungarians.

From Mrs. Robert C. Winthrop, by deposit, a painting of Washington, by Gilbert Stuart, given to Mr. Robert C. Winthrop.

From Miss Mary Rivers, of Milton, a gilt medal of Napoleon I, 1807, given to Miss Lydia Smith as a prize in drawing, and a silver medal by Bodoni of Marie Louise of Parma, 1809, given to Jonathan Russell by the governor of the city in 1819.[1]

From Senator Lodge, a collection of United States food posters.

From Mr. Norcross, a series of postal-card views of Camp Devens.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Russell Gray, accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary also reported the receipt of an invitation to be represented at the dedication of the new building of the Minnesota Historical Society, at St. Paul, on May 11. Prof. Frederick J. Turner, and Prof. William Stearns Davis, of the University of Minnesota, were designated to represent this Society on that occasion.

The Editor announced the following gifts:

From Mr. Edward D. Harris, of New York, a copy of his grandfather's (Thaddeus Mason Harris) *Natural History of the Bible*, 1820, liberally annotated and enlarged in MS. by the author for a new edition, which was never issued. The Society possesses a copy of the first edition, published by Thomas and Andrews in 1793, with the following presentation in MS.: "As a token of his lively gratitude and affectionate regard, the author presents this book to his kind benefactor, his early instructor and excellent friend, the revd. Ebr. Morse. Dorchester, August 20, 1793." This "association copy" was given to the Society in 1907 by Mr. John A. Cotton, whose ancestor, W. Cotton, purchased it at the auction Mr. Morse's library. Mr. Harris also gives a receipt book of Robert Breck, 1763–1765, a merchant in Boston, and probably the partner of John Breck. Robert died in March or April, 1765, and Benjamin Dolbeare and Benjamin Harrod were executors under his will. The alternate pages of the book have been used by a member of the Dolbeare family as a "commonplace book" for records of the war in Europe, 1805.

From Charles P. Greenough, a number of MSS. on Massachusetts history, among which are muster rolls 1777; petition of Ebenezer Storer to Congress, 1792; letters to Dwight Foster; and two books of

[1] See p. 419, *infra*.

receipts, one of William Belcher of Boston, 1760–1773; and the second of Increase Sumner, Roxbury, 1774–1798, containing the signatures of merchants and traders of Boston in that period.

From Leverett Thompson and Susan Thompson Dickinson, a letter of Daniel Webster, dated March 15, 1806, and written to their great grandfather, Thomas W. Thompson, then a member of Congress from New Hampshire.

On deposit, from the Bostonian Society, letters and papers relating to Holmes Hinckley (1793–1866) of Boston, which were given to the Bostonian Society by his daughter, Mrs. Theoda J. Hill of Wellesley Hills.

By purchase, a folio volume containing the receipts and payments of customs in the port of Carlisle, England, 1688–1691 (42 leaves), and a full record of medical practice and recipes at the end of the seventeenth century (234 pages). As an epitome of remedies and a glossary of medical terms it possesses value and complements the medical papers in the Winthrop papers.[1]

A letter-book of James Shapley, merchant in Portsmouth, N. H., 1807–1812 — the period of the embargo.

Legal papers of South Carolina, 1784–1786, being notes on cases by Edward Rutledge and Charles C. Pinckney.

A parchment deed, dated November 1, 1622, made by Robert ap William Griffith of Bedorryn, in the county of Denbigh, but twice signed by a Roger Williams, as witness. It was sent from London on the possibility of having some connection with Roger Williams of Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

Dr. STORER called attention to the two metal cabinets for the coin and medal collections of the Society, which have just been received from the manufacturers. They were made on plans devised and tested by the American Numismatic Society of New York, through whose courtesy this Society was enabled thus to avail itself of the latest devices for the safe storing and convenient arrangement of coins.

Arthur Prentice Rugg, of Worcester, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Frederick Scott Oliver, of London, England, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

Announcement was made of the appointment of the following Committees:

[1] See Dr. Holmes paper in 1 *Proceedings*, v. 379. The Society possesses the record of cases treated by John Winthrop, Jr., 1657–1669, containing many names not in Savage's *Dictionary*.

House Committee: GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, J. COLLINS WARREN, and WORTHINGTON C. FORD.

Finance Committee: WINSLOW WARREN, GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, and CHARLES P. GREENOUGH.

Committee to publish the *Proceedings:* HENRY CABOT LODGE, JAMES FORD RHODES, and EDWARD STANWOOD.

It was voted that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the financial year be retained in the treasury, to be expended in such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

Rev. Mr. FROTHINGHAM read a paper on "The Orator as Statesman," based upon the career of Edward Everett.

Mr. WENDELL read a paper on "Japan in its historical Relations," which will be published elsewhere.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. FORD, THAYER, NORCROSS, WENDELL, W. WARREN, BOWDITCH, STORER, and W. S. BIGELOW.

MHS

Chas. C. Smith

October 17, 1906.

MEMOIR

OF

CHARLES CARD SMITH

By JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE.

The senior member of this Society, in age, Charles Card Smith, died at his home, in Boston, on March 20, 1918. His peaceful end came in his early morning sleep, and to his last waking hours he seemed to preserve some of his long-time vigor. His business visits during banking hours in the care of his personal affairs had been kept up with his usual regularity.

Mr. Smith was born in Boston on March 27, 1827, the only child of George and Harriet (Card) Smith. He showed no pride of ancestry, and constantly avoided any reference to his forbears, so that little can be recorded as to his inheritance. His father's family connections were mostly in Gloucester and Ipswich; his mother's early home and relatives were in Portland, Maine. In the autumn of 1827 his father removed to Gloucester where he was a large dealer in coal and lumber. Three years later the town was visited with a destructive fire, and his property, including his home, was wholly destroyed. Mr. Smith's grandfather, Col. Jacob Smith, of Ipswich, was a practical builder, who left three examples of his industry, the Universalist meeting-house of Gloucester, a meeting-house in Rockport, and one in Manchester.

Mr. Smith's boyhood days were spent in Gloucester, where his education was gained in public and in private schools. He was precocious in his studies, and a constant winner of a "reward of merit." One serious handicap followed him from his

earliest days. He was short-sighted, and this difficulty kept him in his early years from the rougher and outdoor sports, and hindered him afterward from any active part in public service. He began to wear glasses in his youth, and the identical pair then worn remained with him in active use during the rest of his life; and it was not until last May that his almost total loss of eyesight led him to consult an oculist. Mr. Smith, in reading, always removed his spectacles, and held the page very close to his eyes.

Naturally his interests centered in matters closely associated with his efforts in self-education, and he shrank from those things which had no attractions for him. At the age of ten years he and a few other schoolmates, with a large number of their elders, became members and signed the constitution of the Gloucester Institute, a lyceum for debates, social intercourse, and lectures on a variety of subjects; and no one can measure the influence of that early society on his future. In school he was one of two in a class to study Latin; and he kept up the study in later years, considering the mental stimulus of value in his literary work.

At the age of sixteen years, in the autumn of 1843, Mr. Smith came to Boston and entered the counting-room of Dr. Edward Hutchinson Robbins, agent of the Northampton Woolen Manufacturing Company with rooms at No. 5 Phillips Building, and later at 46 Kilby Street. He remained with Dr. Robbins until his death in 1850, and then with his successor until 1853, when he accepted a position as clerk of the Boston Gas Light Company in their office at 102 Washington Street. In March, 1889, he retired from service in the company and from active business, having been during the whole period closely associated with the late William W. Greenough, its treasurer and agent.

In 1847, Mr. Smith made his home at 3 Chauncey Place, which ran off of Summer Street at No. 43, and two years later he is recorded at No. 1. On August 22, 1853, he married in Gloucester, Georgiana, daughter of George and Ann (Mansfield) Whittemore, then temporarily staying there. Her home was in Boston, on Fort Hill, where she was born February 20, 1833; and her education was completed in the Framingham Normal School, in which she became a teacher of mathematics

and sciences after her graduation. There was a charm of mutual devotion in their companionship, although their differences of opinion were often pronounced. Her grandfather Samuel Whittemore, was a native of Cambridge, graduate of Harvard College in 1751, taught the first public school in Gloucester, served in the Revolutionary War, and was Naval Officer of the port at Gloucester for several years. Her ancestors were mostly Gloucester people.

After their marriage they lived with her Uncle Nathaniel Whittemore of Hingham in the fall and winter of 1853–54, and then for a short time at the old United States Hotel in Boston. They boarded for a while at 8 Decatur Street, and in 1854 he bought the house at 10 Decatur Street. About 1869 they removed to 18 Rutland Square, and in 1881, they went to their last abiding place, 286 Marlborough Street, which he then bought, only a few years after that part of the street had been laid out and accepted by the City. Mrs. Smith's death occurred there on March 25, 1918, only five days after Mr. Smith's decease; but not before she had expressed her desire to have her late husband's wishes carried out, by which the Society will receive a lasting benefit from a generous gift.

Mr. Smith at the age of twenty, in 1847, became a regular contributor to the *Christian Examiner*, and continued for more than twenty years. His articles also appeared in the *New York Literary World*, 1849–50; the *Boston Atlas*, *Boston Courier*, *Boston Traveller*, 1850–52; *North American Review*, 1857–67; *Old and New*, 1870–75; *Boston Daily Advertiser*, *Unitarian Review*, 1874–79; *Boston Post*, 1886–91; *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, 1896; and *American Historical Review*, 1896–98. His writing covered a variety of subjects, including many notices of new books, all with a sympathetic and often trenchant pen. Probably many books in his library came to him for review. He assisted Dr. Andrew P. Peabody as editor of the *North American Review*, for three years, until Dr. Peabody resigned in December, 1863, when he wrote to him, "Your contributions and invaluable aid in other ways constituted the happiest chapter of my editorial life, and if the *North American* held any worthy place in the literature of the country, it has been due, especially for the last three years, more to you than to me." Two chapters in the *Memorial History of Boston*, on "Boston" and the

"French Protestants," and four chapters in the *Narrative and Critical History of America* on "Arctic, and the Northwest Explorations," and on "Acadia, and Cape Breton," were written by him.

Mr. Smith attended the Federal Street Church, and went with it to its new meeting-house on Arlington Street, and was always greatly interested in its welfare. The last service in the old building was held on March 12, 1859; and the new building was dedicated on December 11, 1861. He served for many years on the Standing Committee, and was treasurer from 1865 to 1884. The inscriptions on the tablet erected in memory of the ministers of the Church were prepared by him. A short account of the Church, in its manual published in 1875, was also his.

Various societies counted Mr. Smith as a member: the Pilgrim Society, 1870; Boston Society of Natural History, 1870; the Society for the Promotion of Theological Education at Cambridge, 1872; the American Antiquarian Society, 1876; where he was a member of the publishing committee from 1890 to 1906; the Phi Beta Kappa Society, Cambridge, 1876; the Bunker Hill Monument Association, 1881; the American Historical Association, 1884; the Bostonian Society, 1882; the Society for the Relief of Aged and Destitute Clergymen, 1885; and Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1892. Mr. Smith was a shareholder in the Boston Athenæum, and had served on the examining committee of the Boston Public Library, and on the visiting committee of Harvard College Library. Harvard University in 1887 bestowed on him the honorary degree of Master of Arts.

Mr. Smith, in 1864, having broken down in health, visited Europe, sailing on February 18, reaching Liverpool on March 1. He spent a short time in London, but enjoyed several weeks at Pau, France, and returned on May 26. Again in 1884, and in 1889, he was in Europe, and travelled extensively. His son, an only child, Walter Allen Smith, a graduate of Harvard College in 1880, went abroad soon after his graduation to complete his studies in Germany, France and England, and shortly before his intended return died of typhoid fever on April 8, 1882. He had gained some notice as a political writer, and was a young man of ability and exceptional promise. The last visit of Mr.

and Mrs. Smith to Europe in 1889 was to places associated with their son, whose death was a great loss to them.

Twelve years before Mr. Smith took an active part in the affairs of the Society it had reached an important turning point in its history, when Charles Deane became Chairman of the Standing Committee, and Robert C. Winthrop was elected President. The Society had then just received its first munificent bequest of ten thousand dollars from Samuel Appleton, the income to be used exclusively for "the procuring, preservation, preparation, and publication of historical papers." Mr. Deane announced this bequest, and at the same time the discovery of the Bradford manuscript in the Library of the Bishop of London at Fulham. Then followed the plan for the publication of the Society's proceedings, the foundation of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund by David Sears, and the gift of the Dowse Library, all in the same year. As Mr. Winthrop later said, the Society "was still restricted and crippled as it had been from its original organization in 1791, by the want of adequate apartments, and of the means of procuring or improving them." It was thought then that the golden period of the Society had begun. Into this happy change in conditions, Mr. Deane entered as a large and important factor, and established a new and higher standard of historical research and accuracy.

Mr. Smith was elected a Resident Member on April 11, 1867. Rev. Chandler Robbins, then Corresponding Secretary, was his sponsor in the late months of 1866. Mr. Smith had then reached the age of forty with a lively interest in literary and historical studies. He came into the Society with a good experience of twenty years in writing for magazines and newspapers, and he had shown himself to be accurate, critical and painstaking in his researches.

Mr. Smith's eminent fitness to take an active part in the Society's affairs was soon recognized. In the following April, 1868, he was elected a member of the Standing Committee, and on the next July 9, one of the Publishing Committee. He joined heart and soul with the coterie of workers, Charles Deane, Chandler Robbins, Richard Frothingham, and Dr. Green, to carry out as he said in his letter of acceptance to the Society, "the important objects for which it was incorporated," and his

chief interest during the remainder of his life was the best service he could render to it.

His business training had brought habits of regularity, industry and thrift, as well as a thorough knowledge of financial affairs. His studies and writing carried on during his leisure hours, even to the burning of midnight oil, were his avocation, and aroused in him such a love for historical work that it became his chief pursuit in later years. Books were his companions, and great writers his inspiration. A picture of Lord Macaulay always hung in a prominent place in his library, a precious reminder of Macaulay's words written to him, "I could not have wished for a kinder or more liberal critic," or "a reader so intelligent and enlightened."

He lived simply, and the affairs of his home, and of his business as well, were carried on with a precision and routine which brought an unhappy condition if broken. He enjoyed warm friendships, and was always generous and just, even to those who opposed him, or in a friendship which could not stand his test. His likes and dislikes were strong and outspoken. He took a deep interest in public affairs, was exceedingly well-informed, and was loyal to the best interests of public service.

My own intimate acquaintance with him began, when as a lad I entered into the service of the Society in January, 1878, soon after his election as Treasurer. The passing years have reduced the membership I knew then to five: our honored associate, Vice-President Winslow Warren; our President, Senator Lodge; our senior member, Dr. Green, long since out of active service; President Eliot, and Mr. Morse.

Mr. Smith's presence was always a solace in the troublesome conditions that often developed. Calm in manner, even modest and unobtrusive, he brought the necessary element of balance and wise judgment into passing events in the Society. He knew when to be silent under stress, and could, when rightly needed, say the sharp word to expose the weakness of an opponent. A faulty construction and a wrong font were things he delighted to find, and while his desire for literary accuracy was keen, he did not lose sight of the broader view of the subject.

It was his custom to drop in at the rooms at 30 Tremont Street quite regularly in the afternoon after two o'clock, the close of

his business hours, and to join the group of members, that gathered at midday for a social hour or so, now and then with no lack of story-telling. The senior Mr. Winthrop and Dr. Ellis were often among the number. Mr. Deane was always there, the leader and most diligent worker, who had a warm attachment for Mr. Smith, for their tastes and their purposes were wholly congenial. The foundation of the Society's future wider usefulness begun by Mr. Deane, who strove for a high standard of historical scholarship, was entered into by Mr. Smith and brought down to a younger generation of workers, with new ideals and inspiration. These two men gave the best years of their lives that the Society might have a better outlook, and a richer field of service. Through Mr. Smith's deep interest in the manuscript collection of the Winthrop family the Society was enabled to continue the publication of several volumes of the Winthrop papers, carefully edited by him; and became later the custodian of this large and treasured possession.

The year of Mr. Deane's death the Society adopted the policy of having an Editor, with a salary, and Mr. Smith was chosen to the position. With the busy work of this office, and all the duties connected with the Treasurer's labors for the next eighteen years Mr. Smith had an excellent opportunity to leave a lasting impress for the highest good of the Society. Briefly summarized his years of singular devotion number forty on the Publishing Committee, 1867–July, 1907; thirty-four in the Council, 1868–1870, 1875–1907; thirty, as Treasurer, 1877–1907; eighteen, as Editor, 1889–1907. He communicated several important contributions to the *Proceedings*, 1877–1899, and the Memoirs of Delano A. Goddard, Chandler Robbins, George Dexter, John J. Babson, John A. Lowell, and Clement Hugh Hill, beside a short account of the Historical Society. Even during the last ten years, since his resignation from active service, in 1907, his solicitous interest in the Society never flagged.

The completion of Mr. Smith's membership of fifty years was happily recognized by the Society, when fitting appreciations of his services as Treasurer, and Editor were given by his successors in office, Mr. Lord and Mr. Ford. He was deeply touched by this thoughtful remembrance, which recalled his own ambitious efforts for the Society, and his watchful care,

early and late through many long years, to add to the Society's possessions and usefulness.

Of all who have left their mark on the Society's records, none can surpass him in the tangible results of devoted labor in its behalf — results which will be gratefully appreciated long after his influence is forgotten.

JUNE MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. In the absence of the President and both Vice-Presidents, Mr. ARTHUR LORD was chosen to preside.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and in the absence of the Librarian, the Editor reported the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From the estate of Mrs. Charles C. Smith, a bust in plaster of Alexander Hamilton, after Houdon, which long stood in the Library of our late associate, Charles Card Smith.

From Charles P. Greenough, 165 engraved portraits, English and American.

From Mrs. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., a bust in marble of Robert C. Winthrop, by Hiram Powers.

From Miss Antoinette P. Granger, of Canandaigua, New York, a bust in marble of her grandfather, Francis Granger, of New York, postmaster-general under President Harrison in 1841.

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, a purse bearing a miniature of Jenny Lind, which was bought as a souvenir when she was in Boston in 1850 by Otis Norcross for his wife.

From Dr. Warren, a photograph of a silhouette of Dr. John Dexter Treadwell, of Salem, which hangs in the Ropes Mansion there, whose son was the founder of the Treadwell Library of the Massachusetts General Hospital; also a medal honoring the Allies and commemorating the entrance of America into the War, issued to the contributors to the American Fund for the French wounded.

By deposit, from Dr. Warren, a silk banner, made by a Roxbury Society, commemorative of General Joseph Warren, and used in connection with the laying of the corner stone of Bunker Hill Monument by Lafayette in 1825. After the exercises it was hung in the hall of the Norfolk House, Roxbury, but after some years it disappeared and has remained unknown for a half a century.

From Charles Stearns, engravings of Rufus Choate, Daniel Webster, and of President and Mrs. Garfield.

From Robert Bruce, of Clinton, New York, a photograph of Abraham Lincoln; taken in the early spring of 1865.

From Mr. Norcross, thirty United States coins.

From Francis Henry Appleton, a collection of ninety-eight coins.

By purchase, a collection of fifty-four encased postage stamps, which combined with those already in our cabinet forms one of the most complete collections of such stamps extant. During the time of great scarcity of small change in 1862 these stamps were issued in denominations from one to ninety cents by thirty-one firms; and are now of great rarity.

By purchase and exchange, a collection of seventy-one specimens of the work of J. A. Bolen, a die cutter who flourished in Springfield, Mass., from 1862 to 1869, which lacks four pieces of being complete, and is probably the most complete collection of Bolen's work extant.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Arthur Prentice Rugg accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary also reported the receipt of an invitation from the Historical Society of Nova Scotia to be present at the unveiling of a memorial to George Vaughan at Annapolis Royal on July 1. The Corresponding Secretary was designated as the representative of the Society with such other members as may be able to attend.

The Corresponding Secretary read notes of condolence on the death of Henry Adams from Sir Sidney Lee and Mr. Hurbert Hall.

The Editor reported:

As gifts: From George Peabody Wetmore, a letter from James Russell Lowell and two from Count Witte, to George W. Smalley. The Lowell letter, referring to his address at the 250th anniversary of Harvard College, is as follows:

SOUTHBOROUGH, MASS., 12th Nov: 1886.

Dear Smalley, — I have written to MacVeigh explaining why I couldn't possibly come as I gladly would. I am driven to the wall with things to do.

I am very sorry not to see you again and very glad you liked my speech. To me they are always *awful* when they are cold — as a dead body used to be to the murderer. I fear to touch 'em lest they should bleed and convict me. I enclose a letter. Good bye and God bless you. Faithfully yours,

J. R. LOWELL.

From Charles P. Greenough, a number of manuscripts of Thomas and John Hancock, 1728–1815, being mercantile correspondence with merchants in London, Canada and Amsterdam, charter parties, legal papers and bills — amounting in all to about two hundred pieces. This material complements similar correspondence in the Society's collections.

From Mrs. Arthur W. Thayer, of Dedham, a number of MSS., commercial letters and foreign price lists, passports and local notices, which supplement effectively similar material in the collections of the Society.

By purchase, a series of letters from Leonard Bliss, Jr., the historian of Rehoboth, to Elias Nason, 1832–1840, treating of their literary and historical productions, and travels in search for material.

Letters of John S. Place, written from France in 1811 and 1812, to Thomas Browne, a merchant of Portsmouth.

Nathan Matthews, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Dr. EMERSON presented to the Society the original MS. of his father's poem on "Boston," begun several years before the war, but not finished until the occasion of its delivery at Faneuil Hall, December 16, 1873, on the centennial anniversary of the destruction of the tea in Boston harbor. Dr. Emerson read the poem and called attention to the omissions and changes in the printed text.[1]

Mr. BOWDITCH, in presenting to the Society the MS. records of "The Game Club" and a set of the five printed volumes taken from those records, gave an outline of the club and its activities. Formed in January, 1882, for twenty years it met at the houses of its members once in two weeks from November to May. Each person present wrote a short verse on a given subject, and at the supper these verses were read. Other games were played, but verse-making left the most permanent record. The contribution of each member was signed by initials, and a full list of members and guests accompanies the gift, "in the hope that some few in later generations may find it interesting to examine these records of the games which amused their ancestors." With the gift is a poem of presentation, written by Mrs. Charles P. Ware, closing with the lines:

[1] Emerson, *Poems* (1884), 182.

So tho' at first it may seem queer
To find us in this grave Society,
Not without reason are we here,
To add a little gay variety.

Of the printed volumes the edition ranged from twenty-one to twenty-four copies.

Mr. STOREY and Dr. EMERSON, members of "The Game Club" gave some interesting and amusing reminiscences of its meetings.

Dr. WARREN presented, on behalf of the Trustees of the Humane Society of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, a portfolio containing a series of thirty-nine photogravures made by A. W. Elson and Company of Belmont. These engravings form the illustrations of the *History* of the society, written by Mark A. de Wolf Howe, about to be published, and comprise portraits of the leading officers, beginning with James Bowdoin, two groups of trustees of 1858 and 1906, certificate of membership, silver pieces and medals, early instruments of restoration from drowning, and life boats. This series is an interesting record of the oldest of Societies organized for the saving of life and relief of suffering. While its earlier activities were concerned chiefly with the saving of life on the sea-coast, a work now taken over by the National Life-Saving Service, it still continues to be active in many useful fields, and it still lives up to its purpose of promoting the cause of humanity by "pursuing such means, from time to time, as shall have for their object the preservation of human life and the alleviation of its miseries." It is highly suggestive to contrast its purposes with the ruthless methods of the U-boat!

Mr. MINOT deposited the original records of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, beginning with its origin and incorporation in 1823, and continuing to 1846.

Mr. CHARLES P. GREENOUGH read an extract from Sargent's *Dealings with the Dead* (I. 166):

The prohibition of the [slave] *traffic*, in 1788, grew out of public indignation, produced by the Act of one Avery, from Connecticut, who decoyed three black men on board his vessel, under pretence of employing them; and while they were at work below, proceeded to sea, having previously cleared for Martinico. The knowledge of this outrage produced a great sensation. Governor Hancock and M.

L'Etombe, the French Consul, wrote in favor of the Kidnapped Negroes, to all the West India Islands. . . .

The poor negroes, carried off by that arch villain Avery, were offered for sale, in the Island of St. Bartholomew. They told their story publicly — *magna est veritas* — the Governor heard and believed it — the sale was forbidden. An inhabitant of the Island — a Mr. Atherton of blessed memory — became their protector, and gave bonds for their good behaviour, for six months. Letters, confirming their story, arrived. They were sent on their way home rejoicing, and arrived in Boston on the following 29th day of July.[1]

and then read the following letter from the Governor of the island of St. Bartholomew, relating to the incident:

Rosenstein to John Hancock.

Gustavia Island of St. Bartholomews,
the 6th July, 1788.

Sir, — I have been favoured with the honor of your Excellencys Letter of the 21st April last, relative to the three unfortunate Negroes, Luke Russel, Wenham Cary and Cato Newell that where (altho' free) villanously Carried of from Your Excellencys Government to be disposed of as Slaves in the West Indies. I am exceedingly happy that I by the means of this accident not only have had the opportunity of satisfying my Sentiments of Humanity, but which is Still more agreable (if there is any feelings Superior to those that a person Conceives when it is in his power of being of any Service to members of human kind) that of having by the Justice rendered to those three Blacks made myself deserving of Your Excellencys approbation. My satisfaction should however have been greater if the Barbarous Laws of the West Indies had permitted me to render them all the Justice they had by the Nature of their Cause the Right to claim, and of which I was in my private Opinion convinced they were entitled to; but our Laws are greatly to their disadvantage in all kind of Disputes between them and White Persons. This is the reason, why I have been obliged to detain them here, untill they could have procured sufficient and authentic proofs of the Right of their Cause, which is plainly obtain'd by Your Excellencys human intercession in their behalf; And in Consequence of which have not hesitated an instant to grant them permission to

[1] Sargent appears to have drawn his facts from the replies of Jeremy Belknap to the questions of St. George Tucker on slavery, 1795, printed in 1 *Collections*, IV. 204. See also Moore, *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts*, 225.

return to their Native Country with Capt. Benjamin Ives, Commanding the Brigantine *Diligence*, with whom I have agreed for their Passage for the Sum of Twenty-four Dollars; having taken the Liberty of giving said Benj'n Ives my draft on Your Excellency for the amount, not doubting but Your Excellency will be pleased to cause same to be paid.

Permit me Sir to rejoice at this Event as a mean of procuring me the advantage of paying my hommages to your Excellency as one of those eminent Characters that has so much Illustrated this Period, and whose exertions for the cause of Liberty, has already been too great for to admit any Augmen[ta]tion by your intercession in behalf of those unfortunate men. I am overjoyed that fortune has put it in my hands to shew my partiality in a cause that has costed Your Excellency so many cares and so much trouble, and whereby Your Excellencys illustrious Character will undoubtedly be transferred to a gratefull posterity, and furnish me with an Occasion of testifying how sensible I am of Your Excellency's merits, and assure Your Excellency of the great regard and esteem with which I have the honor to remain, Your Excellency's Most Ob't H'ble Servant,

ROSENSTEIN.

Mr. THAYER read a paper on

THE LONGEVITY OF HISTORIANS.

Not long ago I heard an interesting but somewhat distressing lecture by one of our medical experts, on occupational diseases. He described phossy jaw — the hideous ailment which attacks match makers and other workers in phosphorous. He told about the lung and throat troubles which afflict those whose work creates a metallic dust. He enlarged upon the ills which beset munitions makers, but he did not include the instantaneous bodily annihilation which results from an unexpected explosion of trinitrotoluol. I listened in vain to hear him tell of housemaid's knee; he either overlooked that or deemed it too mild to be included in his list of occupational diseases.

As our Vice-President, Mr. James Ford Rhodes, had just celebrated his seventieth birthday, I fell to thinking on the longevity of historians — an old hobby of mine — and on what sort of occupational disease, if any, they are liable to. I knew roughly that they are a long-lived tribe, but I could not recall any special malady to which they are heir. In order to be pre-

cise I made a little list of the ages of some of the chief historians, ancient and modern, which runs as follows:

Ancient. Herodotus, 60?: Thucydides, 70: Livy, 76: Tacitus, 62: Caesar, 56: Xenophon, 73?: Sallust, 52?: Josephus, 63. Average 64.

English. Clarendon, 66: Gibbon, 56: Hume, 65: Robertson, 72: Roscoe, 78: Hallam, 82: Macaulay, 59: Kinglake, 82: Carlyle, 86: Freeman, 69: Stubbs, 75: Gardiner, 73: J. R. Green, 46: Lecky, 65: Froude, 76: Mackintosh, 67: Goldwin Smith, 87: Grote, 77. Average 70. The two chief living British historians, James Bryce and John Morley, were both born in 1838, and are accordingly 80 this year.

French. Voltaire, 83: Guizot, 87: Thiers, 80: Martin, 73: Michelet, 76: Mignet, 88: Michaud, 72: Amédée Thierry, 76: Augustin Thierry, 61: Taine, 65: Sismondi, 69. Average, 75.

German. Giesebrecht, 75: Droysen, 76: Ranke, 90: Sybel, 78: Ewald, 36: Treitschke, 62: Mommsen, 86: Gregorovius, 70. Average, 71.

Italian. Sarpi, 71: Machiavelli, 58: Botta, 71: Villari, 90. Average, 73.

American. Irving, 76: Bancroft, 90: Hildreth, 58: Sparks, 77: Palfrey, 85: Prescott, 63: Motley, 63: Parkman, 70: Fiske, 59: Henry Adams, 80: H. C. Lea, 84: Mahan, 74. Average, 73.

Not including Morley and Bryce here are the names of sixty-one persons whose average age is well over seventy-one. A historian, therefore, can count on outliving by at least a year the proverbial three score years and ten. In fact, however, the average age of men in the community is nearer forty than seventy. A good while ago I was interested to investigate the common assumption that, owing to the speed of modern life the average longevity in the nineteenth century of more or less distinguished persons was decreasing. I took about 550 names of men and women who had achieved distinction in art, literature, public life, warfare, and other categories, and I found that they lived on an average more than sixty-eight years — a result which disproves the allegation that the modern pace is the pace which kills.

Our present list shows that the historian lives four years longer than the average celebrity in other fields. Examining our groups, we find that the French average leads with seventy-five; then the Italian and American with seventy-three; the

English and Germans with seventy-one; the Ancients with sixty-four. Note, however, that the dates assigned for the Ancients are very uncertain — so uncertain that I could not include Suetonius, Diodorus, or Plutarch at all.

Analyzing these figures from a different standpoint we find that three men, Ranke, Villari and Bancroft, reached the great age of ninety and, I may add, they all were writing up to the time of their death. The octogenarians are: Mignet, Guizot, Goldwin Smith, Kinglake, Carlyle, Mommsen, Hallam, Thiers, Henry Adams, and H. C. Lea. Except Ewald, thirty-six, Sallust, fifty-two, and Green, forty-six, Caesar and Gibbon, *par nobile fratrum*, are the youngest, dying at fifty-six. But Caesar's death cannot be regarded as an occupational disease, to which historians are subject.

In fact if we examine the causes of the taking off of these sixty-one men we shall discover no special disease which killed the larger part of them. The historian has the privilege enjoyed by his fellow men of being able to die of any ill which happens to strike him.

The considerable number of these historians who were also politicians, or in the larger sense, statesmen, suggests the interesting query, whether writing history is a good preparation for making it, or making history fits one to write. Caesar among the ancients, and Machiavelli and Sarpi among the earlier moderns, are the most striking examples. Guizot was for eight years prime minister of France under Louis Philippe, and Thiers, having served for many years in the cabinet of that monarch, was the first president of the French Republic. In Germany, Mommsen sat in the Reichstag, but Treitschke, the most vehement and influential of German publicists, never held public office, perhaps on account of his deafness. In England, on the contrary, the ties between the historian and the statesman have always been recognized. On our list we find that, besides Clarendon, Mackintosh, and Macaulay, Lecky, Bryce and Morley were members of Parliament, while Stubbs was Bishop of Oxford, and an English Bishop is a very official as well as an ecclesiastical personage. Among our Americans, only Bancroft had a cabinet position. The prejudice which for a long while existed in this country against literary "fellers," included historians also, but recently two writers of history, Theodore Roosevelt

and Woodrow Wilson, have been elected presidents of the United States, so that our horizon has been much widened. Now that the American historian need no longer be depressed by the thought that his occupation renders him ineligible to the highest office in the people's gift, we breathe more freely.

Although historians are a long-lived tribe, often blessed with the power to carry on their work far into old age, many of them have achieved a reputation when they were very young. The most precocious, I think, is James Bryce, who wrote his *Holy Roman Empire* when he was twenty-four; and the book, after nearly sixty years, holds its own in judgment, poise, maturity, and thoroughness. Almost equally remarkable was Lecky who published his *Rationalism in Europe* when he was only twenty-seven. Freeman's first book on *Church Restoration* came out when he was twenty-six. Thiers was also twenty-six when the first volume of his *History of the French Revolution* appeared, and Michelet made his début at twenty-seven. Parkman seems to have been the youngest American to produce history of permanent worth, he being twenty-eight at the publication of his *Conspiracy of Pontiac.*

But most of the lasting works were published after their authors were well on in the thirties. Gibbon was thirty-nine when he issued his first two volumes; Bancroft thirty-four when he published the first volume of his *History of the United States.* Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella* came when he was forty, and Motley's *Dutch Republic* when he was forty-two. Mr. Rhodes was forty-four at the publication of his first volume.

In general it is easy to understand why historians are usually middle-aged before they produce valuable work. A novel or a poem can be spun like a spider's web, from the inside; but a history is the assembling and interpreting of masses of material from the outside. This requires time—time and long and patient study. Interpretation also, demands qualities which rarely develop in the young, qualities which do not reside in the emotions but in the reason. So we concede fiction to the juvenile and are glad to have history the province of the mature.

Money, or the lack of it, has a further influence on the production of history. The historian, though he be a very rare and privileged creature, must live. Accordingly, unless a kindly fate, or a rich father, has provided him with a living, he must

make one. This takes time. Modern historians have usually earned their living, either as professors or as editors. This means that necessarily they must be mature before they have accumulated leisure enough to produce a *magnum opus*. A few men, like William Roscoe, George Grote and Mr. Rhodes, after prospering in business, have devoted themselves to writing history.

To the youth who wishes to join the guild of historians we can give therefore not only a friendly welcome, but the prospect of a long and, we hope, useful life. Our craft does not threaten him with any occupational disease, although it does not render him immune to either dyspepsia or mutinous eyes. The work has many delights and many compensations. He will probably not amass riches, but he will thank his stars for this, because it will prevent him from wasting on palaces and private yachts the talents which he should dedicate to Clio. And he will have mistaken his calling if he fails to discover in history the magic chapters which, by recording how men have lived, furnish a clue to the mystery of Life itself.

THE BOWDOIN LIBRARY.

Mr. TUTTLE showed a manuscript list of books and said:

There is in the Society's collection of Bowdoin and Temple papers a manuscript of bibliographical interest associated with the Siege of Boston. It is a list of nearly four hundred volumes, a part of the library of James Bowdoin, later Governor of the Commonwealth.

On September 13, 1774, Mr. Bowdoin's name was among those listed and published as leaders in the patriot cause. Two days later he requested Samuel Phillips Savage to make an inventory of the goods in his house. Mr. Savage found the Library to contain more than twelve hundred volumes.

In the early spring of 1775, Mr. Bowdoin left Boston and lived for several weeks in Braintree. Abigail Adams, two days before the Battle of Bunker Hill, wrote from Braintree that "Mr. Bowdoin and his lady are at present in the house of Mr. Borland, and are going to Middleboro to the house of Judge Oliver." During this period Mr. Bowdoin's illness prevented him from taking an active part in public affairs. The family

remained for many months in Middleboro, and probably had with them there the larger part of Mr. Bowdoin's Library.

When General Burgoyne reached Boston on May 25, 1775, he took up his abode in the Bowdoin Mansion on Beacon Hill; and it is likely that Bowdoin's brother-in-law, George Erving, one of the loyalist refugees who sailed for Halifax early in 1776, may have had the care of his property here. The list of Bowdoin's books in Burgoyne's possession during his stay in Boston is given below, bearing the statement over Erving's signature at the end.

The two parts of Bowdoin's library later came together, and passed at his death in 1790 by bequest to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences of which he was the founder and first President. An asterisk prefixed to the title indicates that the volume was in the library of the Academy at the time its catalogue was issued in 1802.

1st Alt.

	1.2	Harris's Collection of Voyages. 2 Vol.
*	3.8	Churchills Collection of Voy. & Travels. 6 Vol. fol.
*	9.10	Burnets history of his own time [1724]. 2 Vol.
	11	Glauber's Works
*	.12	Bales's [Bayle's] Works [5 Vols?]
	13.14	La Sainte Bible per martin. 2 Vol.
	15	The Holy Bible
	16.17	Pooles Annotations on the Bible. 2 Vol.
*	18.19	Prideaux's Connection. 2 Vol.
*	.20	Historia Sum[m]orum Pontificum
*	.21	Boston Chronicle
*	22	Julii Clari Opera omnia
*	.23	Johnston's [Johnson's] Works
*	.24	Brady's History of England
*	.25	Agricola de re metallica
*	.26	Massachusetts Laws
*	.27	Connecticut Laws
*	28	The new Testament with notes — Rhemes 1582
*	29	Juneval & Persius in usum Delph.
	30.31	Calvini Comentarii 2 V.
	32	Institutio Christianae Rel.
	33	Robertson's Phraselogia generalis
*	34	Q. Curtius
	35	De linqua latina Observationes
*	36	Justiniani Institutiones
	37	Erasmi Colloquia

38.41 Rabelais's Works. 4 Vol.
42 La Sainte Bible
43 La Pratique de pieta
44 Boyers french & Eng. Dict^{y}.
* 45 Whistons astron. Prin. of Rel.
46 History of Address
47 Two Sermons for 30th Jan^{y}
48 Cott. Mather's life

2^{d} Alt.

* 1.2 Franklins Sophocles 2 Vol. 4to
? 3.4 Starks [Harte] history of Gustavus Adolphus 2 Vol.
? 5.6 Whitbys Parap on New Testament. 2 Vol.
* 7.8 Droit de la Guerre & de le paix par Grot's. 2 Vol.
* 9 Virgils Opera in usum delph
10.15 Magna Britania. 6 Vol.
* 16 Daneby [Danet's] Dicto^{y} of Greek & Rom. Antiquities
*17.18 History of Popery
* 19 Stones conic Sections
20 Household Furniture
21.22 Calamy's life of Baxter &c
23 Baxters Saints rest
* 24 [Cleirae] Costumes de la mer.
25 Dalton's Justice
26 Leigh's critica sacra
* 27 Tull's Husbandry
28 Manley's Interpreter of Law Terms
* 29 Bradys Introduction to Old Eng. History
* 30 Hederici Lexicon græcum.
*31.32 Ainsworths Latin Dictionary
*33.40 Hume's History of England. 8 Vol.
*41.42 Essays 2 Vol:
43 Mounteney's Demosthenes 3 Vol.
*44.46 Lelands, Demesthenes 3 Vol.
*47.48 Stanyans Grecian History 2 Vol.
*49.50 Kaim's Elements of Criticism 2 Vol.
* 51 M^{c}Laurin's Algebra
* 52 Cunn's Euclid
* 53 Smiths Student Vade mecum
54 Vigerius de idiotismis græca Dict^{y}
* 55 Ferguson's Astronomy
* 56 Wards Mathematicks
57 Poems
58 Letters on Religion &c miscell:
59.69[o] Sermons miscel.
* 61 Coleman's [Colman] life &c miscel.
62 Political Tracts miscel.

63 Divinity Tracts mis.
64 Sermons &c. mis.

3d Alt.

* 1 London & Country Brewer
* 2 Bolinbroke to Sir Willm Windham & Pope
3 Letters on History
* 4 [Burke] Enquirie into the sublime & beautiful
* 5.10 Echards Roman History 5 Vol.
*11.12 Vertot's history of the Roman Revolution. 2 V.
13 Revolutions of Portugal
*14.15 Millers Gard[e]ner's Dictionary 3 Vol.
* 16 Bradley on planting & Gardning
*17.20 Fosters Sermons. 4 Vol.
21.26 Quesnels new Testament 6 Vol.
27 Bennetts Sermons
28 [blank]
* 29 Reads [Reid's] enquiry into the human mind
* 30 Mallets life of Bacon
* 31 Martins Optics
* 32 Cramer on Metals
33 The Geography of England
*34.38 La[o]ndon's Magazine 5 Vol.

4th Altr.

1.2 The old Whig
* 3.8 Clare[n]dons History of the Rebellion 6 Vol.
* 9 Ashley on American Trade
* 10 Barrier Treaty vindicated
* 11 De Foes plan of Eng. Commerce
12 Freethinking & Groans of Europe
* 13 Trowell on Husbandry & Gardening
*14.19 Ellis on Husbandry. 6 Vol.
*20.23 Modern Husbandman. 4 Vol.
*24.25 Turner's Art of Surgery. 2 Vol.
26 Diseases of the Skin
27 Strothers Essay on Sickness & Health
* 28 Boyle's Experiments on Cold
* 29 Deserta's [Descartes] Opera Philosophica
30.31 Boileau's Works in Eng. 2 Vol.
32 Pascals Thoughts on Religion
* 33 Mayhews Sermons
34 The true sentiments of America
* 35 Wilds practical Surveyor
* 36 a Letter on Trade
37 Clarkes collection Papers which past between Leibnitz & him
* 38 Clarkes Demonstration of Newtons principles
* 39 Rays philosophical letters

* 40 Vertots history of the Bretons
* 41 Description of Stowe
* 42 Westons shorthand — a manuscript
* 43 [Andrew] Eliots Sermons

5th. Alt.

1.9 Collection of Old Plays 9 Vol.
10.14 Jewish Spy by Sargent 5 v
15.22 Turkish Spy 8 v
23.26 The Tatler 4 v
27.28 Plutarchs Morals 2 v.
*29.30 Voitures [Voltaire's] Works 2 v
*31.32 Rowes Lucan 2 v
33.34 North Britain [Briton] 2 v.
35.38 Lady Montagues Letters 4 Vol
*39.48 Oeuvres d'Orace [Horace] par Dacier 10 v.

6th Altr.

* 1 Williams's British Angler
* 2 Bradleys Country Housewife
3 Hills Arithmetic
* 4 Livii 5 libri priores
5 Arrols nepos
6 Horatri formata cuningh [Cuningamius.]
7 Bath Guide
8 Present State of polite Learning in Europe.
9 Polite Lady
10 Prince of Abisinia
11 Woodwards Fair Warning
* 12 Lord Bacons Essays
13 Historia des Colonies Angloisses
*14.15 Voltaires Age of Lewis XV. 2 Vol
16 Du Pouvoir des Souverains Dr Barbeyrac
*17.19 Discours sur la Gouvernement de Sidney 3 v
20 Defence de la nation Britannique
* 21 Les Advantures de Telemaque
22 Phædri-Fabula
23 Pomfrets Poems
24 Cases of Divorce
* 25 Dean's Essay on the future life of Brutes
26 Lensden compendium graecum novi Testam.
27 Novum Testament graecum
28 Wallebii Compend. Theologia Christiana
* 29 Rose's sallust with Cicero's 4 Orat: ag.t Cataline
30.31 Smarts Orace
32 Ovids Art of Love
33 Maps of all the Counties in Engd & Wales

* 34 Bellamy's Sermons
35 Hales Tracts
36 Beveridges Thots on Religion
37 Mori Enchiridion Ethicum
* 38 Muratoris Relation of the Mission of Paraguay
39.41 Miscellaneous Tracts 3 v.
42 Dodwell on the Soul
43 Salmons Family Dictionary
* 44 Inquiry into K. Cha^{s} 1 send^{g} for Irish Rebells
45 West & Littleton on the Res. & conv. of S^{t}. Pau
* 46 Clarkes Justin
* 47 Sallust
* 48 Nepos
* 49 Suetonius

7th Alt.

* 1 Hamilton's Observations on M^{t} Vesuvius & Etna
* 2 Bayleys Eng Dict^{y}
3 Ovidii de tristibus in usum Delph
4 St. Augustines meditations
* 5 Tacquet Elementa Geometriæ
* 6 Letter to two [great men]
7 Tolands Defence of Milton's Life
* 8 Colmans Sermons
9 Life &c
10 Poems
11 Political Tracts
12 Religious Controversy Mis.
13 Petronius Arbiter
14 Hammonds Review of N. Test
15 Gardiners Life & other Tracts
16 Poems
17 Reepins Comparison of Thucydides & Livy
* 18 Princes Chronology
19, 20 Judicature of the House of Peers 2 v.
21 Derhams Artificial Clockmaker
22 Common Prayer Book
23 Echards Terence
24 Compleat Justice
* 25 Lex Parliamentaria
26 Hammond of Schism
27 Le Sainte Bible
28 Steels Christian Hero
29 Blackmores Creation
30.35 Shakespears Plays 6 V. not compleat
36 Christian Oeconomy
37 Burnets life of Earl of Rochester
38 Pasquins comical Oration

39 Grosvenor on Health
40 L'Historia Romaine
41 Moliere's Plays, fr. & Eng. 2d Vol.
42 Memoirs de Pompadour 1re Tom
43 Croysincede lt Eglise
44 Fieldings Amelia
* 45 Addisons Works 1 V.
46 Swifts Do 5th V.
47 Dodsley's Collect. of Poems 4th V.
48 Harrisons Remarks relating to the Deluge
* 49 Le Clares [Le Clerc's] Compend of Universal History
50 Reflections of the Death of Freethinkers
51 Fables of the Bees. 2d Vol.

by Mr Southack

Eliots Sermons
Paradise Lost 2 Vol.
Clarks Homer
Yorricks Sermons 2 Vol.
Sentimental Journal 2 Vol.
Adventures Telemaque
Herveys Meditations
Shakespear illustrated
Royal Callender
Institutio Greecae Gramaticae
Decin Quum Gevenalis
Tristram Shandi 2 v.
Crispii Sullustii
Hoyleys Accurate Gamester
Collection Plays
Mogul Tales
Drydens Satires
Young Mans Companion
Paraclete sive Enurpta
Novum Jesu Christi Testamentum
Dods reflections on Death
Locks Essay on Human Understanding
New Roman History
Fordyce's Sermons to Young Women
Mair's Art of Bookeeping
Laws Devout Life
Youngs Political Life
Behns Plays

The above is a Catalogue of Books left in the Library of James Bowdoin Esqre in the possession of Major Genl Burgoyne

Boston Sept 9th 1775.

GEO. ERVING.

Endorsed for filing "Catalogue of Part of my Books Sept. 9, 1775."

JONATHAN RUSSELL

FROM A MINIATURE BY DUMONT

Mr. FORD communicated the following journal, from the original MS. in the possession of Miss Mary Rivers, a granddaughter of the writer. She very courteously gave permission to print, and aided in preparing the notes. Mr. Russell's writing is at times not clear, and it is only too evident that some of the names are incorrectly printed; but it has been found impossible to confirm every reference.

JOURNAL OF JONATHAN RUSSELL, 1818–1819.

OCTOBER 22, 1818. Having made all our arrangements and despatched our förbud at seven o'clock last evening, we, this morning, left Stockholm between seven and eight o'clock. As I was getting into the carriage a servant delivered me a package containing a note from His Excellency Count D'Engeström, the Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs,[1] and several letters from him recommending us to the attention of the Swedish agents and ministers at Stralsund, Berlin, Dresden, Vienna and Italy.

We reached Fittja, the first stage, one and one-half miles from Stockholm without discovering any accident; but we had not proceeded far from that place before we found the principal iron of the left forespring to be broken. This injury I believed to have taken place between Stockholm and Fittja and to have been occasioned by our driver, an Englishman named William Williams Phipps, having taken with him on the dicky a heavy peasant. We were detained in the middle of the road about an hour in woolding the spring, with a piece of tarred rope, with which we were fortunately provided, and supporting it with a stanchion of wood. In this manner we proceeded to the second stage Södertelje,[2] a distance of two Swedish miles from Fittja. This Södertelje is a paltry village although considered as a town from which extra-post money is exacted. Notwithstanding our detention on the road which occasioned our arrival at Södertelje later than the time at which the horses had been ordered by the förbud, we were obliged to wait for them there nearly an hour, which made our arrival at Pilkrog, the next stage of a mile and half, more than an hour later than the time we had assigned. It is the regulation in Sweden that the traveller, if he causes the horses which he has ordered by his förbud to wait more than an hour, shall pay an extra sum. I was in consequence

[1] Laurent, Comte d'Engeström (1751–1826) practically passed his life in the service of his country, entering the Royal Chancelry in 1770. He became president of the Chancelry May 16, 1809, and retired in 1824.

[2] On Lake Mälar, now a summer resort.

obliged to pay about half a dollar banco at Pilkrog as well as Äby and Süardsbro the two next stages at which we also arrived too late. From Pilkrog to Äby and from Äby to Süardsbro is, each, two miles. We arrived at Nyköping about seven o'clock in the evening which, at this season of the year, is more than an hour into the night. The last stage from Süardsbro to Nyköping is two and one-half miles. We did not go to the post-house or tavern but to a private house where we were comfortable, but had to pay for the rooms and the eating separately.

On the 23d we breakfasted and left Nyköping at eight A. M. We had not proceeded more than one Swedish mile before both the irons which support the dicky on the springs broke short. We were detained an hour in arranging the dicky with lashings and by a stake passed under it and resting on its steps. In this way we passed the several stages, Jäder, Wreta, Krokek, Äby to Norrköping. From Nyköping to Jäder is one and three-fourths miles, from Jäder to Wreta one and one-eighth, from Wreta to Krokek one and one-fourth, from Krokek to Äby one and one-half and from Äby to Norrköping three-fourths. We found that we had all taken severe colds since leaving Stockholm and the child was quite ill. We decided to repair the iron work which had given way and immediately on arriving at Norrköping we sent for a smith who immediately proceeded in the business. We found good quarters at Norrköping in a private house and passed the night comfortably.

24. We were detained at Norrköping until half past two o'clock P. M. by the smith who could not complete his work until that time. We then resumed our journey and passing Brink to Kumla reached Linköping at six o'clock without accident. We had taken our two portmanteau trunks from the carriage and sent them on with an extra horse by the förbud. From Norrköping to Brink is one and one-fourth miles, and from Kumla to Linköping is one and five-eights. At Linköping we found at a private house very good quarters for the night.

25. Left Linköping at eight o'clock A. M., proceeded to Bankeberg one mile, thence to Mjölby one and seven-eights miles, thence to Dala three-fourths of a mile, and thence to Hested one and one-fourth miles without accident. On arriving at this last place we were surprised to find there our förbud who had been detained by the postmaster for three hours. The postmaster was gone to church, but William flogged the Holcar and denounced in the post-book, called the dag-bog, the misconduct of the master. We then proceeded to Säthälla two miles and after waiting there one and one-half hours for horses, we proceeded to Berga one and three-fourths miles, where we suffered a like detention when we went to Eksjö

one and three-fourths miles where we did not arrive until nine o'clock. We passed this night very indifferently at the post-house. Marcus, our förbud, did not get there until midnight.

26. We left Eksjö at eight o'clock and went on without accident one and one-half miles to Bränsmala, thence one and three-eights to Hvetlanda, thence two miles to Stockatorp, and thence one and one-half miles to Nybbeled. Soon after leaving this last place the horses in going down a hill left the road towards a house situated at the right below, and in spite of the driver and perhaps, at last, of themselves, ran against a fence which stretched from the house to the road, beat down a length of it, over which three of the horses passed, but the fourth having fallen, the driver exerting all his strength, the fore wheels of the carriage fortunately brought us up against the prostrated fence and saved us from being turned over which would have been inevitable had we gone ten feet farther. Luckily no other injury was done than the destruction of a length of fence, and by taking off the horses and running the carriage back by hand we were enabled to put it again in the right track and proceeded to Ashult which is one mile from Nybbeled. Here we found the förbud, who from the late hour at which he had arrived the night before at Eksjö, from the darkness and the hills, had been able to get no further. We waited at Ashult two hours for horses and thence proceeded one and one-half miles to Areda, where we were again detained more than two hours before we could obtain horses to go on to Wexiö which is one and one-half miles from Äreda. It was eleven o'clock before we arrived at Wexiö and had to remain in the street nearly an hour before we could find lodgings and then had to put up with very dirty apartments at the post-house. It was one o'clock in the morning before we could get anything to eat and retire to bed. The gatekeeper of the town had besides stopt (stopped) our baggage on entering the town and we were obliged to send the driver after it who, from his own account, rescued it by force.

27. As we had suffered so much the day before, and as the child appeared fatigued and ill, we resolved to pass this day at Wexiö and restore our forces. After breakfast, therefore, we sought more comfortable apartments and removed to the house of the Landhamered — the Herr Läng, where we found ourselves much at our ease. We despatched the förbud at three o'clock.

28. We breakfasted and left Wexiö at seven A. M. and proceeded to Nybled one and one-fourth miles, thence to Gotäsa one and one-half, thence to Dio two and one-fourth, thence to Elmhult one, thence to Marklunda, two, thence to Broby one and three-fourths, thence to Bjärlof one and one-half and thence to Christian-

stad one and one-eighth. We had left the province of Smoland and travelled this day in Scania. Christianstad is still a fortified town, although by no means so strong as formerly, as its strength has been materially impaired by the river Helge which formerly filled its trenches, having about twenty years since found another channel and left the trenches of Christianstad dry. At Christianstad we lived pretty comfortably at the house of a glove-maker.

29. Left Christianstad at nine o'clock. Went to Lyngsjö one and one-fourth miles, thence to Degeberga one, thence to Brösarp one and one-half, thence to Tranäs one and one-half, thence to Herrestad one and three-fourths, and thence to Ystad five-eighths. We arrived at this last town about sunset, and there, much to our satisfaction, terminated our travelling in Sweden.[1] We had found the roads generally very good from Stockholm and in better order than could have been expected from the lateness of the season. In passing through Sweden there are many fine natural landscapes, but very little cultivation to delight the traveller. Evergreens, rocks, hills and lakes are the only charms. From Linköping to Wexiö the country is very dreary. Besides the accidents already enumerated we left at Wexiö the footman's straps of our carriage, and at Christianstad a night-shirt, and Marcus our förbud had been pitched over once and twice turned over, and the last time nearly demolished his wagon. In short we had a most fatiguing and unpleasant journey. On arriving at Ystad the commandant immediately waited on us and informed us that in consequence of the orders which he had received there was a packet to take us to Stralsund whenever we might be disposed to proceed thither. He also gave directions at the inn where we stopt for our accommodation. He also delivered to me a letter from Count D'Engeström.

30. We sent our carriage and trunks on board the packet this morning and the commandant sent a person to pass them at the post-house and to attend to the weighing of the trunks which were found to weigh twenty-five stone and eleven stone, and for weighing which I paid thirty-two shillings banco. In the afternoon paid and discharged William, wrote Count D'Engeström, Professor Afzelius and D. Erskine & Co. The wind being ahead for Stralsund we would not embark.

31. The wind still ahead we remained at Ystad. The child hoarse with a cold and Mrs. R[ussell] much alarmed lest it might prove to be the croup, had two physicians, &c.

November 1. A gale during the night from W. S. W. which still

[1] It is possible to follow the route taken by Mr. Russell station by station on the *Generalstabens Karta öfver Svenge*, the road being plainly marked.

continues and will prevent our embarking to-day. The two physicians again called but the child is much better. A Mr. Ström, a trader here who speaks English, has been very attentive to us at the request of the commandant and rendered us many little services.

2. The wind still unfavorable but the weather more moderate.

It is necessary for every traveller in Sweden to furnish himself with a set of travelling harness fitted to the little horses of the country and as such harness is useless elsewhere it is well to dispose of it on leaving the country. In no country, however, is there so little hospitality, I will not say generosity or kindness, for strangers, as in Sweden.[1] Every foreigner is there considered a lawful object of plunder and he may more safely rely on the liberality of a deal or down wrecker in a storm on a lee shore than on the compassion or justice of a Swede. That piratical spirit which distinguished the Scandinavians in former times, appears still to animate their descendants. Hence even in relation to the most trifling transaction the stranger is sure to be robbed. These observations have been suggested by the treatment I experienced in attempting to dispose of my Swedish travelling harness for four horses. On arriving ten months since at Helsingborg I purchased it for fifty banco dollars. It has been only to Stockholm and thence to this place and is very little injured by use, yet I have not been able to get anything whatever for it here. I had another striking instance of this spirit at Stockholm. I had travelled thither in a French dormeuse completely furnished with two backs on the top, a trunk behind, a cave at the bottom, a net over head, &c., and which had been valued at five hundred dollars banco, yet when I offered it for sale the highest offer made for it was sixty-six dollars of this money. When I had to pay for a trunk only for my barouche sixty dollars.

3. We had entertained yesterday some hopes of a change of wind as the weather had considerably moderated but the wind rose again in the night and we found a strong gale this morning from the westward and a thick atmosphere. There is therefore no prospect of embarking to-day. About midnight we were awakened by a tremendous uproar in our inn which at first caused some alarm but we soon perceived that it was nothing more than the obstreperous conviviality of a supper party in the house. We learned this morning that we were indebted for this disturbance to a Mr. Känsled, a corn trader from Stockholm, who was repaying in this way, and at once, all the hospitality he had received successively from the good

[1] Compare the opinion of John Quincy Adams in 1783: "Sweden is the country in Europe which pleases me the most, that is, of those I have seen; because their manners resemble more those of my own country than any I have seen." *Writings of John Quincy Adams* (Ford), 1. 8.

people with whom he had transacted his affairs at Ystad. If noise and intemperance had a value in the estimation of these people, they must have not only acknowledged payment in full from Mr. Känsled but carried a balance to his credit in a new account.

The mode of travelling in Sweden is peculiar. There are post-houses indeed established throughout the country at certain distances from each other, varying from half a Swedish mile to two miles and a half, but there are no horses regularly at these houses, either on account of individuals, as in England, or on account of government, as in France and elsewhere. The peasants of the surrounding country are obliged to bring to the post-house every evening at six o'clock a certain number of horses proportioned to the ordinary demand for horses by travellers at each station. If these horses are more than are called for during the next twenty-four hours, for those unused the peasant receives nothing, and as he remains at the station with his horse the time of both is consequently lost. If all the horses regularly ordered for the station be insufficient for the travellers of the day, the post-master will generally order others for the special use of those who require them. I say generally, but the post-master at Farlun refused in August last to order any extra horses for my service and I was, on that account, obliged to prolong my residence at that place another day. So little dependence is placed by travellers on the horses ordinarily ordered by the post-master that they always, if they wish to get on without detention, send off a förbud or an avant-courier whose business it is to order horses at each station at the time assigned by his principal. For this purpose he is furnished with a förbud seddel, or avant-courier's bill, which answers for his pass and for an authority to the postmaster to furnish the number of horses at the time required.

The Swedish mile is about six and two-thirds English and the traveller in making up his förbudseddel, generally allows an hour and a quarter for each mile, including the time necessary for changing the horses. Sometimes the traveller sends on his own servant as förbud with his baggage, but frequently he trusts entirely to the peasant who always accompanies his own horse. I have tried both ways and I have found that the luggage is generally taken better care of by a servant and more diligence and speed secured than by a peasant. At every station the trunks are shifted from one cart to another and sometimes with violence by the peasants. To prevent this evil I now, in coming from Stockholm to Ystad, procured a wagon for the whole way and sent my servant, Marcus, as förbud. But although he travelled night and day and we in the daytime only, we overtook him several days before he had arrived at the last station.

Without a förbud the traveller may calculate on being detained at each station, on an average, two hours for horses.

The horses though very small and very quick are remarkably surefooted, and I do not remember having seen one of them stumble, much less fall, by a misstep. The rate of posting in Sweden is low, and of course the establishment oppressive to the peasantry. From ordinary stations in the country the price for each horse per mile is twelve shillings banco which, at the present exchange, is equal to twelve cents American currency. From Stockholm for each horse per mile is, say, thirty-two shillings banco, from one or two other towns twenty-four shillings banco, and from all other towns, called cities, sixteen shillings banco. The average for a horse per mile is therefore a little more than fourteen shillings banco or rather more than two and one-fourth cents for an English mile. In England, the dearest country in Europe for posting, the usual price is one shilling six pence sterling for two horses, and in 1812 I frequently paid two shillings to two shillings three pence, which is from seventeen to twenty-five cents a horse nearly; or from seven to eleven fold more than in Sweden. In Sweden, however, the traveller must find his own carriage and harness unless he would ride in a little cart of about two feet wide and five long. He must also have six horses, in Sweden, including his förbud with his luggage, where four in England, and perhaps two, would be sufficient, and he must pay about two cents per mile for the care of the förbud. Besides, two peasants, generally, mount behind the carriage to conduct back their horses, which is a great nuisance. Add to all this a driver who must be hired for the whole way at an extra expense. I paid for the one who drove me from Stockholm to this place twenty dollars banco exclusive of his living on the road.

The account then will stand thus — for

6 horses 62½ miles	110
cart	2½
extra waggon	5
harness for four horses	35½
driver and feeding	80
	233

Two hundred and thirty-three dollars banco for sixty-two and one-half Swedish miles for six horses is about thirty-one cents a horse for such a mile, or less than five cents per horse for an English mile, which, on an average, is only about a fourth of what a horse costs in England for the same distance, and would not be one-half, if every allowance be made for the difference of the number of horses

required in these countries respectively. It will be observed that the greatest part of the expense in travelling in Sweden is not for the benefit of the peasant who furnishes the horses. From a country station he goes, on an average, one and a half Swedish miles, with a horse, for eighteen cents and, whether in the night or not, it may be considered as a day lost for both. This establishment so injurious to agriculture, is persevered in for the accommodation of the aristocracy who generally spend the winter at the capital and the summer at their country seats, and have no other mode than the posting in question for the transportation of themselves and families.

Our detention at Ystad is the more unpleasant as it is a little dirty place, containing about two thousand inhabitants and not a single object, ancient or modern, worth the attention of the traveller. Besides, the inn, like most Swedish inns, is dirty and uncomfortable.

4. This morning is quite calm which inspires a hope that we may be able to embark this evening, for it is in the evening that the packets leave Ystad for Stralsund. The reason of this arrangement is the conveniency, after passing the open sea during the night, to be able to make the Island of Rügen, which is about twelve Swedish miles distant, early in the morning, and to have the whole day to run through the narrow and shoal waters which lie between that island and the main up to Stralsund. Paid this morning the two physicians of Ystad 5 dollars banco each. I passed last evening and this morning in reading a treatise of Abbé Raynal on the revolution of America and published while the war continued between the colonies and the mother country. I was equally surprised by his correct knowledge of the facts and principles on which that revolution was founded, and by his ignorance of its consequences. While he appeared fully to understand and to approve the conduct of the Americans, he had adopted so unfavorable an opinion of their soil, climate and resources as boldly to predict that their population could never exceed ten millions, and even to arrive at this number they would be obliged to consume all their produce, leaving nothing for exportation and limiting themselves to a frugal subsistence. How astonished would that good man now be could he now behold us in less than forty years from the time [he] wrote, individually and personally richer than most of the nations of Europe, and with a population already pressing hard on the limit which [he] assigned to us, and still augmenting in a ratio unparalleled in ancient and modern times, without exhausting or even keeping pace with our means of subsistence, as the surplus of our produce continually increases the amount of our exportation.

The boldness of the beggars at Ystad is beyond what I have

ever witnessed elsewhere. They are not contented with accosting a stranger in the street, besieging the door and waiting in the passage, but unceremoniously enter his apartments.

The captain of the packet came at five o'clock P. M. to announce his intention of sailing at six in the evening and we made our arrangements accordingly. At half past five he called again to tell us that the wind had drawn ahead and that he should not go.

5. We were again summoned on board at half past three P. M. and went accordingly, but the wind continuing unfair and blowing very fresh, the captain declined sailing. Wishing however, to avoid the trouble of moving back and forth from the inn to the vessel and from the vessel to the inn, we determined to remain on board.

6. We still continued on board this day and about four P. M. the captain having warped his vessel out, got under sail. The wind was still fresh and so unfair that we could not keep within two points of our course. The beginning of the night was very rough and we were all, including the infant, very seasick. A little after midnight, having got under the lea of Rügen and Pomerania, it became smoother and we slept more quietly.

7. Went on deck early and saw Rügen and the coast of Pomerania and Rügen, but these at a considerable distance, and the wind being still unfavorable we beat all day and was not fairly up with the north end of Rügen until sunset. The wind moderated very much and we quietly plied up the bay during the night, without making much progress.

8. Found ourselves in the morning passed the island of Rügen and in the shoal and narrow waters. It is only small vessels bound to or from Stralsund that navigate inside of the Island of Rügen in these waters. There was on board our packet a graduated pole for sounding, and in one place we passed, we found only six and one-fourth [feet] of water, while our vessel drew 6 feet, so there was only one-fourth of a foot to spare. Although there is no tide in the Baltic, the depth of water in firths and bays varies much and there are often considerable currents, all of which depend on the character and strength of the winds. In the passage of which I am now speaking there are sometimes ten and sometimes not four feet of water, and the current sometimes out and sometimes in. We found it against us. The captain landed at [a] point about seven English miles from Stralsund with the mail about nine o'clock, and we were all day plying with light airs of wind or warping in a calm towards Stralsund. We found the channel very crooked and sometimes very narrow, but marked with stakes in its whole course. At length we anchored close off the pier at Stralsund at nine o'clock in the evening.

9. To avoid the *désagrément* of going ashore in the night and

looking for an inn we had remained on board. We found the vessel fast to the pier this morning and we went on shore about eight o'clock. We stopt at the Hotel of the Golden Eagle. Mr. Lunblad, the Swedish agent for the port at Stralsund, to whom Count D'Engeström had given me a letter, we found to be absent; but his locum-tenens was very civil and rendered us all the services of which we stood in need. We spent the day in making our arrangements for getting on. We discharged our waiting-maid, Christiana, as we found her not only to be useless, being lazy and impertinent, but extravagant, forward with male society, and of equivocal integrity. We paid her in full up to the end of this month, and for her passport I gave her fifty dollars banco extra to take her back to Stockholm. There is much history belonging to Stralsund but little there now worth seeing. The town-house is a fine old Gothic building.

10. We breakfasted and left Stralsund at ten o'clock. We passed a poor country and very bad road to Loitz, a distance of five German miles. At Loitz we passed the night in rather an indifferent inn and very small rooms. Ida's birthday.

11. We breakfasted and left Loitz at seven thirty A. M., changed at Treptow at three thirty, a distance of [ ] and reached Neubrandenburg, Mecklenburg, at six o'clock, where we found a very good inn and passed the night. The roads were better this day than yesterday and the country better cultivated. We had travelled in all this day [ ] miles of German.

12. Left Neubrandenburg at seven thirty, after breakfast, changed at Strelitz at one thirty P. M., at Fürstenberg at four and reached Gransee at seven. It was a clear moonshine and very cold. We found a spacious inn at Gransee and everything in abundance but in a worse style. We had travelled this day [ ] German miles. The last stage they gave us six horses making us pay for five. We have been obliged to take five at Stralsund and to pay for that number the whole way. With the six horses we had two postilions and both required drink-money but I paid only *one*.

13. We breakfasted and left Gransee at seven thirty — changed at Oranienburg at one — four miles — saw here a large château turned into a manufactory — sandy road — changed at Sandberg at four o'clock, [ ] miles, reached Berlin at six o'clock and stopped at the Hotel de Russie under the Lindens. About the last mile of the road was turn-piked, but the country barren.

14. Called on my Bankers Frères Bonche; on the French Minister, Marquis de Bonnay;[1] on the Swedish Minister, Baron de

[1] François, Marquis de Bonnay (1750–1825).

Taube; on the Portuguese Minister, Baron Lobo;[1] on [the] Russian chargé d'affairs, Mons. Craftz.[2] The Marquis de Bonnay called in the evening with his lady. The remainder of the evening spent in reading.

15. Baron Taube sent his cards with ours to various persons. Called on Count Lobo, the Portuguese Minister, and was very cordially received. Calls from Baron Taube, [ ]. Spent the evening with Mrs. and Miss Russell at the Marquis of Bonnay's. Saw there the old Countess Gallitzin, who at the age of eighty-six retained her gaiety and made her party at Boston regularly every evening. She inquired particularly after J. Q. A. and said she had been well acquainted with him. Saw there also the ladies of the Austrian and Russian Ministers and Mr. Rose,[3] the English Minister, who was particularly polite.

16. (Monday). Went in the morning to Charlottenburg and saw there the superb mausoleum of the late queen[4] executed by Rauch,[5] who had formerly been her page. Dined at Count Lobo's and passed the evening at a ball at the English Minister's.

17. Went in the morning to visit the great palace built by the great Duke of Brandenburg[6] — the apartments quite magnificent, but the furniture rather decayed. Some fine pictures in the great gallery, in the centre of which in the most conspicuous exposition, is an equestrian picture of Bonaparte passing the Mount St. Gothard. Had to pay a Frederick d'or. We also saw a very curious clock which had been plundered at Paris.

18. Baron de Taube called on us this morning to accompany us to the manufactory of porcelain. The overseer attended us through all the different apartments and caused the various workmen to exhibit their skill, from the kneading the paste to the last polish of the gilding. Showed us also a superb service intended for the Duke of Wellington, descriptive of the various battles in which he had been distinguished. Dined with Mr. Rose, the English Minister, and then, as the Baron de Taube had presented us with tickets, we went to the opera. The music very good, the dancing very indifferent, the overture very fine. Music by Gluck — piece "Alceste."

19. At nine o'clock received a note from Sir William Ingilby saying that the Prince Marshall Blücher[7] would receive. We did

[1] Comte Lobo de Sylveira. [2] M. d'Alopéus was the Ambassador.
[3] Sir George Henry Rose (1771–1855). *Dict. Nat. Biography*, XLIX. 231.
[4] Louisa of Prussia (1776–1810).
[5] Christian Daniel Rauch (1777–1857).
[6] Frederick William (1620–1688).
[7] Gebhard Leberecht von Blücher (1742–1819).

not fail to go at the hour appointed. The old Marshall received us with great courtesy and took me by the hand, ordered the servant to bring a portrait of Washington which had been presented to him by Sheridan.[1] Presented to us his daughter-in-law, a very pretty woman, who took us into a large saloon, round which were hung the portraits of all the sisters of Napoleon,[2] painted by David and which the old Marshall had plundered at Paris. In learning that I came from Stockholm, he very frankly declared that he had not been satisfied with the conduct of Bernadotte, either at Leipsic or afterwards. Said the battle of Leipsic had been fought by his advice in opposition to that of Bernadotte, who was not for fighting. Dined with the Baron de Taube, with several foreign ministers, and the Prussian Ministers of Interior and Finance, and several distinguished Prussian Generals, among whom was Gneisenau,[3] the real hero of Prussia. Spent the evening at Lobo's with a very large party. Had a great deal of conversation with Rose, who spoke very unfavorably of the situation of Prussia. The spirit and the number of the advocates of revolution are increasing and becoming formidable to the existing order of things. These revolutionists distinguished themselves by wearing their hair straight, in imitation of the ancient Germans. They generally parade the streets with canes, sometimes with swords, and duels are frequent. The British government are urging claims on that of Prussia for seizures of English merchandise at Königsberg and elsewhere, under the continental system, but contrary, as it is said, to an understanding between the two governments. Mr. Rose mentioned the instance of a Jew who was agent of some of the British merchants, and pretended that the goods entrusted to him had been burned under that system, when it had been proved that this person had sent to the bonfire packages made up to resemble the real ones, but containing nothing of value, and had kept the true merchandise and converted it to his own use. Mr. Rose also mentioned a disgraceful speculation of the Swedish government. Prussia refused to pay for Pomerania except Sweden would pay that part of the Saxon debt which belonged to the Saxon territory ceded in 1814. Much negotiation took place and General Capps, the aid-de-camp of Bernadotte and a Jew named Dehn, finally agreed to pay fifty-five per cent of that debt instead of one-third. The publication of this agreement was

[1] Thomas Sheridan (1775–1817), son of Richard Brinsley Sheridan.

[2] Marie-Anne-Elisa Bonaparte (1777–1820), married Captain Félix Bacciochi; Marie-Pauline Bonaparte (1780–1825), married (1) General Leclerc and (2) Camillo Borghese; Caroline-Marie-Annonciade Bonaparte (1782–1839), married Joachim Murat.

[3] August Neidhardt, Comte de Gneisenau (1760–1831).

not to be made public for seven or eight days, in which period the Jew went into the market and purchased the whole debt at thirty per cent, and it is supposed on joint account of Bernadotte & Co. It seems also that this Jew and Bernadotte have been interested in another common concern and that the Countess of Pappenheim, the daughter of Prince Hardenberg,[1] has been the mistress of them both. Rose says that the population of all the Prussian domains does not exceed ten millions, the whole at present military.

20. Engaged in the morning in packing. Received a visit from Taube and Rose. The latter brought me a letter of introduction to the first Equerry of the King at Potsdam. At two o'clock P. M. we left Berlin. We were allowed to take four horses only. The distance from Berlin to Potsdam is four miles, the postage for the whole of which is paid at Berlin before the traveller departs, although he changes horses half way at Zehlendorf. We reached Potsdam at five thirty and stopt at the Hotel de Prussie, a very indifferent inn. We were followed from the gate of the city by a soldier who was joined at the inn by a custom-house officer. The latter objected to our taking our luggage into the house before he had examined it. To this I did not submit, and as he could speak neither French or English, nor I German, a very amusing scene took place between us, which was only terminated by the arrival of a valet de place, who, having explained who I was, the man of the customs appeared satisfied that I was not a smuggler and tranquilly retired.

21. I delivered this morning my letter from Mr. Rose to the first Equerry, or rather I left it with his servant as he was not at home. About ten o'clock we went in a *voiture de remise* to Sans Souci and visited first the gallery of paintings which, although not very large, contains a very choice collection. The head of Christ painted on gold, by Raphael, is unequalled. We next visited the old palace of Sans Souci. In passing to which, from the gallery, we saw the tombs where thirteen of the dogs of the great Frederick were interred by him. The old palace of Sans Souci is not large, but as it was the favorite residence of the great Frederick during the summer, it is very interesting, particularly as the same furniture remains unchanged and they show the tables on which he wrote, still stained with his ink. The room which Voltaire occupied also remains as he left it. The view from the front of the palace is very delightful. We next went to the new palace of Sans Souci. It is a very spacious building and has very handsome out-houses for the domestics, on the opposite side of the court. The chief material of all is brick. We contented ourselves with an outside view of this

[1] Karl August von Hardenberg (1750–1822).

palace; as the least sight of the interior would have cost us three or four Prussian dollars or two or three Spanish dollars. The exactions from strangers in this country for the exhibitions of its works of art are exorbitant and inhospitable. We returned to Potsdam and went to the church to see the tomb of the great Frederick. It is very simple and the coffin which contains his remains is plain and of bronze. It is placed by the side of a marble coffin which encloses the mortal part of his father. From the palace we went to the palace of Potsdam. There has been no change of the furniture of the apartments which the great Frederick occupied. The table on which he signed his orders after dinner is still covered with the dripping of the wax candles, and the satin covering of a sofa still retains the impression of the greasy plates in which he fed his dogs. It was evident from all we saw that he must have been a great sloven as well as a great man. There was a small room in which he dined with his confidants, and in order to exclude the servants he had a table contrived so as to dispense with their attendance. This table was round and an interior circle of it lowered to the apartment below by machinery, on which was sent away the dirty dishes and on which was raised whatever might be wanting to replace them. The outward periphery of the table of about a foot wide, on the top, remained stationary. In the evening the first Equerry, for whom I had left the letter in the morning, made us a visit. We found him very affable and entertaining. He remembered well the great Frederick, said that he had often seen him review his troops and that there was something so commanding in his regard that whenever he turned his eye the populace shrunk back with awe and left the space clear. He appeared to regret the change which had taken place during the last twenty years in the manners of the inhabitants of Berlin. He said that the wealth of the capital had, during that period passed from the nobility to Jews and merchants, and that, excepting among the foreign ministers, there was little society and no hospitality at Berlin. The ladies had become more severe in their manners, but infinitely less amiable. Indeed Rose has told me that twenty years since, in a society of thirty ladies, it would have been difficult to have found one that had not some intrigue to boast of, and that now it was as difficult among the same number to find a gallant woman.

22. Left Potsdam, after breakfast, at half past seven. Changed horses at Beelitz, two and three-fourths miles, at ten fifteen, at Treuenbrietzen, two and one-fourth miles at one thirty. Here the chaussée ended. And reached Jüterbog at four o'clock, being two miles bad road. The inn we stopt at was clean and cheap but very indifferent.

23. Left Jüterbog at seven thirty. Changed horses at Annaburg, three and one-half miles, at one o'clock, and reached Cossdorf at seven thirty, likewise three and one-half miles. The last two hours were very dark and the road most infamous. Indeed, a German traveller has observed that the roads, which we had passed this day, had not been repaired since the creation of the world. They are certainly the mere trails which the carriages have ploughed through the sands, one trail being left where the sand had become too deep, for another, and we often turned, at some hazard, from them all to seek through the adjacent fields a firmer soil. The inn at Cossdorf was the post-house and a wretched inn it was. There was no covering to the beds but beds, and no meat of any kind. We supped as well as we could on coffee, bread, butter and an omelette.

24. Left Cossdorf at seven fifteen after having breakfasted on bread, butter and coffee, for we could not this morning procure even an omelette. The road continued very bad until we reached Grossenhain, a distance of three German miles. After being detained an hour for horses, we left Grossenhain at one o'clock and reached Dresden, four miles turnpiked, at five o'clock [P. M.] At Dresden we stopt at the Hotel de Vienna, where we found comfortable apartments and a good supper. After we had left Cossdorf, this morning about three hours, Amelia found that her three rings were not on her finger. She had taken them off to wash her hands and had left them at the inn! Found at the Hotel de Vienna Mr. Prandell, a Russian Colonel whom I had known at Paris, and who was so delighted to hear I was under the same roof with him that he made me leave my bed to give him an interview.

25. Procured a *voiture de remise* and went about eleven o'clock to deliver my letters to the Baron de Bildt, the Swedish envoy; Latour-Maubourg [1] and the Marquis de Pombal,[2] the French and Austrian Ministers, and to my bankers Messrs. Bessenge & Co. Was very politely received by them all. Found, however, the Swedish envoy in his bed with the gout in his stomach and quite unable to render me any service; he insisted, however, in making me known to a celebrated Savan, Mr. Böttiger. [3] In the evening I went with the ladies to the opera to see L'engano felice, in Italian.

[1] Just-Pons-Florimond de Fay, Marquis de Latour-Maubourg (1781–1837), grandson of the Marquis de Lafayette.

[2] The *Almanach de Gotha*, 1818, gives Comte de Dillon as the French ambassador and Comte de Bombelles as the Austrian minister at the court of Saxony. It was Louis-Philippe, Comte de Bombelles (1780–1843).

[3] Karl August Böttiger (1760–1835), inspector of the Museum of Antiquities.

The whole royal family of Saxony were present.[1] We found the music good, the acting and singing very indifferent. A boy, apparently not more than thirteen years old, performed remarkably well on the French horn.

26. This morning we went to see the Royal Gallery of pictures, said to contain twelve thousand. It is very rich in works of great masters, particularly early Italian. The "Night" of Correggio, the "Ascension" of Raphael, and a "Venus" by Titian, held conspicuous places. There were many by Raphael Mengs, the great Saxon painter. After our return we had a call from the French and Austrian Ministers. We spent the evening at the house of the former. We met there the Prussian Minister[2] and the English Minister Morier,[3] his wife and brother,[4] who is an officer in the navy; also the celebrated Frederick North, now Lord Guilford.[5]

27. Went this morning to see the Royal treasure, or Das Grüne Gewölbe. We met at the door Lord Guilford, who had just seen it. We found in the treasure, which had been collected by the old electors, chiefly by Augustus the First and Second,[6] many rich and rare curiosities in ivory, marble, mosaic, silver, brass, bronze, gold, precious stones and pearls. In some of the last of uncommon size there were many whimsical figures. There was an immense onyx, said to be the largest ever found, a brilliant of the weight of one hundred and twenty-three grains and a diamond of great lustre but of a bluish colour, of one hundred and sixty grains and which is unique of its kind. There was also a present of very curious workmanship from the Grand Mogul.

Mr. Böttiger had called on us this morning and made an arrangement to receive us at noon at the Japanese palace, but leaving the Royal treasure we found our coachman so drunk that we were obliged to proceed on foot and arrived too late. We then spent the rest of the morning in shopping. We passed the evening at Latour-Maubourg's and found his lady handsome and agreeable. Latour is a true constitutionalist. Saw also an interesting Frenchman, the Count de S[olano].[7]

28. We visited this morning the Japanese palace. We first saw

[1] Frederick Augustus III (1750–1827) was the king of Saxony.

[2] Baron d'Oelsen.

[3] John Philip Morier (1776–1853). He married Horatia Maria Frances, eldest daughter of Lord Hugh Seymour.

[4] William Morier (1790–1864).

[5] Frederick North, fifth Earl of Guilford (1766–1827).

[6] (1670–1733) and (1696–1763), known as Augustus II and III, kings of the Poles.

[7] This may have been the Portuguese physician and diplomat, Francisco-Constancio Solano (1777–1846).

the rooms, eighteen in number, containing the collection of porcelain, the greatest from China and Japan, fanciful specimens of the Saxon porcelain from the manufacture of Meissen,[1] about five English miles from Dresden, vases, dinner and breakfast services, statues, birds, beasts, etc., all the known antiques in biscuit. The next room we saw was the Salon de Plumes, the hangings and the covering of the State bed of Augustus the Second, being beautifully wrought with feathers. We next went into the halls containing the statues, which are very spacious. The statues generally had been very much mutilated and clumsily repaired by modern artists. There were, however, three choice statues, nearly entire. They were the first that were found on sinking a well at Herculaneum, afterwards purchased by the famous Prince Eugène, and for some time decorated the halls of his palace at Vienna and thence found their way to Dresden. The Royal Library is in the Japanese palace, and contains more than 300,000 volumes and 3,000 manuscripts. After leaving the Japanese palace I took a walk on the Prater and enjoyed the fine view of the environs of Dresden. At four o'clock we all went to dine with the Austrian Minister; met there Count Molière, etc. At half past six we returned to our inn and soon after had a visit from the celebrated Savan Böttiger. He stayed with us about an hour and a half and was very amusing. He told us of the publication at Leipsic, called "America painted by herself," [2] and which is made up of impartial extracts from the newspapers, pamphlets, etc., of the United States, and has an extensive influence on the opinion of Germany. It is evident that the Saxons regret the downfall of Bonaparte not only on account of their consequent loss of territory, but even for the termination of the continental system which was very favorable to their manufactures, which now are very much injured by those of Great Britain. There is an increasing and already a very general dislike of the English in Germany, particularly in Saxony. Mr. B[öttiger] said the eyes of all were turned to the United States as the only power which could one day counteract the commercial policy of that monopolizing people. He expressed an unqualified wish for the emancipation of South America, and assured me that this sentiment was very general in Germany. He hoped that the United States might aid in the accomplishment of that great work. When I intimated that our wishes had the same direction but that we fear a direct interference on our part might not only draw on us the hostilities of Spain, but

[1] The manufacture of porcelain at Meissen was due to the discovery by Johann Friedrich Böttger.

[2] *Amerika dargestellt durch sich selbst, eine Zeitschrift herausgegeben von Georg Joachim Göschen.* Leipzig, 1818–1820.

what we more dreaded, the enmity of the great continental powers of Europe, particularly Russia, he scouted the idea. He declared that Russia was now friendly to the Spanish colonies and would willingly see them liberated. That the late change of ministry in Spain was effected by the influence of England and against the intents of Russia, which Pizarro was known particularly to favor. That it was the Emperor Alexander, who, at the late Congress of Vienna, prevented the interference of the other monarchs in favor of Spain, and that Spain was in consequence very angry. Russia he said was taking the place of Napoleon, and her great object to set limits to the power of England. In fact he confirmed us in the opinion that the English are not in favor here. The Saxons lost, by the Congress of Vienna, three-fifths of their territory, and what renders the loss more sensible the part which remains has not salt and wood sufficient for the consumption of its inhabitants, and there is even a scarcity of bread-stuffs. The King submits with patience to his disgrace, but the old Queen [1] is very indignant and will not even speak to the Prussian Minister accredited to the Court.

29. We went this morning to the Roman Catholic Church and saw the Royal family during the service. To have a better view of them we waited their return to the palace, in the corridor. The King and the Queen had the curiosity after passing us to turn twice to look at us. We returned to our inn and warmed ourselves. We then took a ride to the seat of the late Lord Findlater. It is a beautiful place on the north side of the Elbe, and the bank that slopes from the house to the river is covered with vineyards. From the top of the bank we had a fine view of the whole valley in which Dresden is situated, and the surrounding hills. Higher up the river we saw the palace of Pillnitz, at which the famous treaty of that name is said to have been negotiated.[2] Across the river the spot was pointed out where Moreau[3] fell. There can be nothing more delightful than the environs of Dresden. We spent the evening until eleven o'clock at a ball given by the Prussian Minister at his hotel.

30. We rose early and prepared for our departure. At about half past seven the Russian Prince Constantine [4] alighted at our hotel. His appearance did justice to all we had heard of him. After

[1] Maria Amelia, daughter of Duke Frederick of Zweibrücken.

[2] 1791, between the Emperor Leopold II and Frederick William II, King of Prussia, being the first coalition against France.

[3] Jean Victor Marie Moreau (1763–1813).

[4] Pavlowitch Constantin (1779–1831), m. Anne Féodorowne, daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Saalfeld-Cobourg, but divorced her and took for a second wife Jeanne Grudzinska, a Pole.

having breakfast we took leave of Dresden at ten o'clock. The road to Tetschen, the first station, runs along the left bank of the Elbe and in summer must be very pleasant. We found it now very muddy and much cut up, and although chaussée we were three hours in making two miles. From Tetschen to Peterswald,[1] the next station, is also two miles and the road very bad and had no appearance of being turnpiked. About half a mile before we arrived at the post-house we passed the frontier of Bohemia, but were stopt only a few minutes at the barrier and our baggage was not searched. The officer contented himself with endorsing our passport. On arriving at the post-house we went in and sought for apartments, but the first door we opened communicated with a stable where the cattle were enjoying their supper. We then turned and mounted a staircase on the top of which we encountered a maid servant who conducted us to a small cold room without fire or any stove or chimney to make one. The servant said it was the only room that remained unoccupied. I remonstrated and requested to see the master of the house and was shown into a comfortable apartment where the postmaster was enjoying his game of cards. He appeared to be annoyed by the interruption and demanded roughly what I wanted. I replied I wished him to have the goodness, as he understood French, to explain for me. He then demanded what there was to explain. I remarked that the night was very cold and they had shown us into a room which could not be warmed. He answered that it was the only room we could have and we must take it or none. I then addressed his compassion by stating that we were Americans and of course from a great distance, that I had with me women and an infant and that it was impossible to pass the night in the room which had been shown to us. At this moment Mrs. Russell with the child in her arms made her appearance. At this speech and this spectacle the mighty man appeared to lose some of his rigidity and exclaimed in softer tones: "There are women and children and something must be done." He immediately went out and after a few minutes returned and informed us that another room, where there was a fire, was at our disposition. We repaired to it and finding there only two beds stated the necessity of a third for Amelia. He then very politely offered his own office where there was a bed and a fire, and we passed the night very comfortably. It was five o'clock and already dark before we reached this place and had made only four miles during the day.

December 1. We found ourselves this morning to be on very

[1] The present Königswalde.

high ground. The air was very keen and the fog froze as it came in contact with any object and covered it with hoar-frost. We breakfasted and left Peterswald at seven thirty. We still ascended for more than half an hour, when, having attained the height of land, we began to descend and at length reached the valley at Unterabesau where we changed horses at half past ten o'clock. Close by the post-house is a monument erected to commemorate a victory gained by the Prussians over the French in 1813. The fog as we descended had become less dense and the weather less cold. We reached Teplitz at half past twelve. This place is very celebrated for its baths and is crowded during the proper season with those who have faith in the virtues of its waters. We changed horses at Teplitz and reached Mireschowitz at half past three where we also changed horses and proceeded to Laun which we reached at five and stopt for the night. We found there tolerable quarters and reasonable charges. We had made this day eight German miles and found the road better than yesterday, although the frost had made the chaussée rough.

2. We breakfasted and left Laun at half past seven. We changed at Tainitzl [1] at ten, at Schlan at twelve thirty, at Strzedokluk at two thirty and reached Prague at four. Prague, so celebrated, we found to be still a strongly fortified city and is divided into the upper and lower towns and the postilion locked our wheels in descending from the former to the latter. The inn where we stopt, though spacious, was dirty and it was with difficulty that we could obtain two bed-chambers or two sheets to a bed. We had to pay, however, about fifty per cent more than the two preceding nights. We had performed this day eight German miles.

3. Having first breakfasted as usual, we left Prague at half past seven; changed horses at Bechowitz at nine thirty; at Böhmisch-Brod, where the Baron de Grimm located his prophet, at eleven thirty; at Planian at two; at Kolin at four, and reached Czaslau at six. Between Planian and Kolin is the ground where a famous battle was fought during the Seven Years' War and where Frederick commanded in person.

4. As usual breakfasted and left Czaslau at half past seven; had not proceeded more than fifty rods before we found our trunks behind to be loose and on examination discovered that one of the straps that bound them had been stolen at Czaslau. We secured the trunks as well as we could with a rope and changed horses at Jenikau at nine thirty, at Steinsdorf at eleven thirty, at Deutschbrod at one thirty, at Stöcken at three thirty and reached Iglau at

[1] Jungfrau Teinitz?

five thirty. Found here a tolerable inn. Was sorry to learn that Marcus, who had lost one of his listed boots, between Peterswald and Unterabesau, had this day frozen his feet.

5. We had risen at six o'clock this morning, had breakfasted and were as usual ready to depart at half past seven, when Marcus came to inform us that the spring which had been mended in Sweden and at Berlin had again broken. We sent for a smith and were detained until half past ten. We then set off; changed at Stannern at twelve thirty, at Schelletau at three thirty, at Budwitz at five fourteen. Here I lent Marcus my listed boots. Changed at Freynersdorf at seven and reached Znaim at eight forty-five. We found a spacious, but miserably cold inn and it was with great difficulty that we obtained two sleeping rooms and two sheets for our beds and we were obliged to take up with checked sheets, in part, instead of white ones, and after all we were by no means satisfied that they were clean. Since leaving Stralsund we had no where found blankets and coverlids but generally a feather bed for covering, but often obtain in lieu of it a deckan, which is a quilt with down or feathers. At Znaim, however, and a few other places, we were obliged to lie between two feather beds and the upper one was so narrow that in drawing up the legs, the knees, or the back, found the way out. Since leaving Dresden we had found all the stages to be regularly two miles. We had, of course, made this day ten miles.

6. We found our bill this morning, notwithstanding our wretched fare and accommodations, to be more than double of what we had before paid, even after obtaining, on strong remonstrance, a diminution of six florins. We set off at seven thirty, changed at Jetzelsdorf at ten and reached Hollabrunn at twelve thirty. We here discovered that one of our springs behind had cracked and we were detained an hour to have an iron band put over it. The roads on account of the frost were very rough, particularly where we were obliged to turn out of the worn trail which was often for waggons and carriages. We left Hollabrunn at one thirty and reached Mallebern at three-thirty, where we were obliged again to employ a smith to replace a screw which had broken in one of the fore-springs. We reached Stockerau however at five o'clock, where having given a bill of ten florins to be changed, the postmaster who changed it declared that it was only five and gave us no more, although Amelia and myself had clearly seen before I sent it in that it was ten. The postmaster was therefore necessarily a rogue. We passed the Danube at about half past six and reached the barrier of Vienna at about seven. We had this day travelled twelve German miles and one-fourth, as the stage between Znaim and

Jetzelsdorf was two and one-fourth miles, all the other stages two miles each. At the barrier we were stopt by the officers of police and customs, and after we had explained who we were and had been treated with "Excellency" most prodigally and had been told that out of respect our trunks would not be searched; yet after a detention of half an hour and paying everything which had been demanded of us, we found a soldier placed on the carriage behind. I still thought we were proceeding under his escort to the inn we had mentioned and was only undeceived on entering through a guarded gate a large court-yard and being told, when I demanded if it was the inn, that we were at the custom-house to be searched. An under-officer soon made his appearance with four ill-looking assistants furnished with all the implements necessary to pierce packages, loosen knots, &c., and they immediately began their barbarous work in a most rude and inhospitable manner. We took off the trunks behind and a small band-box swung under the dicky. We opened the carriage and took out a little trunk containing my papers and money. They commanded the ladies to get out that they might examine the box under the back seat. This the ladies refused to do and the chief of the gang clinched his fist and shook it at them and obliged them to remove to the front seat when he took out the box in question which he placed on the ground in the open air with the trunks and bandbox already mentioned and then caused the whole to be opened. As it was severely cold and began to snow I requested at least that out of courtesy to an American Minister he would permit the search to be made in the custom-house. This was roughly refused and I was told that ministers or princes made no difference and that he was greater than them all as he represented the Kaiser. After being detained in this uncomfortable situation nearly two hours and treated with a rudeness and insensibility that I had never experienced elsewhere, we were finally dismissed and proceeded to our inn, the Crown of Hungary, where we arrived a little before eleven o'clock, nearly four hours after we had arrived at the barrier. We found the apartments wretched and drear, but it was too late to look for others.

7. After breakfast I went to deliver my letters to Guymuller & Co., the Chevalier Capellini and the Swedish Minister,[1] all of whom I found at home. I then called on Count Voyna [2] whom I also saw. At Guymullers I met with John Parish, now Baron Parish, who recognized me. He sent his card in the evening, and Voyna, and my old acquaintance Weiss, and the Swedish Minister called on us.

8. Went this morning in search of lodgings without success.

[1] Comte de Löwenhielm. [2] Edward Voyna.

Called at Guymullers and found that they had done nothing for me in this respect and from the coldness of their manner it was easy to perceive that they would do nothing. On my return home I found Voyna and Weiss. I found this day lost having made no arrangement whatever.

9. Spent the morning in writing. At eleven o'clock went again in search of lodgings but had to return home without finding any. Amelia accompanied Madam Guymuller in the evening to the theatre to see the children perform, and Mr. Guymuller and Weiss called to us.

10. Went to look at several apartments but found none that would suit us which could be obtained for a less term than six months. Took however, this day a carriage, with four places, for a month and agreed to pay for it three hundred sixty paper florins, coachman and two horses included. The person who furnished the carriage has a very extensive establishment which consists of nine hundred to a thousand horses, and carriages in proportion. Count Voyna and Weiss called again this day.

11. Had a call this morning from the Chevalier Capellini. This day came very near to obtaining apartments but the proprietor had that morning received earnest money from another and could not get rid of his contract, although he professed himself willing so to do for an additional hundred florins. Dined with Mrs. Russell and Amelia with John Parish, whom I had known at his father's in Bath in 1812.[1] Since that time he appears to have married against the wishes of his family, and to save himself and his wife from mortification he has purchased an estate in Bohemia where he resides during the summer. This estate is called Senftenberg with the title of baron annexed, so that my old acquaintance John Parish is now Baron Parish de Senftenberg, and lest there should be any ignorance or mistake concerning his real dignity, he writes on all his visiting cards, at full length, "Baron Parish de Senftenberg." The party at dinner was small but the dinner very good, and the apartments richly furnished. I handed Madam la Baroness in to dinner and of course seated myself by her. I found her, during the dinner, in the conversation which I intentionally introduced, to be full of her title and property. She told me that the estate of the Baron in Bohemia was a little world of itself, and that there were fifteen thousand peasants attached to it who considered the Baron as their lord and master. When I suggested my former acquaintance with the father of Mr. Parish at Bath and that I had met at

[1] An interesting outline of the life of John Parish, Sr. (1742–1829) is in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XXV. 172.

his house some of the English nobility, she exclaimed: "No wonder, we see none but the first nobility here." Upon the whole, though sufficiently good-natured, she appeared to be rather a vulgar woman without beauty to redeem her. After dinner they very civilly gave us the key to a box at the Hof-theatre, where we saw "Jean de Paris" very indifferently performed. This day Charles entered my service.

12. This day we at length succeeded in finding apartments. They were situated in the Rothe Thurm Gasse No. 516, consisting of a suite of seven or eight rooms. We were obliged to pay for them for one month, nine hundred paper florins which we considered very dear. We removed to our new apartments in the evening.

13. Called with Weiss, at noon, on my old friend Navarro,[1] who received me very cordially. At two o'clock Mr. Parish called to accompany me by appointment to see Count Stadion.[2] We found the Count very amiable and he spoke English very intelligibly. He is Minister of Finance. I dined this day at three o'clock with Mrs. Russell and Amelia at our banker Guymuller. There was a large party at the table and the dinner was rather distinguished by its cost than by its elegance. I handed in Mrs. Guymuller, and there was much hesitation and confusion among the rest of the company in finding their places. After dinner played one game of billiards and went with Weiss, who was waiting for us, to make a visit to Baron Arnstein, another rich banker. His daughter, the Baroness Penara, received us very politely and appeared to be a very accomplished woman.

14. Navarro and Weiss called on us this morning, after which I called on the Swedish Minister and then spent the rest of the day in writing.

15. I went this morning to call on the Prussian Minister the General Krusemarck[3] whom I had known at Paris in 1811. He appeared pleased to see me, and while there the Chevalier Floret, who had been at the same epoch, Chancellier of the Austrian Embassy, came in and recognized me immediately. A Mr. Barry, an Irish gentleman whom I had met at Arnstein's, called on me this morning and tendered his services in any way in which he could be useful.

16. This morning two Americans called on us, a Mr. Watts of New York and a Mr. Frick of Baltimore. The former is engaged in collecting the best edition of the classics for publication in Amer-

[1] Chevalier Navarro d'Andrada, chargé d'affaires of Portugal.
[2] Jean Philippe Charles Joseph, Comte de Stadion (1763–1824).
[3] Friedrich Wilhelm Ludwig von Krusemarck (1767–1822).

ica. He says he keeps a journal of all he does and sees which he intends one day to give to the public. Mr. Frick is pursuing his studies in medicine, and visits Vienna chiefly to acquire a knowledge of the diseases of the eye which are said to be better understood here than elsewhere. At twelve we took a ride in the Prater, or park, which is much frequented in the fine season and must then be delightful. The Swedish Minister accompanied me in the evening at half past nine o'clock to the house of Prince Metternich [1] and introduced me to the Prince and Princess. I had met the Prince, in 1810, at the Duke of Cadore's [2] at Paris, and I now found that eight years had made him somewhat older. He is still, however, a handsome man, and extremely engaging in his manner. The Princess is not handsome and is cold and repulsive in her deportment.

17. This day there was a great military parade at the Prater for the amusement of the Emperor Alexander.[3] We repaired to the ground at eleven o'clock. About twelve the two Emperors made their appearance and passed quite close to us in proceeding to the field. They spent about two hours in reviewing the different corps. They then returned by the way they had before passed, and stopt at a little distance from us to see the troops defile. All the troops were in their best uniform, and the princes headed their own regiments in person, such as the Prince Charles, Duke of Saxony, Colorada-Liechtenstein,[4] etc. The regiment of the Emperor Alexander, consisting of Hungarians, marched in front, and as soon as the front ranks reached the spot where we were placed, the Emperor Alexander came and placed himself at their head and drew his sword, and so passed the Emperor of Austria.[5] We were very fortunate in being well placed, which was very much owing to the Countess of Esterhazy [6] who, perceiving we were strangers, told us to remain where we were, as the Prince Schwartzenberg [7] had told her it was the best place for seeing the review. There were about thirty thousand troops of all arms and the spectacle was magnificent. Weiss went home and dined with us, and then we went to a small theatre in the faubourg in our vicinity.

18. We this morning repaired early to a place about three Eng-

[1] Clemens Wenzel Lothar Metternich-Winneburg (1773–1859). He married, in 1795, the Countess Eleonore von Kaunitz, grand-daughter of the Austrian chancellor of the name.

[2] Jean-Baptiste Champagny, Duc de Cadore (1756–1834).

[3] Alexander I (1777–1825), Tsar of Russia. It was in 1818 that he became reactionary in politics.

[4] Colloredo?

[5] Francis II (1768–1835), the last Roman Emperor.

[6] Wife of Prince Nicholas Esterházy.

[7] Karl Philipp Schwarzenberg (1771–1820).

lish miles from Vienna which had been destined for military manœuvres for the amusement likewise of Alexander. There was a bridge of boats thrown across the small branch of the Danube at the end of the Prater and we placed ourselves on the opposite side. The Emperors, who had breakfasted together in the Prater, passed the bridge at twelve o'clock in their carriages from which they descended and mounted on horseback close to where we were. We could not have desired to have a better view of them. We immediately followed the carriages of the Queen to another part of the field where, on an artificial elevation, seats had been prepared for her and her suite. There were no troops on the ground to-day excepting cavalry and artillery and in all about ten thousand men. They all manœuvred with an imaginary enemy and there were several fine charges by the horse. It ended about two o'clock and without accident, which was the more fortunate as the ground was frozen and slippery. After this parade I dressed and went to dine with Prince Metternich. I found it to be a great ministerial dinner at which all the great officers of State and the members of the diplomatic corps assisted. I was presented to most of them. Among others to the Nuncio of the Pope,[1] who was very affable, and to Lord Stuart,[2] who was very puppyish. At the table I was seated next Count Stadion, the Minister of Finance, with whom I had much interesting conversation. Saw also Sir Thos. Lawrence.[3]

19. Spent the morning in shopping and in receiving several calls, among [them] General Krusemarck, the Prussian Minister.

20. We spent the morning in taking a ride to the Danube and viewing the seat of the war in 1809, the fields of Essling and Wagram and the Island of Lobau. We then dined with Arnstein the banker. After dinner called on Madam Eschelas and then assisted at an Imperial Banquet given by the Emperor of Austria to the Emperor Alexander. This spectacle continued until eleven o'clock.

21. Our countryman, Mr. Watts, called on us this morning by agreement, and conducted us to the great Imperial Library and to the private library of the Emperor. We found the librarians of both very obliging. The librarian of the public library showed us many curious books and manuscripts, and gave us a fac-simile of a Roman Senatus Consultum found at Pompeii and of a Chinese manuscript. After viewing the libraries we went to the Church of the Capuchins and saw the celebrated monument, by Canova, of

[1] M. Leardi, bishop of Ephesus.

[2] Charles William, Baron Stewart, and later third Marquis of Londonderry (1778–1854). It is said his insolent manners led to the coachmen of Vienna assaulting him. Rumbold, *The Austrian Court in the Nineteenth Century*, 93.

[3] Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830).

the Princess of Saxony. We then went to the Convent of the Capuchins and saw the Imperial Tombs. Mrs. Russell asked the monk who attended us to show us the cells of the brotherhood, but the good man declined this indulgence stating that the cells were forbidden to women. I then called on Lord Guilford and Navarro. Our friend Major Weiss dined with us and we went together to the Hof-theatre in the evening.

22. Visited this morning the gallery of pictures of the Prince Liechtenstein, saw many admirable pieces of the various schools by the first masters. I afterwards made several calls.

23. Spent this morning in visiting the palace of Schoenbrunn, the summer residence of the son of Napoleon Bonaparte.

24. Went this morning to the Belvedere, the ancient palace of Prince Eugene. The gallery of painting being shut we saw a fine mosaic by Raffaelli,[1] of the "Last Supper" painted, in fresco, by Leonardo da Vinci. We also saw the halls containing ancient armour and many other curious objects.

25. Not very well this day and remained at home. Received a call from the Chevalier Capellini — very busily engaged in copying my dispatch for Count D'Engeström.

26. Went by appointment this morning with Major Weiss to see the paintings of Count Lamberg.[2] The collection was a very choice one and what added to the pleasure of examining was, that the Count had caused the rooms to be warmed, attended in person, and made his servants bring the pictures in succession and exhibit them in a good light. There were several of Murillo which we saw. There were also of Raphael, Titian, Guido, Leonardo da Vinci, Rubens, Rembrandt, &c. We spent the evening at home and had a call from the Baroness Parish de Senftenberg and her niece.

27. Weiss dined with us, and in the evening we went to the theatre and saw the children's ballet. This exhibition is peculiar to Vienna. One or two hundred children are taken at a very early age and taught to dance, sing, act, and all the accomplishments of the theatre, and it is to be feared also all its vices. Excellent performers of different kinds are no doubt produced in this way, but all morals must be early depraved. The virtues are merely acted; the vices are to the life. We were surprised to see boys and girls from ten to fourteen years of age dance and play with grace, energy, and taste, and catch with great precision the characters which they respectively represented.

28. This day at twelve o'clock the Swedish Minister called on

[1] Giacomo Raffaelli (1770–).
[2] Franz Philipp, Comte de Lamberg (1791–1848).

me and accompanied me to the palace where agreeably to a previous arrangement he presented me to Francis the First, Emperor of Austria. He received me very graciously; inquired whence I came and being answered "from Stockholm," he asked how the King was. He inquired if I intended to stay long at Vienna and when I replied "not long," he very civilly expressed a wish that I would stay out the carnival. He is a man below the average stature, slightly built and although not yet old bears the marks of time and care. Upon the whole I found him to be in appearance a very indifferent person, and I believe his character corresponds with his appearance. His will, however, is the law for about thirty millions of people.

29. Again unwell and spent the day at home in writing. Received a call from Navarro, Weiss and Palmstjerne.

30. Put my dispatch for Sweden in the post for Hamburg this morning. In the evening went again to see the children's ballet.

31. Called at noon with Baron Palmstjerne on the Baron Munchausen [1] the Minister of Hesse Cassel, and in the evening went with Mrs. R[ussell] and A[melia] to a ball which he gave. Passed a pleasant evening. All the corps diplomatic were there and Prince Metternich, Prince Rosomoskey and many other Austrian and foreign nobility. Returned home about midnight. Prince Metternich procured a presentation to Mrs. Russell and held a long conversation with her.

1 January, 1819. Received several calls this morning. Dined with Mrs. R[ussell] and Amelia at Baron Parish de Senftenberg's. Met there Lord Guilford, Mr. Ponsonby with his wife, Lady Barbary, etc. After dinner went habillé to Prince Metternich's where there was a vast crowd of fashionable people in full dress. We then went to the Hof-theatre and saw the celebrated opera of the "Charmed Flute" — by Mozart.

2. Went this morning and took a bath, found the baths to be clean, well arranged and well served. At three went to the Portuguese Minister's, who exhibited to us his small but choice collection of pictures. At four we sat down to an excellent dinner and remained until seven.

3. Rode this morning to the Prater. In the evening called with the Swedish Minister on the Prince Trautmannsdorff.[2]

4. Settled this morning with my banker. Called at the police for my passport, but they were not able to find it. The Baroness Munchhausen took Mrs. R[ussell] shopping and Mrs. R[ussell] and

[1] Baron de Munchhausen.

[2] Ferdinand Trautmannsdorf (1749–1827).

Amelia spent the evening with her. There were some pleasant anecdotes told of the sycophancy of the courtiers of Alexander of Russia. Last evening there was a rumor of changes in France and this morning I learned that all the French Ministers, excepting Richelieu,[1] had been dismissed, but Richelieu was not only retained but authorized to form a new administration. The Emperor Alexander is supposed to be the cause of all this. Richelieu, since his return from Aix-la-Chapelle to Paris, is said to have discovered strong ultra notions, in conformity, it is believed, to his instructions from Alexander. He therefore differed harshly with his colleagues who are liberals and who are said to have, in consequence, required the dismission of Richelieu or their own, and it seems the King preferred the latter. Upon these events the stocks at Paris fell from sixty-seven to sixty. Prince Metternich is said to disapprove this change and the Emperor of Austria says if the French only stay at home they may do as they please.

5. At ten o'clock this morning went to the palace of Belvedere and saw the magnificent collection of pictures arranged in a magnificent suite of rooms. There were specimens of all the great Italian and Flemish masters, one or two Murillos, etc., etc. The "Assumption" by Rubens is the best production of this master which I have seen, excepting the "Descent from the Cross" in the cathedral in Antwerp. Sent this day to the police and got my passport. In the evening Weiss and Palmstjerne called.

6. Rode to the palace of Schoenbrunn and walked over the grounds. They must be very delightful in summer. Major Weiss dined with us. Left cards of P. P. C. at Guymuller's and Eshelas'. Called on Madam Purrara and spent the remainder of the evening at Baron Parish von Senftenberg's. Many Englishmen there. It was a sort of plum-cake festival for Twelfth-night.

7. Engaged this morning in settling sundry accounts. Called on Navarro to take leave. At half past eleven o'clock Mrs. Russell was, by appointment, presented to the Emperor by the Baroness of Munchhausen and at half past five, to the Empress in the same manner. She found them both very gracious and amiable. I had received a note yesterday from the grand-master of ceremonies, announcing that he would announce me, this day, at six o'clock to the Empress. I was accordingly presented immediately after Mrs. Russell had left her Majesty. While in waiting and in conversation with the G[rand] M[aster], had one of my turns badly. In my

[1] Armand Emmanuel du Plessis, Duc de Richelieu (1766–1822). He resigned the Presidency of the Council. See *Annual Register*, 1818, 157, where the new ministry is given.

conversation with the grand-master, the Count Wurmbrand, we touched on the affairs of South America and was surprised and pleased to hear him express a disposition favorable to their independence. From his rank and situation I was willing to believe this opinion to be that of the Court.

8. Settled this morning with the saddler for repairs of the carriage, etc. Sent several cards of P. P. C. At two o'clock went by appointment to the old Chancery to see the paintings of Sir Thomas Lawrence. Found among them several fine portraits. The heads of Prince Metternich and Count Chernicheff [1] were very happily executed. The Prince Schwarzenberg [2] told me that the head of the Ionian Capo D'Istria,[3] now the confidant and prime minister of Alexander, was the best. After leaving the rooms of Sir Thomas I went with Major Weiss to make a purchase of cumweiss for Mrs. Russell. Spent the morning until half past eleven at a ball given by Count Caraman the French Ambassador.[4] Among other distinguished personages met there the Archduke Charles and Lady.[5] The Archduke, whose military talents are highly estimated, at least by his own country, is a man below the ordinary statue and of very diminutive appearance in every respect. His entrance was not distinguished by any particular attention or ceremony and he mixed in the throng like a common guest.

9. Spent the morning in making my preparations for departure. The Swedish Minister called to take leave and Weiss staid with us to the last. At half past one we got into our carriage and left Vienna without regret. Vienna is situated at about the 48th degree of latitude, and although we had two or three days during our residence there of pretty cold weather, yet no colder than is felt at Boston and generally the weather was much milder. The government of Austria and all its dominions, excepting Hungary, is [an] absolute monarchy, but mildly administered from the personal character of the reigning monarch. There appears to be no party spirit in this country, at least none is there expressed. I have seen in no other nation the different ranks in society so distinctly marked. The high nobility not only refuse to associate with the richest and most respectable and well informed citizens and bankers, but even with the new made and inferior nobility; and the high-born dames are even more tenacious of rank than the men, although they are

[1] Alexandre Ivanovitch, Prince Tchernicheff (1779–1857).
[2] Karl Philipp, Prince Schwarzenberg (1771–1820).
[3] Jean-Antoine, Comte Capo d'Istria (1776–1831).
[4] Victor-Marie-Joseph-Louis de Riquet, Marquis de Caraman (1786–1837).
[5] Karl Ludwig (1771–1847), third son of the Emperor Leopold II. He married, in 1815, Princess Henrietta of Nassau-Weilburg.

generally but indifferently educated and accomplished. Travellers have formerly spoken of the people as singularly moral; but when I mentioned several instances of depravity and dishonesty that had come under my observation, I was told that the manners of the people had deteriorated since the visits of the French and the present state of corruption imputed to French principles and French influence. This may be so, but from the short time the French were among the people the operation of these causes must, it should seem, have been powerfully aided by the vitiated tone that already existed and a predisposition to take the contagion.[1]

Austria still keeps on foot a military force of three or four hundred thousand men, and her finances are in a most wretched situation. It is pretended, however, that a few years of peace will restore order to her finances and place them in a flourishing condition. At present the new issue of paper is at a depreciation of two and one-half for one. There is evidently a jealousy of Russian power among the people, although I was told, in great confidence, that an understanding existed between the two Emperors; that Alexander might proceed as he thought proper in respect to Turkey, if Francis might act with the same liberty in respect to Italy. It is undoubtedly the ambition of both to aggrandize themselves respectively in these directions, but I doubt if there is any understanding on the subject. I saw several of the mission who had accompanied the Archduchess to Rio Janeiro, and they were all completely disgusted with the Brazils.

Immediately on leaving Vienna we saw the mountains of Styria before us, and the mountains of Austria on either hand. We proceeded this day only three German miles and stopt at the little village of [ ][2] for the night.

10. We left our inn this day at three quarters past seven and travelled very diligently and without stopping until six o'clock in the evening when we arrived at the village of Schottwien, a distance of eight German miles, where we passed the night. The mountains, which in the morning were at a considerable distance on both sides, had been gradually approaching during the day, and we now found ourselves in the midst of them, but had not hitherto been obliged to ascend them. The inn where we stopt, although the best in this neighborhood, was very miserable.

11. We left our lodgings at the same hour as the preceding morning. Our driver had made his arrangements for passing the mountains and in order to save his own horses had procured four

[1] See *Austria and the Austrians* (1837), I. 120.

[2] Neudorf would answer to a position eight miles from Schottwien.

fresh ones, at the post, for this purpose. Immediately on leaving our inn we began to ascend the mountain, in our way, which is called the "Semmering" and at nine o'clock reached the summit which is stated to be 2944 French feet above the sea.[1] Here we found a monument which announced that the line between the provinces of Austria and Styria passed there. On leaving our inn we found the weather moderate and the snow was melting and we rode with the glasses of our carriage down to enjoy the view. At the top of the mountain, however, the air became excessively keen and cold, and not only obliged us to raise our glasses but soon covered them with a coat of ice formed by the congealing of our breath, and which was totally impervious to the sight. The weather again moderated as we descended the mountain on the other side, and we soon entered the fine and well cultivated valley of the Mürz. We followed the course of this river, the mountains receding a little as we reached the village of Mürzhofen at half past five. The bath of Staintz [Stanz] is in the vicinity of this place; celebrated for its incrustations, but we were too fatigued to examine it. We found our inn tolerable.

12. We recommenced our journey this morning at quarter past seven, and having left the banks of the Mürz, we found ourselves on those of another river called the Mur which joins the Drave and empties at Constantinople. It is bordered, like the Mürz, by a fine valley through which our road ran nearly level, while the mountains continued near us on both hands. We passed this day the town of Brugg-sur-le-Mur [Bruck an der Mur] where there is a château, etc. In the neighborhood [are] rich mines of iron, the steel made from which, is said to be the best in Europe. We also passed the small town of Leoben, celebrated by the peace which bears its name. We stopt for the night at the village of Kraubat. We had met during the day, many people with swellings on the throat which are known by the name of goitres, said to be occasioned by the quality of the water. At the inn where we stopt there was an idiot whose want of mind was imputed to the same cause. The inn was poor but the people obliging.

13. We left Kraubat at half past seven and continued to travel during the day along the valley watered by the Mur. We passed a considerable town called Judenburg, and reached the village of Unzmarkt where we stopt for the night at six o'clock; we found a good inn. While our chambers were warming we went into the

[1] The figures in modern guide books are 3215 feet. There were at this time only three roads in the Eastern Alps; at the Brenner, the Radstätter Tauern and the Semmering.

FROM A CONTEMPORARY ENGRAVING PRINTED BY CH. BANCE, PARIS

public room and found a party of old men, some of them in appearance at least three score and ten, engaged at a party of cards.

14. We set off this morning at quarter past seven and about half past ten arrived at the village of Neumarkt, where we left the province of Styria and entered that of Carinthia. We reached our lodgings at St. Veit at six o'clock. We this day parted with the Mur but joined the Drav or Drave, which kindly aided our rout with a valley and kept the road nearly on a level. At our inn instead of card players we were amused by the long prayers of the peasants before and after their supper.

15. We left St. Veit at half past seven, crossed the Drave at Klagenfurt, and arrived at Villach at six o'clock. We had still continued to see many people with goitres and this evening found two idiots at our inn.

16. We did not leave our inn this morning until eight o'clock. We had observed yesterday Indian corn hung up on several houses to dry, and at Villach we obtained an ear in order to carry with us to America to try as seed. We reached Arnoldstein about eleven o'clock, and having obtained two horses we began to ascend the Alps. The scenery was magnificent, but the road along the side of the mountain often so narrow as barely to allow the passage of our carriage, while a frightful precipice yawned beneath us. We reached Tarvis, however, at about half past two without accident, when having passed the height of the mountains we dismissed our additional horses. We then continued our rout to Pontebba, where we stopt at seven o'clock for the night. Pontebba is the frontier town and divides Germany from Italy; one-half belonging to the former and one-half to the latter.[1] The river of Tagliamento [2] runs through this town and divides it, and divides indeed the people in every respect; in language, taste, character and habits. We stopt on the Italian side and no longer heard German, nor were tucked between two feather beds so narrow as scarcely to cover the sleeper while he lay straight and still and was sure to leave him when he turned, but we found ourselves in the midst of immense beds at least eight feet broad with clean sheets and fine blankets and quilts. Germany, adieu. We indeed leave you without regret.

17. Left Pontebba at a quarter past seven. We left the road marked in the post-book this day. We kept on the banks of the Tagliamento, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, for we crossed it at least half a dozen times, until one o'clock, when we left it and the mountains on our right and reached Udine at half

[1] The Austrian town on the frontier is now known as Pontafel.
[2] It is the Pontebbana River.

past seven. Since we left Tarvis yesterday the road had descended very constantly and generally until past noon this day.

18. We did not leave our inn this morning until half past nine o'clock. We then proceeded to Campo Formio, celebrated for the treaty which Bonaparte signed there with the Austrians.[1] We were shown the house where this treaty was signed and the commencement of a monument which was intended to commemorate that event. We afterwards came again on the banks of the Tagliamento and saw the spot where the famous battle of that name was fought. There was likewise shown us the foundation of a monument in honour of the victory obtained by the French, and an abundance of hewn stone to complete it, but there is no disposition in the present possessors of the soil to accomplish this work. We found the Tagliamento to be now a very small stream, but the extent of the bed which it covers in the time when it is full, is the fourth of an English mile, and shows that it must then be a very considerable river. The intrenchments which were raised by the Austrians before the battle still remain. From Udine the roads are those made by the French and they are excellent as well as the bridges. We reached Valapano at five o'clock and passed the night there.

19. We left Valapano at eight o'clock and a little after noon passed the River Ioxa [2] and saw the field of battle on its bank where Bonaparte had likewise gained a great victory over the Austrians, and where it is said more than thirty thousand men were slain. The Austrian works are also still to be seen here. We reached Treviso at five o'clock and stopt for the night.

20. We left Treviso at nine o'clock and reached Mestre at noon. Here we left our carriage and having taken off our baggage proceeded to Venice by water. We entered the Great Canal about four o'clock and stopt at the inn of Great Britain. We felt too fatigued to begin our examination of the city at this late hour. We therefore kept comfortably in our quarters.

21. Having taken a valet de place and a gondola in our service, we went at eleven o'clock to the place of St. Mark and visited the church of this Saint, and the Palace of the ancient Doges. The church is a very gloomy building of Gothic appearance, although its ornaments consist of columns, etc., of all the Roman and Grecian orders. Some of these were brought from Africa, some from Constantinople, Greece and various parts of Italy. There are said to be five hundred columns in all. There are twelve doors and seven cupolas. The floor is mosaic of various fine stones and in walking over it you tread on agate, cornelian, etc. Many of the arches are covered within with small pieces of gilt glass about three-quarters of

[1] October 16, 1797, ending the Republic of Venice. [2] Piave River.

an inch square. Indeed the whole church is immensely rich but not elegant. The Palace of St. Mark has undergone several changes. The large council chamber where the senators of Venice once sat in state is now converted into a kind of museum and ornamented with various statues, among which are a very fine "Leda and her swan" of Grecian workmanship, and a "Ganymede" from the chisel of Phydias. The walls and ceiling of the council chamber are still covered with the paintings of the Venetian school, among which the "Paradise" of Tintoretto is perhaps the largest picture in the world. It covers the whole of one end of the chamber and even a part of the sides. The rest of the palace is still occupied by courts of justice, and the prisoner still passes over the Bridge of Sighs to receive his doom. The celebrated lion's mouths through which accusations were secretly conveyed, were torn off by the French, but the holes through the wall with which they communicated still remain. The Bridge of Sighs mentioned above is a small bridge with a covered way over it, extending from the back of the palace of St. Mark to the prison. We went from the church round the place of St. Mark, which is called sometimes, the Place Royal of Venice because surrounded with shops, coffee-houses, etc., but is much inferior to the Palais Royal at Paris. From the Place of St. Mark we proceeded along the quay or mole to the gardens made by the French upon the ground formerly covered by two convents. At the garden we embarked in our gondola and passed over to the island of Lido, which is of considerable extent. We passed on foot over the end of this island and had a full view of the Adriatic. We then returned to our lodgings and on our way met the celebrated Lord Byron,[1] who passes every day regularly between three and four o'clock in his gondola to the island of Lido to take a ride on horseback. After returning to the inn I went to visit my bankers, Messrs. Siri and Wilham, and delivered my letters of credit. In the evening we went to the theatre of [ ] and saw an opera buffa well performed almost to naked walls, for the house was very thinly attended.

22. This morning we again left our inn at eleven o'clock and first visited the Academy of Arts. There is a fine collection of statues and models both ancient and modern, and we particularly remarked among the latter the "Hebe" of Canova, copied in plaster, of exquisite beauty. In one of the halls of the Academy were several fine pictures of the Venetian masters, but the one which we beheld

[1] He was in the Palazzo Mocenigo on the Grand Canal, "abandoned to degrading excesses which injured his constitution, and afterwards produced bitter self-reproach." *Dictionary of National Biography*, VIII. 145.

with real wonder and rapture was the "Assumption" of Titian. This picture had been placed over an altar-piece in the church of Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, and had become so dirty and smoked that the French did not think it worth carrying to Paris. About two years since it was taken down and cleaned and placed in its present situation as perfectly fresh as when it came from the hand of the painter and is certainly as beautiful a picture as was ever painted not excepting the "Transfiguration" of Raphael. From the Academy of Arts we returned home, when I called on my bankers and went to deliver a letter from Ambrosio, the Neapolitan Minister at Stockholm to the Countess of Tafetta. I then returned to the inn and accompanied the ladies on foot to the Place of St. Mark, where we embarked in our gondola which had been sent there, and crossed the water to the church of St. Giorgio Maggiore. This church is a very beautiful building and contains several fine pictures. After having seen it we went to the custom-house and porto Franco, erected by the French on the same island. We thence went to visit the church of Madonna della Salute, where also are several fine pictures. The priest who conducted us about the church very pleasantly told us an anecdote of Paul Veronese whom he represented to have been a little deranged. This painter had been employed to paint an altar-piece for this church, in which the Holy Trinity were to be portrayed. He finished the work and the Sanctus Spiritus being represented as usual by the form of a dove, it came into the painter's head that a bag would be a good thing to put the dove in, and he painted one accordingly. The Church of Madonna della Salute was commenced in 1630, to avert the plague which raged at that time at Venice. Spent the evening at home.

23. We went this morning to visit the church of de Minori Conventuali called dei Frari.[1] The first object which caught our attention was a plain stone on which was inscribed

> Qui giace il gran Tiziano de Vercelli
> Emulator de Zeusi e degli Appelli.

thus denoting that the great Titian was there buried. This church contains some very fine paintings. We next went to the church of St. Roque,[2] and after having seen the pictures which it contains we were shown the place in which is kept some of the true blood of Jesus Christ. We were not allowed to see the blood itself which can be shown once a year only, but the door of a little cabinet formed in one of the recesses of the church was opened and another little door

[1] Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, already mentioned, *supra*.
[2] San Rocco.

on the back side of this cabinet was shown us, beyond which was another little cabinet, and in this last was said to be the blood in question. The cabinet opened contained several relics, but by no means so precious as that contained in the cabinet which continued shut. From the church we went into the copairie of St. Roque,[1] where we saw several fine pictures, particularly the "Crucifixion" by Tintoretto, which is considered as his masterpiece. We next went to visit a collection of pictures in the palace of Barberio. They were contained in the very room in which the great Titian sometimes painted. It was a small but choice collection, and a Madelene and a "Venus" by Titian were particularly fine. The owner, having found too much nudity in the latter, caused it to be partially defaced by a dauber. In this room was an imperfect St. Sebastian, which Titian did not live to finish. We next went to the manufactory of the small glass beads and witnessed the process of making them. At eight o'clock in the evening we went to the great opera and were very much charmed with the music and dancing. The best singer was Signora Fiodore, and she certainly had great skill and a fine voice. The dancers appeared to be less vigorous but more graceful than those of the grand opera at Paris. The opera did not finish until after midnight, when we went for a short time to the Ridotto to witness a public masked ball. We found, however, nothing there of sufficient interest to detain us and soon retired. Tumblers, cat and ass on the moro.

24. This day being Sunday we confined our excursions chiefly to church St. John and Paul.[2] We visited that of the Jesuits, among the others, but being chiefly for the edification of young females I was not allowed to go to the bottom of the church and Mrs. Russell and Amelia went without me. We now proceeded to the Palazzo Grimani and visited its several apartments, in which were some good pictures and fine ancient statues. Among these the heads of Cicero, Marius, Sylla, Augustus and his wife were the best. We next passed the water to the church of the Armenians, which we found to be a very interesting establishment. The monk who conducted us had been in England and spoke pretty good English. He had likewise been the instructor of Lord Byron and told us his Lordship spoke Armenian tolerably well. This monk informed us that there were thirty-eight letters in the Armenian alphabet, to which he ascribed the facility with which the Armenians acquired foreign languages. The founders of this church came about a century ago from the vicinity of Mount Ararat.

[1] Scuola di San Rocco.
[2] Santi Giovanni e Paolo, containing the tombs of the Doges.

Bonaparte spared this establishment on account of its utility. They have a printing-press on which they print all languages.[1] A prayer-book was shown us printed in sixteen languages. This press is now employed in printing Eusebius in Latin, as the manuscripts of this author, which were wanting, have lately been found.[2] Lord Guilford has engaged to subscribe for this work for me. The monk boasted the Armenian language to be the oldest in the world.

25. Went this morning to visit the Arsenal. Saw there the manufactory of muskets. A considerable collection of arms and armour of former times and other nations. Among other things the armour of Henry the Fourth of France; the monument of General Emo[3] by Canova — a fine work. Fame kneels to him having laid down her trumpet, and Genius stands over him crowning him with laurel. We then went to see the navy. There are three ships of seventy-four guns afloat, and two others of the same force building, and one of eighty guns. There are five or six frigates afloat and one on the stocks, besides several corvettes. The ships afloat are entirely dismantled and the copper taken off to high-water mark. The Austrian government have done nothing to finish the ships which had been begun by the French, but they continue as they were in the beginning of 1814. They appear to be of excellent materials and well constructed. From the Arsenal we went to see a very fine collection of paintings in the palace of Señor Manfrin. There were many fine pictures of Titian, Paul Veronese, etc.; one of Rembrandt, one of Rubens, of Correggio, etc. That of Correggio, a small "Magdalen," and a small "Descent from the Cross," by Raphael, were very fine. There was also one of the cartoons of Raphael. After leaving these apartments, we went to see the church of the Carmelites Déchausés,[4] which is very rich in marble. In the evening we went to take a farewell look of the palace, etc., of St. Mark, and we walked over the Rialto. In ascending the bridge I counted sixty steps and the same in descending. Venice appears to be rapidly on the decline. Our inn was formerly the palace of Falciti, and is called the inn of Great Britain. We found our landlord to be a great scoundrel. Our engagement with our vetturino expressly obliged him to warm and light two apartments

[1] An Armenian press was established in Venice in 1565, and "the press which has done most in printing Armenian authors is that of the Mechitharists of Venice." These Armenian monks, followers of Mechithar, were established by him in 1717 in the island of San Lazzaro, south of Venice, and form one of the noblest congregations of the Roman Catholic Church.

[2] A *Chronicle*, in two books, *c.* 303–325 A. D.

[3] Angelo Emo (1731–1792). He was an admiral.

[4] Chiesa degli Scalzi.

which were all we had warmed and lighted at Venice. When, however, I demanded the bill for what I had had extra, the landlord said the vetturino had refused to pay for any wax candles or for warming more than one room, as wood at Venice was very dear. The landlord therefore demanded of me fifteen francs for wax candles and thirty-seven francs for fuel. As the vetturino had already gone to Mestre and I could have no explanation with him, I paid these sums in order to save a dispute, taking his receipt to his bill and his positive assertion that the vetturino had not paid him for the same thing. When I expostulated afterwards with the vetturino he produced the bill which he had paid and which even included the candles and the wood for which this rascally landlord had made me pay a second time. This landlord, however, on taking leave of me had the impudence to give me his cards and to request me to recommend his house! ! ! !

26. At nine o'clock this morning we embarked for Mestre, where we had left our carriage. Just as we were getting into the boat the same Armenian monk, who had shown us the convent, made his appearance and informed me that Lord Guilford had already mentioned my wish to subscribe for Eusebius, and that he should act accordingly. I confirmed the proceeding and gave him the names of my bankers at Rome and Naples. We reached Mestre at eleven o'clock, and having spent half an hour in making our arrangements we recommenced our journey and reached Padua at five o'clock.

27. We went this morning first to see the ancient hall of justice,[1] which is much more spacious than that of Venice, but greatly inferior in the richness and beauty of its decorations. It contains, however, a small monument to Titus Livius, who was born in this town. The monument consists of an ancient bust brought from Rome by two of the magistrates of Padua and a large marble slab placed in the wall beneath it. On the bust is inscribed "T. Liv." and on the marble slab

T. Livivs Liviae Qvartall Halys Concordalis Patavi sibi et suis omnibus.[2]

We next visited the Cathedral of which Petrarch, also a native of Padua, was a canon. About a year since a bust of this poet, sculptured by a scholar of Canova, was placed in this Cathedral. It is finely executed, the head bound with a wreath of laurel. Beneath the bust on a marble slab is inscribed as follows:

[1] Il Salone.

[2] Russell omits the last line — "Hoc totus stares aureus ipse loco."

Francisco Petrachae
Antonio Barbr Soncino
Canonicus Canonico
Ann. MDCCCXVIII.
P.
L. M. D. C. D.

On entering the Cathedral we had seen a poor woman lying in convulsions near the door on the outside, surrounded by a few women and girls of the most miserable appearance. On going out Mrs. R[ussell] caused [her, by] our valet de place aided by another person, to be taken from the cold stone on which she was lying, and to be borne into the church and placed in a chair. We then sent for a priest. Two came. One looked at her a moment and left her. The other felt her pulse with great indifference and immediately left her also without affording or recommending any assistance. We looked after these good Catholics with much indignation, and saw them both as they passed the altar, in proceeding to the other end of the church, make their genuflexion and cross themselves very devoutly. Such is a religion of form and ostentation, but destitute of benevolence and good works. These priests dressed pontifically, adored the marble, and left a fellow creature to perish. We next went to the palace of Count G., where was a curious piece of sculpture said to have been praised by Canova. It was about four feet high in the form of a pyramid of one entire piece of marble representing the "Fall of the Angels." The Angel Gabriel or Michael was at the top with his drawn sword bending down with a menacing attitude over the fallen devils. The devils were sixty-six in number, with horns and tails in various postures, but so placed as to form the rest of the pyramid. Satan was cut at the bottom pointing upwards with an heroic air. This piece was made about a hundred years since by an artist in the house where it now stands. He is said to have worked at it twelve years for two or three hours per day. Each figure, if erect, would measure a little more than a foot and is very perfectly formed. We next visited the fine church of St. Justin [1] designed by Palladio. Padua is strongly fortified by the moderns. It also contains a Roman wall. We left Padua at noon and had not proceeded far when our vetturino, by placing himself on the dicky, broke one of the foresprings. We reached Vicenza at five.

28. Went this morning to visit the Amphitheatre Olimpique by Palladio; a beautiful interior of the Corinthian order of two ranges, one placed over the other. It will contain two thousand

[1] Andrea Briosco was the architect of Santa Giustina, not Palladio.

five hundred spectators in the semicircle, which in appearance has not a fourth of the capacity requisite for such a number. The avenues upon the stage, by another artist, are a fine specimen of architectural perspective. The columns of the amphitheatre were of brick covered with stucco which was still perfect after a period of two hundred and thirty-five years. We then visited several other buildings constructed by Palladio, and saw the house in which he lived, for he was a native of Vicenza. We visited also the church of Madonna del Monte which is beautifully situated on an eminence [1] just without the town, and from which there is a magnificent view of the Alps on one side, and Padua and the country on the other. In ascending to this church we walked under an arcade which I found to be nine hundred and ninety paces in length. We saw at the church a very fine picture of Paul Veronese which is generally called the "Supper of St. Gregory." In returning to our inn we saw the celebrated bridge of Bacchia.[2] We left Vicenza at half past eleven and reached Verona at six. Stopt at the inn called the Tower, which we found a good one.

29. The first thing which drew our attention this morning was the celebrated Roman Amphitheatre. We found the main body of the building in the interior very entire. It was said to contain thirty thousand spectators. The seats still remain of solid stone, now called the stone of St. Ambrosio. These seats run entirely round the amphitheatre and are forty-three as we counted them, one above the other, although our guide insisted that there were forty-five. The cells were shown us in which the wild beasts were confined. The wall which surrounded the arena was about five feet high only, which I suggested was too low to afford security against the wild beasts. To obviate this objection our guide endeavored to persuade us that these animals were never let out entirely free but were confined by a chain fastened in the centre of the arena. The seats were about ten inches high and of about the same width at the top. They are interrupted by two lodges opposite to each, designed, no doubt, for the great dignitaries, and by the steps for ascending and descending which were of half the size of the seats. There is only a small part of the exterior wall which surrounded the amphitheatre now standing. The French replaced several of the stones of the interior and filled up the interstices with stucco to prevent the water from descending and undermining the work. Several excavations have lately been made under the arena, and the aqueducts have been discovered which let in and let out the water. The

[1] Monte Berico.

[2] Over the Bacchiglione, and erected by Palladio.

former, it is ascertained, communicated with the Adige, and the excavation is still continued, by order of the Emperor of Austria, to clear this aqueduct in its whole length. There is a little theatre for summer built in the middle of the arena which looks truly diminutive and contemptible. From the amphitheatre we went to the museum of Marquis Scipio Maffei[1] where we saw a fine collection of ancient marbles but much mutilated. We then passed by the ancient Roman wall and went to see the sarcophage in which the famous Juliette of the Capuletti was interred. They show the holes which were left open for respiration. This sarcophage was also of stone of St. Ambrosio. We afterwards visited a small but choice collection of pictures belonging to Alberini. We then viewed the Arch of Triumph of Gallienus and returned to our inn. After dinner we went with our valet de place to see a bridge over the Adige built by the Romans. It consisted of five arches, three of brick and two of stone, of unequal dimensions. The three of brick were on one side and the two of stone on the other. The former together were fifty-eight paces and the latter forty-eight and the height of the bridge was between them. The river Adige was the barrier during a truce between the French and Austrians, and the sentinels of the two nations were placed at the different ends of this bridge. From the Roman bridge I went to see the gate of St. George, which was attacked by the French, and through which they entered the city. The wall before the church had been battered in breach, and the front of the church and a house adjoining it were pitted with the marks of musket balls. The town was formerly strongly fortified but the walls were blown up by the French. In returning to the inn I saw the monument of Capidori Scaliger who is said to have played the tyrant after the time of the Romans. It was in the same inclosure with a monument of his father and uncle, the former of whom was stabbed on the public place.

30. Left Verona at eight o'clock and reached Mantua at one. Immediately procured a carriage at the post, for there were no hacks, and drove to the palace. It is spacious and most of it in good repair and many of the rooms ornamented from the pencil of Jules Romain.[2] Some of the rooms, however, are in a ruinous state and destitute of furniture. From one of these rooms we had a fine view of the bridge. We next drove to the museum which consists of a collection of ancient busts, bas-reliefs and statues and ancient inscriptions on stone. We had not time to attend to copying the

[1] Museo Lapidario or Museo Maffeiano.
[2] Giulio Romano, or Giulio Pippi (*c.* 1492–1546).

latter, but among the busts there were five of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, one of which was remarkably fine. There was also a fine bust of Sylla and one of Marius, as well as of Severus and his son Geta, but of all the busts, that which interested us most, was one of Virgil, the celebrated poet. Of this bust the face only was ancient, and had been found buried under the ruins of the ancient city. It is the only monument that rests at Mantua of Virgil. The face is open, benignant and intelligent. In the basso-rilievos was the story of Medea, the story of Venus and Adonis, and the Sack of Troy — all very fine. From the museum we went to the Palace of T said to be named so from its shape resembling this letter.[1] This resemblance, however, I could not find, as the building appeared to me quite square enclosing a square court. The walls of many of the apartments were painted by Jules Romain in fresco. Among other things the "Fall of the Giants" was represented. The figures were indeed gigantic, but the coloring of many of them appeared much injured from time and defaced by rude and vulgar hands. We next visited the cathedral which is a fine church but overcharged with ornaments. It was built from a design of Jules Romain, but it is of a mixt architecture. We visited another church in which was said to be the "Madonna del Orto" by Raphael, but the ignorant people who conducted us appeared to know nothing concerning it, and indeed all the paintings in the churches at Mantua were in so bad a light that we had little satisfaction in looking at them. Mantua, as is well known, is situated in a sort of lake formed by the overflowing of the river Mincio. It is separated from the main land on the side of Cremona by a width of water of two hundred toises or fathoms, and on the side of Verona eighty fathoms. It is the strongest fortified city in Europe. Old Wurmser,[2] however, defended it in vain. We saw the house of Jules Romain, with a fine ancient statue of Mercury in front which the common people suppose to be St. John the Baptist. The bones of Tasso repose in the church of S. Egidio. Virgil is supposed to be a native of Mantua, but the better opinion appears to be that he was born in a little village a short distance from the city, called Pietoli or Andes.

31. We left Mantua at 7 o'clock and reached Cremona at six P. M. We had more rain this day than we had before encountered in all our way from Stockholm.

February 1. Left Cremona at nine A. M., passed Crema at half past two and reached Lodi at half past five. On entering this last

[1] The designation is apparently derived from the form of the roads which led towards the palace.

[2] Dagobert Sigismund, Comte de Wurmser (1724–1797).

place we passed the bridge over the Adda, rendered famous by the heroism of Bonaparte in 1796. At Crema we passed over the Oglio.[1] We had also much rain this day.

2. We went out immediately after breakfast this day to two of the principal churches and hospital. In the churches were some good pictures. The church of St. Maurice had, for a time, been called St. Napoleon, but it has now resumed its ancient name. The hospital is small but well arranged and apparently well administered. The professor of chemistry was particularly polite and gave us a treatise of his on the mode of making sugar from honey. We left Lodi at nine o'clock and reached Milan at half past three. The weather was this day fair. We stopt at the Hotel of Great Britain.

3. The first thing we did this morning was to take a carriage and a valet de place and to visit the cathedral. It deserves all the eulogy that has been lavished on it. It is entirely of white marble. We saw the celebrated statue of St. Bartholomew and we visited the tomb of St. Charles.[2] The shrine of this saint is infinitely rich, being of rock crystal and covered with precious stones. His saintship is laid at full length in his pontifical robes but his skull is bare, the cadavorous appearance of which contrast strikingly with the treasures which surround it. We ascended to the top of the church, but as the atmosphere was foggy, we ascended no further. From the top of the church, however, we had a pretty good view of the city, but the Alps and Apennines were not visible. The front of this church had been begun but not completed before the invasion of the French. Bonaparte caused it to be completed and corrected, as far as was possible, without demolishing the part already accomplished, the bad style in which it had been begun. The upper part of the front is made to correspond with the rest of the building. Bonaparte never allowed any part of the treasures or ornaments of this church to be touched. We next visited the amphitheatre or circus built by Bonaparte. The entrance is already of stone and the whole was intended to be of this material, but the seats are now of earth. The form is oblong. The greatest diameter is four hundred brasses or fathoms and the smallest two hundred. There are ten ranges of seats which were calculated to accommodate thirty thousand people. Around the great hall in entering were several paintings on the top of the wall and among them on opposite sides, the heads of Napoleon and Josephine. The Austrian government had caused the former to be deformed by a beard and the latter by a casque intending thus, perhaps, that they should represent Jupiter and Minerva. No, that government could from

[1] It was the Serio.

[2] Cappella San Carlo Borromeo.

its meanness have intended nothing but to deface the monuments of its own humiliation. From the amphitheatre we went to view the Arch of Triumph, which had been begun and for finishing which all the materials were prepared in a most magnificent style. This arch was meant to form the gate of the Simplon, and its basso-rilievos commemorated chiefly the field of Marengo. It is said that the Emperor of Austria has been twice in person to view the arch and materials without having mind enough to come to a decision concerning them, and the work is suspended.[1] We next went to see the palace of Brera, which contains many specimens of the fine arts. Our attention was chiefly bestowed on the pictures which are from the pencils of most of the Italian masters. From the palace of Brera, which was formerly an establishment of the Jesuits, we went to see the convent of Sta. Maria,[2] formerly belonging to the Dominicans and where, in the refectory, is the celebrated "Last Supper" by Leonardo da Vinci. This picture is indeed much injured by time; the colors faded and the surface in many places pealed from the wall, but I could perceive no evidence of violence having been used towards it. Certainly there was no mark of pistol, musket, or cannon-ball on it, as there certainly would have been had it served for a target to atheistical French soldiers as Mr. Eustace[3] asserts. I was indeed astonished to see that the face of our Saviour, after the assertion of the said renowned divine that the head was made a mark in preference, was without the least fracture or scale.

We afterwards visited the sixteen ancient pillars said to have been erected by Nero, and which are all that remain of antiquity at Milan. In returning to our hotel we stopt at the church of Celsius which had formerly been immensely rich, as the Virgin, who has an altar there, is said to have worked many miracles. The French are said to have taken away cart-loads of silver. The statues of Adam and Eve on the front of the church are very fine, particularly Eve. In the evening we went to the theatre of Scala and saw an opera and ballet. The former was called the Illisa.

4. We again visited the cathedral and admired its beauty. We then went to the richest shop or magasin in the place, which was full of curious and fashionable merchandise. We next went to the Ambrosian library where we first saw a fine collection of statues and paintings. Among the latter was a fine "Holy Family" by Luini, and a copy of the "Last Supper" by Leonardo da Vinci,

[1] It was not completed until 1838.
[2] Santa Maria delle Grazie.
[3] John Chetwode Eustace, author of *Classical Tour in Italy*.

which we saw yesterday at the Dominicans. This copy was by Cesar Fiori, a scholar and contemporary of Leonardo and admirably executed and must have been equal to the original in all its beauty. The head of Christ was the finest I remember to have seen. This copy had itself been copied a few years since by the celebrated Joseph Bossi,[1] who was occupied, as the librarian informed us, nine months at the work. From this copy of Bossi another was made in mosaic by Raffaelli, which is the same we saw at the Palace of the Belvedere at Vienna. So the Reverend Mr. Eustace is as false in his predictions of the future fate of the admirable "Last Supper" of Leonardo da Vinci, as he is in his assertions relative to its past treatment. We next saw the most curious manuscripts contained in the library, particularly Virgil, with notes in the handwriting of Petrarch; a copy of Josephus in the handwriting of his scholars. We then went to see the hospital which is indeed a vast establishment worthy of all praise. In the evening we went to a little theatre to see curious puppets. I ought to have mentioned yesterday our visit to the Gate of Marengo, which was erected by Bonaparte, of granite, and is a fine arch of triumph. This arch had an appropriate inscription, but all is now changed and the gate is called the Gate of Ticino and the inscription is "Paci Populorum Sospitae." Near this gate begins the canal which Bonaparte caused to be opened between Milan and Pavia, a distance of more than twenty English miles. A passage on this canal between the two cities costs only ten sous. Besides this canal is of immense utility to agriculture and commerce.

5. We left Milan this morning at nine o'clock and stopt at one to see the famous chartreuse, which was suppressed by Joseph the Second.[2] It is about three-fourths of an English mile from the road. It is a most magnificent building, the entire front being of marble. The interior also is richly decorated by the chisel and the pencil, there being many fine paintings and much rich sculpture. There is a picture by Pietro Perugino, the master of Raphael. We were shown a very rich basso-rilievo and several small statues all made from tusk of the hippopotamus, which material preserves its whiteness much more perfectly than ivory. There is a fine monument in the church of John Galeas Visconti,[3] but it is not well placed to show all its beauty. The original design was Gothic, but many pillars of Grecian and Roman orders have since been added. The fresco painting in this church is two hundred and sixteen years

[1] Giuseppe Bossi (1777–1815).
[2] Certosa di Pavia.
[3] Gian Galeazzo Visconti (1347–1402).

old and very fresh. Four centuries are said to have been spent in decorating this church and the ornaments of the lower part of the front only had been finished when the order was suppressed. We arrived at Pavia at half past three and immediately went to see the College of Anatomy which contains some exquisitely fine preparations of the human form and its component parts. We also visited the college founded by St. Charles Borromeo. We next went to the old church [1] where the Lombard Kings were crowned and the round flat stone in the floor on which this ceremony was performed, was shown to us by a priest. We also visited the cathedral which is said to contain the club of Roland. St. Augustine is said to be buried in Pavia.[2] We walked to the bridge over the Ticino and were shown the scale for the inundations. It has frequently risen above its banks below the bridge and forced the inhabitants to seek refuge on more elevated ground. Before we arrived at Pavia we passed the battle ground where Francis the First was defeated and taken prisoner in 1525.

6. We left Pavia this morning at nine o'clock. We found the roads which we now travelled, from the late rains, to be rather heavy. Just before we reached Plaisance,[3] we passed the river Po on a bridge-of-boats. Most of these boats were now high and dry, owing to the lowness of the river, but in the spring, when the river is high and full, they are all afloat. On the left bank of the Po is still seen some of the intrenchments on the field of battle, where the French, under the command of Macdonald,[4] were beaten by the Austrians and Russians under Suwarrow.[5] We reached Plaisance at six o'clock and found ourselves on the territory of Marie Louise, the Po dividing the Milanese from the Parmesan.

7. This morning we took a walk in Plaisance and saw the two celebrated equestrian statues in bronze of Alexander Farnese and his son,[6] the former dukes of this place. We next went to the cathedral which contained nothing remarkable. We also viewed the front of the church belonging to the convent of Augustine. It is a fine front in granite of the Ionic order. We also saw the course which is said to be equal to any in Italy, and thence we went to see the ancient palace of the Dukes of Farnese, which appears never to have been finished and which now is going to ruin.[7] The place

[1] Church of San Michele Maggiore, now the Basilica Reale.

[2] In San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro is his monument.

[3] Piacenza.

[4] Jacques-Etienne-Joseph-Alexandre Macdonald, Duc de Tarente (1765–1840). The battle, named from the Trebbia river, occurred June 17–19, 1799.

[5] Alexander Vasilievich, Count Suvárov (1729–1800).

[6] Alessandro (1546–1592) and Ranuccio Farnese (1569–1622).

[7] Since 1800 they had been used as barracks.

of the ancient *balcona* was pointed out to us whence the conspirators precipitated Louis Farnese[1] after having killed him. The famous Alberoni,[2] Prime Minister to the King of Spain, was born in a hovel in this place and again lived in it after his disgrace. Pope Gregory the 10th,[3] and the painter Jean Baptiste Porta were also born here. The place is reputed to be very healthy, and Pliny reports that in his time there were six persons of 110 years of age, one of 120 and one of 140. About nine miles from this place in the Apennines is a place called Campo Morto where Hannibal so signally defeated the Romans. At half past nine we left Plaisance. The ancient Via Æmilia began at this city and passing by Parma, Modena and Bologna, ended at Rimini. The modern road which we now travelled has been made on the foundations of this ancient way. After passing the village of Fiorenzuola we saw on our right the Abbey of the Citeaux which is believed to be situated near the spot where Sylla defeated the army of Carbo. We stopt an hour at the village of San Donnino upon the river Stirone. The ancient Julia Aisopoli[4] is supposed to have been situated a few miles from this place, from the ruins which have been discovered there. About an English mile before we passed the Taro we saw in a small village an old square castle partly in ruins, which is called the castle of Guelfo, and is said to have given its name to the faction of the Guelphs.[5] We passed the Taro on a platform supported between two boats. There were two branches occasioned by the middle of the channel being dry on account of the lowness of the waters. Both platforms were sufficiently wide to receive our carriage with four horses and another carriage with two horses, without unharnessing. Besides the Stirone and the Taro already mentioned, we passed this day several other small rivers, some of which were nearly dry. Among them were the Nura, the Chiavenna and the Arda. About six miles from the Taro we entered Parma. We passed also between Plaisance and Parma, the field of battle of the Spaniards some two or three hundred years since. At Parma we stopt at the inn called the Peacock which we found to be good.

8. This morning we began our excursions about half past nine o'clock. We first visited the Ancient Baptistery, a Gothic building of an octagonal form, containing an immense fount from a single piece of marble in which baptism was formerly conferred by immersion. We next entered the Church of St. John the Evangelist,

[1] Pierluigi Farnese (1490–1547).
[2] Giulio Alberoni (1664–1752).
[3] Tebaldo Visconti (1208–1276).
[4] Veleia? I do not find the name given in the text.
[5] It is hardly necessary to say that this is not true.

which contains a "Descent from the Cross," and the "Martyrdom of St. Placide" by Correggio, a little faded but still excellent. We then visited the Cathedral, a very solemn temple of Gothic construction, but without elegance. The cupola was painted by Correggio and is considered as his masterpiece, but the light in which we saw it was so bad that its excellence was lost for us. We found a monument on the wall of this church inscribed to Petrarch, who was, it appears, an archdeacon here. From the Cathedral we proceeded to the palace where, while the ladies were viewing the toilette of Marie Louise, I waited on Count Neipperg[1] and delivered to him a letter of introduction of which I was the bearer. He received me very politely and voluntarily offered to present her Majesty, the Archduchess.[2] I then joined the ladies and found the toilette to consist of a large table with a grand mirror, two vases, velvet drapery, a large standing mirror with the marriage of Napoleon and Marie Louise in the frame, two elegant vases, and a pair of golden boxes on the table. The cradle of the King of Rome of silver-gilt with a balustrade of the mother of pearl, and a large chain of silver-gilt of such weight that I could with difficulty move it. From the toilette we proceeded to the museum. It consisted of articles discovered in the ancient city, Veleia, in the neighboring Apennines which was supposed to have been buried by an earthquake after Constantine.[3] There was a large plate of copper inscribed with a contract between Trajan and some of the principal inhabitants, also a small plate of the Cisalpine Gauls, some statues, many fragments of household utensils and an assortment of ancient keys. From the museum we went to the Academy of Pictures, which is composed of those which had made the voyage to Paris. It was indeed a choice collection, containing among others a fine work of Raphael. After having spent an hour in examining this collection, we returned a little after twelve to our lodgings and found a note from Count Neipperg informing us that her Majesty would receive us at half past one. We had, therefore, scarcely time to prepare for this ceremony. At half past one we were punctual in our attendance and were most graciously received by her Majesty, and having passed about twenty minutes in her presence, [we] were informed by Count Neipperg, who attended us out, that we were expected to dinner at seven o'clock, and that we should receive a note accordingly. We had not been long at home before we received the promised invitation in due form. At dinner was

[1] Adam Albert, count of Neipperg (1775–1829).

[2] Marie Louise (1791–1847), now titular ruler of Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla. Her marriage with Neipperg was morganatic.

[3] It was overwhelmed by a landslip, A. D. 278.

the Archduchess, two maids of honour, Count Neipperg, another gentleman and ourselves. Mrs. Russell was placed on one side of the Archduchess and myself on the other. We found her Majesty very affable and well informed. She made many inquiries concerning the United States. She said that when she was at Leghorn she had wished to visit one of our line of battle-ships but that Commodore Chauncey,[1] whose name she well remembered, had sailed. She regretted very much the disappointment, as she had been informed that our vessels of war were kept in most excellent order. She asked me if we had theatres in America, and if English plays were performed there. Being answered in the affirmative, she desired to know if Shakespeare was liked there, and particularly mentioned his plays of Macbeth and Hamlet. She appeared indeed to be perfectly well acquainted with the works of this poet and with their character, and observed that she believed some parts must be omitted in the performance, as not fitted to the taste and manners of the present day. When I observed that in passing Verona I had seen the sarcophage of Juliet, she told me she had also been there and that she had procured some fragments of the stone which she had caused a jeweller to cut in hearts and to set in gold. In short we had a very pleasant dinner, which consisted of the choice luxuries served on plate and porcelain in the most sumptuous way. We took our leave at half past eight but were first informed that we should be invited to a ball the next evening. Just before I went to dinner the governor of the place had done me the honour to call on me.

9. At ten o'clock this morning we went to see the famous printing office and foundry of the late Jean Baptiste Bodoni.[2] This establishment had successfully rivalled that of Didot at Paris, and had once obtained the prize there for the best types. The people of Parma are very proud of this distinction and they have almost apotheosized Mr. Bodoni. A painter has drawn him receiving the homage of the authors whose works he had published. Among them are the most distinguished writers of Rome and Greece. A plate of this picture was shown to us. Among other performances he had produced the Russian character in type of thirty different sizes very perfectly and for which the Emperor Alexander made a present to the widow of an elegant breast pin, an amethyst set with diamonds, which the good woman showed us. It is the type only of Bodoni which is excellent, his editions have been frequently found incorrect and the paper much inferior to that used by Didot.

[1] Isaac Chauncey (1772–1840).
[2] Giambattista Bodoni (1740–1813).

From the establishment of Bodoni we went to visit the library. It contains some valuable manuscripts which have been procured by Marie Louise. The librarian informed us that the translation of the classical tour of Eustace in Italy was translated and would soon be published. We next visited the church of St. Paul.[1] It is the church of the Court, but we found its paintings injured. We finished our morning excursion by a walk to the ramparts which, as the weather was remarkably fine, was delightful. On returning to our inn we found the invitations of the Countess Scampini, dame d'honneur, for the ball of H. M. this evening. I again went out this morning and called on the Governor. He treated me very affably, and upon my asking as delicately as I could if Marie Louise cherished any feeling for her husband and felt any interest in his fate, the Governor, premising his confidence in my candour and discretion, meaning, I suppose, that I would not make him responsible for what he should communicate, told me that there was not the least doubt that she took the warmest interest in the fortunes of her husband and felt for him a sincere regard. That these sentiments she frequently discovered when the mention of her child lead to the subject. That passionate as Bonaparte might have been, he had uniformly treated her with tenderness which she not only avowed but which had been confirmed by La Harpe with whom he had conversed on this point. The only displeasure ever displayed by Napoleon towards her was on her discovering a repugnance to holding frequently grand levees, and that this displeasure was very transitory and was not construed by her into unkindness.

After my return to my lodgings, I received a message from the Governor with a medal of Marie Louise struck on her arrival at Parma by Bodoni in silver.[2] About half past nine o'clock we repaired to the palace and found the company assembled, but that H. M. had not yet made her appearance. Mrs. Russell was conducted by a gentleman in waiting to her place, which was next on the right to the vacant seat of H. M. The seat of Amelia was next, to the right of Mrs. Russell. H. M. took the circuit of the hall, and having addressed individually every lady, took her seat. The ball immediately opened by H. M. and Count MacGavelin leading in a polonaise followed by the Grand Master, Count Neipperg and Mrs. R[ussell]. The rest of the company joined in succession. Immediately after her Majesty had resumed her seat, she sent Count Neipperg to request me to dance another polonaise with her. I of course assented, although my dancing days were long since past.

[1] Convento di San Paolo.

[2] Miss Rivers has just given this medal to the Society.

In the course of the evening she again sent Count Neipperg to me with the same message and I again danced the polanaise with her. She was both times wonderfully amiable and affable as we walked round the room and appeared to take great pains to amuse and to please me. The first time she told me that Count MacGavelin was an Irishman and counselled me to press him into a conversation. I took the hint and acted accordingly. I found MacGavelin to have come to this country about sixteen years since when he was at the age of sixteen years. He had risen to distinction in the service of Austria, and had been the first governor of the Parmesan for Marie Louise. He gave me much information concerning the country. According to him the Parmesan contains a population of about two hundred thousand. The country is fertile and produces amply sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants. There are no manufactures but everything of this kind is brought from Austria, the duties on the goods of other countries amounting to a prohibition. There are few fortunes in the country which amount to a thousand pounds per annum and only five or six which amount to four thousand pounds. The peasantry are wretchedly poor, and live almost entirely on polenta or hasty-pudding, not allowing themselves even the addition of milk, as all their milk is appropriated to the dairy. He considered this food to be unhealthy and the cause of a disease[1] very prevalent, which first makes its appearance by inflammation in the hands, etc. This gradually increases during the first year. The second year the patient becomes insane, and the third year he dies. He considers the sovereignty of Marie Louise to be only nominal, and that her dominion depends entirely on her father, although he does not ostensibly and directly interfere; but the Austrian Ministers at Rome and Naples are also the diplomatic agents of Marie Louise. He appeared to be hostile to Bonaparte but said I should be astonished if I knew how many partisans he still had in Italy. The Italians hated the Austrian Government and would even prefer that of Sardinia. That Sardinia was indeed formidable to the Austrian power in Italy. That Sardinia had eighty thousand men well armed, and might overrun Lombardy when she pleased, there being nothing like a barrier on that side of the Adige, etc. At one o'clock we returned home.

The painters Lanfranco[2] and the Parmesan,[3] were born at Parma. It was also the country of the famous conspirator Cassius.

N. B. Gave the Governor some American coins.

[1] Pellagra.
[2] Giovanni Lanfranco (1581–1647).
[3] Francesco Parmigiano (1504–1540).

10. Left Parma at half past nine o'clock, passed Reggio at half past one. Saw there the Cathedral and the statues of Adam and Eve by Clementi.[1] The famous poet Louis Ariosto[2] was born at this place. Passed the fine bridge of the Secchia about four. Its banks witnessed much hard fighting between the French and the Austrians. We also passed the little fortified place of Rubiera and arrived at Modena about six o'clock.

11. Sallied forth this morning at 9 o'clock and first visited the Cathedral. We saw in the tower the celebrated bucket which is preserved as trophy over the Bolognese. There is much history connected with this bucket and a poem has been written about it.[3] We went down into the vault under the tower which is supported on arches, below which are sprung other arches which support none of the weight but which are merely intended to ascertain if the mass sinks. The Cathedral contained nothing remarkable. We next visited the church of St. Dominique, which we found to be handsome, built in the shape of a Greek cross and containing some fine pictures. From the church of St. Dominique we went to the palace which had been built up by Napoleon. At the doorway were two statues by the famous Clementi, one of which was a Hercules. The suite of apartments which we saw were richly ornamented and furnished, and several rooms were adorned with excellent pictures, some of which had made a journey to Paris. There was a fine copy of the Night of Correggio, the original of which we had seen at Dresden. There were also many originals of the first masters: Guido, Titian, Caracci,[4] Lanfranco, etc. We also visited the church of St. George which contained nothing remarkable and was very small. We left Modena at half past eleven and at half past twelve passed the river Panaro and got out of the carriage to view the arches of the bridge over it. They were two in number and remarkably fine. About a league further we left the territory of Modena and at Urbino entered the papal dominions. The Modenese contains about half a million of inhabitants and is governed by the Duke Francis the Fourth, of the old house of Este. We also passed the rivers Lavino and the Ghironda which join each other about nine English miles to the eastward and form a peninsula[5] on which the

[1] Prospero Clementi (*c* 1510–1584).

[2] Lodovico Ariosto (1474–1533).

[3] Tassoni's "Secchia Rapita," which is said to have given Boileau and Pope the hint and the model of the "Lutrin" and the "Rape of the Lock."

[4] Three of the name are known in Bologna, Lodovico (1555–1619), Agostino (1557–1602), and Annibale (1560–1609).

[5] It was an island, three miles long and two miles broad, with the two villages of S. Viola and S. Giovanni.

triumvirate of Octavius, Anthony and Lepidus was formed. We reached Bologna at five o'clock.

12. The first place which we went to see this morning at half past nine o'clock was the church of St. Petronio. On the floor of this church is the famous meridian of Cassini.[1] It is graduated for all the days of the year, and through a hole in the roof the sun at noon each day, in clear weather, shines on the corresponding day in the meridian. It has inscribed on it "Linia Meridiana MDCLVI. Ampliori formi renovata MDCCLXXVI." We next visited the two famous inclined columns. These columns were erected several centuries since by two noblemen of Bologna. The first erected his column, which from his name is now called Asinelli, three hundred and seven feet with an inclination of three feet and a half. His rival Garisenda began the other the year following intending to carry it much higher and to give it an inclination of eighteen feet. When, however, he had raised it one hundred and forty-four feet and given it an inclination of eight feet and two inches, the good people of Bologna became alarmed, particularly those in the neighborhood, and so strongly opposed the continuance of the work that it was abandoned.[2] From the columns we proceeded to the church of St. Bartolommeo fuori di Porta where we saw a beautiful Madonna by Guido. We next went to the church of St. Etienne in which is a marble column with an inscription that it represents that at which our Saviour was scourged. On a wooden cross over one of the altars another inscription declares [it] to contain a piece of the true cross. It was a busy day with the Catholics; at one of the confessionals a woman was confessing on one side, a man was waiting at the communication on the other, and a third was waiting with evident impatience in front. The church was anciently a temple of Isis; an inscription is still seen on the outside which was over the portal of that temple. From St. Etienne we went to the palace of Prince Ercolano. It has a fine entrance ornamented with statues of Hercules and four of the labours of Hercules, whence it may be supposed that the prince claims kindred with the demigod. We were ushered into a fine suite of rooms above stairs embellished with many fine pictures. Among others, Fortune, The Flagellation of our Saviour, The Adoration of St. Francis, and Psyche and Cupid, by Guido; a fine portrait of a lady by the Spanish painter Velasquez; Love carrying a swan to Leda, by Titian; Charity, by Fran-

[1] Gian Domenico Cassini ( ). He drew the meridian line in 1656, and it was renewed by Eustachio Zanotti in 1776.

[2] Modern guidebooks say that the Torre Asinelli is 320 feet in height and four feet out of the perpendicular, and the Torre Garisenda is 163 feet in height, but has an inclination of ten feet.

ceschini, etc. The young Prince Ercolani has married the daughter-in-law of Lucien Bonaparte. We then walked to the Academy of Fine Arts. Below we were shown a fine statue of the death of Virginia, by Professor Iacoma di Maria, a living artist.[1] The statue is said to have been much admired by Canova. We also saw below the modern prize pictures of the Academy, some of which were very good. On going upstairs we were shown in two rooms the finest, tho' not the largest collection which I had seen in Italy. By Guido there was Sampson, after slaying the Philistines, allaying his thirst from water streaming from the jaw bone of the ass, a St. Sebastian, fine tho' unfinished; a crucifixion; a portrait of a Pope, St. Andrea Cocini; Death of Christ, etc. by Louis Caracci; St. Matthew by Raphael; St. Cecilia and St. John. The latter, however, the Bolognese pronounced to be by Giulio Romano; The Martyrdom of St. Peter, by Domenichino, etc. We next went to see a little amphitheatre erected by Bonaparte for comedy in the daytime. It was, like all his works, tasteful and magnificent. It was left open at the top and capable of containing three thousand spectators. We saw in returning to dinner the palace of Enzio, King of Sardinia, who was taken prisoner by the Bolognese while he was conducting succour to the Modenese, their enemies. He was kept in captivity all his life, but was treated it seems with much attention. His tomb is in the church of St. Dominique. Here also saw the famous [fountain of the] Giant, so-called from a colossal figure of Neptune which presides over it. After dinner we went to the Cathedral and saw the Annunciation in fresco by Louis Caracci, a fine painting. The baths of Marius are about one and one-half miles from Bologna, but are a mere mutilated heap of ruins and we did not see them. We also contented ourselves with a distant view of the church of St. Mary of Luke on the mountain,[2] so called because the Virgin is said to be painted by St. Luke. We also saw the arcade which conducts from the city to this church and which consists of six hundred and ninety arches.

13. Went again this morning to the church of Petronio to examine the meridian of Cassini. In addition to the remarks of yesterday I found the following inscription on the wall at which the meridian ends below the winter solstice, viz:

Meridianae hujus liniae
tota longitudo
intra verticalem

[1] Giacomo di Maria (1762–1833).
[2] Madonna di San Luca, on Monte della Guardia.

et centralem solis radium
in hyberno solstitio
est sex centimillisima pars
circuitus
universae terrae

I made the whole length of the meridian one hundred and eight paces. The meridian is marked first "Punctum verticale" which is directly under the gnomon or hole in the roof; then on the left side of the line looking towards the winter solstice is marked "Signa Zodiaci ascendentia;" on the other side "Signa Zodiaci descendentia." In the middle

Horae Italicae Meridia
Perpendiculi partes centissimae.

Then on the line first —

Solstitium Aestium
Junii die 22.

This solstice is placed on the line at 36 and at fifteen hours and forty-nine minutes time. The whole line contains, in time, nineteen hours and eleven minutes. The whole graduation of the centissimae parts is one hundred and forty-eight from one extremity of the line to the other.

At ten o'clock we took leave of Bologna, and after travelling about seven miles we began to ascend the mountains and were obliged to strengthen our team with a pair of oxen. We proceeded with these oxen a few miles when we exchanged them for a pair of horses, which we kept until sunset. We then continued travelling with our four horses until seven o'clock when we stopt at a miserable inn at a place called Scaricalasino. There was not even milk there and we were obliged to wait an hour and a half until it could be brought from a distance which required this time. We found ourselves now among the highest of the Apennines, which are far inferior in sublimity and magnificence to the Alps. The wind was very high during the first part of the night, and we were informed that it blew sometimes with so much violence as to overset carriages on the road and to render it dangerous to travel.

14. We left Scaricalasino at eight o'clock this morning and had not proceeded a mile before we left the papal territories and entered those of Tuscany. About half past nine we stopt at a sorry inn and taking a guide we went more than a mile on foot through a rough and dirty path to view Pietra Mala where there is continually a flame issuing from the earth. We found the surface of the ground which this flame occasionally occupied, for it is not

constantly of the same extent, is about fifteen or eighteen feet square. It seems, according to what was told us, that the flame is sometimes suspended by high winds but never by the rains. Our guide was uncertain if it was burning this morning and stopt at a house on the way to take with him a small pot of coals, for it appears that when the flame is suspended the application of fire to the earth will immediately revive it. We found most of the spot, however, in full flame mostly of a red colour.[1] The stones were burnt black and the earth smoked, but we could not observe any other effect of the fire on them. The smell of the flame was something like ether, but more like electrical sparks. The flame burnt through the stones with a crackling sound, and would sometimes burst forth with this sound through places where it was not before visible. I produced the flame in several new spots by moving the surface with a stick. On returning to the inn we found that our coachman had sent for a couple of bottles of gas to a boiling spring which lay in another direction.[2] The mode of procuring this gas is by lowering the bottles empty and stopt with tow into the spring. We pulled out the tow and simultaneously applied a candle to the mouth of the bottle and the gas instantly took fire and continued burning until the bottle was full of water, which is continually poured into it from the time of drawing out the tow. The water falling to the bottom naturally forces out the gas which is specifically lighter above, and as the gas passes through the burning mouth of the bottle takes fire. After noon this day we found ourselves almost constantly descending and arrived at four o'clock at an inn called Le Mascere. This inn commands the view of a fine valley surrounded by the Apennines and was covered with olive trees, the first we had seen, and cultivated fields. We took a walk to the chateaux of a nobleman in the neighborhood which, though not magnificent, was very pleasant.

15. Left Mascara at nine o'clock this morning and about noon stopt for an hour to see the palace of Pratolino which formerly belonged to the Medici. The building was a venerable old pile but had no claim to beauty. The garden was laid out in winding walks and the small artificial lakes and cataract were very pretty. This cataract was set in motion for our amusement and our guide expected to see us astonished at the spectacle as if there had been no Niagara in the world. There was also near the palace a colossal statue of Neptune by John da Bologna which has been much cele-

[1] This place is known as Monte di Fo, and the flame Fuoco di legno. Larousse says the flame is blue and in certain places red.

[2] The water is cold and is inflammable as alcohol. The fountain is called the Buia.

brated. It was in a posture between sitting and squatting, with one hand pressed upon a monster, which, when the fountain was in order, belched water. The whole, however, is now out of repair and apparently in decay. The statue if erect would measure, we were told, forty feet. After seeing this palace we resumed our journey and soon saw the spires of Florence where we arrived at half past two o'clock. We stopt at a hotel facing the Arno and called the Four Nations. It was the time of the carnival and the street in front of our hotel was covered with maskers. I immediately dressed and called on the Swedish Minister.

16. As my ready cash was low and as my letters of credit were addressed to no one at Florence, I had decided on going early this morning to Leghorn where I should find a banker. I had ordered horses accordingly and they had already made their appearance when a letter was handed to me by the servant from the Swedish Minister, who was not at home when I called yesterday, pressing me in so earnest a manner to defer my journey to Leghorn until after the carnival, that I dismissed the post-horses. At ten o'clock I called on the Chevalier Lagerswärd, the Swedish Minister, and having frankly stated to him the reason of my intention of so suddenly visiting Leghorn, he very politely assured me that he should most cheerfully remove that reason. I showed him my letters of credit on Leghorn when he informed me that one of the banking houses to which I was addressed there had a partner established in this city who would undoubtedly make the advances I needed. To this partner he immediately addressed a letter in my behalf and on delivering it I instantly had all my wants supplied. The Swedish Minister afterwards returned my visit and Mr. James Ambrosi[1] called on me with a letter of introduction from Mr. Appleton, the American Consul at Leghorn. The maskers again paraded before our house this afternoon. At half past seven o'clock the Swedish Minister again called and accompanied us to the ducal palace where his Highness gave a great ball this evening. Before the ball began we were presented to the Grand Duke[2] who received us with great affability and made several inquiries concerning our journey and arrival. His form and face are in the same style of those of the rest of the family whom we have seen. The hall had just been fitted up and lighted with much taste by wax candles placed on half-round columns which diminished towards the top. When we first

[1] Agent for the United States at Florence, by appointment of the consul at Leghorn, and without public recognition.

[2] Ferdinand III, of Habsburg-Lorraine (1769–1824). He married Louise Amélie Thérèse, daughter of Ferdinand IV, king of Sicily.

entered this arrangement had a magnificent effect, but in a little time the different rows of candles, which were near three feet long, having heated those immediately above them, thus incapable of supporting longer their own weight, bent over and reversed their attitude, pouring the melted wax on everything beneath them. Many a fine gown and new coat bore the marks of this extraordinary shower. Several servants were employed in extinguishing the offending candles which were ultimately reduced to less than half their original number and the whole symmetry of the original arrangement entirely destroyed. The room was, however, still sufficiently lighted. We were presented this evening to the chief officers of the court and to most of the corps diplomatique. There was an abundance of ices, lemonades, etc., but no supper. The Duke Palatine,[1] a brother of the Grand Duke and his sister from Saxony, had arrived this afternoon and were present at this ball. Fifty or sixty English were presented en masse this evening.

17. The morning was very rainy and we remained at home, excepting a shopping excursion. At half past seven the Swedish Minister called on us and accompanied us to Louise de Stolberg, Countess of Albany.[2] This lady is from Mecklenberg-Strelitz and was married to the last pretender of the house of Stewart. She is said not to have conducted well towards her husband or to have lived happily with him. She is even said to have refused to see him as he requested on his death-bed. Her friends attempt to apologize for her conduct by accusing the husband of intemperance, but the more impartial find her in the wrong, and not only charge her with an improper connexion with the Poet Alfieri[3] but even with the Cardinal York, the brother of her husband.[4] She appears now to be about sixty and is much distinguished for her *esprit* and accomplishments. From the house of the Countess we went to a ball given by the nobles at their Casino. We found here as everywhere else at Florence shoals of English. The Grand Duke, his

[1] Archduke Joseph (1776–0000), who married Alexandrine Paulowna, daughter of the Emperor Paul of Russia.

[2] Louisa, Countess of Albany (1753–1824), daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, prince of Stolberg-Gedern, and wife of Prince Charles Edward Louis Philip Casimir (1720–1788), son of the Chevalier de St. George. Lord Broughton, who saw her in 1816, described her as "a fat old woman with blunt features and a coarse voice" and "vastly good-natured, at least for a Princess, which she affects not a little to be." *Recollections of a Long Life*, II. 69.

[3] She eloped with Vittorio Alfieri, and openly lived with him as his mistress. She had separated from the Prince in 1777.

[4] Henry Benedict Maria Clement, Cardinal York (1725–1807). He gave shelter to the Countess of Albany, when she had left her husband, and allowed Alfieri to have access to her.

son,[1] and the rest of their family[2] made their appearance about nine o'clock. There was a plenty of dancing and a scarcity of refreshments. Some of the gentlemen played pool at the billiard table in an adjoining room. We were informed that contrary to former custom some of the lower order of nobility had been this night admitted to the Casino.

18. I received a letter from Mr. Appleton at Leghorn in which he informed me that he had in charge four letters for me which he considered too bulky for the post but did not urge me to make an excursion to Leghorn to receive them. A little after noon we went to what is called the Uffizi, where according to custom the maskers were to throng this day, but the weather being rainy their number was very small and we saw nothing wonderful. At six o'clock we went to dine with the Swedish Minister, and found there Lord Burghersh,[3] General Mackenzie, etc. After dinner they gave us the singing of Madam Copali, whom we had heard in Sweden and who is a Swede by birth. She sings remarkably well. A little after nine o'clock we returned home and at half past ten went to the theatre to see the masked ball. We first went into the box of Madame Frulani, the wife of the Minister of Finance, and the sister of Mr. Ambrosi who had been so attentive to us. We afterwards, at the urgent instance of the Swedish Minister, went into his box for the remainder of the evening. We took a walk among the maskers but saw very few in character. The Swedish Minister's box was in the lowest range and while we were in front of it the ladies were accosted by an Englishman who was in the character of a poet and which he performed with sufficient eccentricity. We learnt afterwards that it was a person by the name of Scroop. At half past twelve we returned home.

19. This morning the Swedish Minister and his lady called on us by appointment and accompanied us to make calls on some of the other members of the diplomatic corps, among others the French,[4] Austrian[5] and English Ministers. We also called on the Grand Master of Ceremonies. Mrs. Russell had her teeth arranged this morning by the famous dentist Buzzei. The Swedish Minister called in the evening to attend us to the theatre but we declined going as we felt a disposition to repose.

[1] Leopold II (1797–1870).

[2] Marie-Louise (*b.* 1798) and Thérèse (*b.* 1801).

[3] John Fane (1784–1859), Lord Burghersh until 1841, when he succeeded his father as Earl of Westmorland.

[4] Chevalier de Vernégues is given in the *Almanach de Gotha*, but Comte Dillon is mentioned by Russell more than once as the minister of France.

[5] Comte Antoine-Rodolphe Apponyi (1782–?).

20. I took a walk this morning with Mr. Ambrosi and made several trifling investments. At half past eight o'clock in the evening we visited the Countess of Albany and assisted, agreeably to an invitation which she had given us, at a tea-party. We met there a very select party, among whom was the Prince Borghese [1] and his mistress the Duchess of Lante. We had been presented to them at the Grand Duke's and had afterwards seen them at the Casino of the nobles. They appeared to be disposed to treat us with marked attention. The Prince, however, has treated his wife very ill. She was Bonaparte's sister, Paulina,[2] and now lives separately at Rome, and he lives at Florence in a most public manner with the Duchess above mentioned. He is called her cavaliere servente and here there appears to be no scandal annexed to this kind of connexion. When indeed I spoke of her to others she was uniformly called a most charming and respectable woman. Indeed this species of gallantry, notwithstanding all that Eustace says on the subject, is as common as ever, and a lady sinks in her own estimation and loses a portion of her consideration in society who cannot appear with her cavaliere servente. The want of this appendage is ascribed to some defect concealed or apparent in the mind or person. At ten o'clock we left the Countess of Albany and proceeded to the hotel of Count Dillon,[3] the Minister of France, who had invited us to a ball this evening. We found there the same company which we had seen at the tea-party with a few in addition. Count Dillon emigrated soon after the commencement of the French Revolution and entered the service of England in which he continued for about twenty years. He told me he was one of four brothers who had crossed the Atlantic in favour of American Independence. He did not indeed reach himself the United States, having been wounded on the way at Grenada. One of his brothers was guillotined[4] and another was drowned. The General[5] that was massacred at Lille was a cousin. I also met here an Irish Lord Dillon of the same family.[6] I had known this Lord in England who was then, however, only the Honorable Colonel Dillon. He is now violent in favour of the opposition, and is upon the whole a

[1] Camillo Filippo Ludovico (1775–1832).

[2] She was the widow of General Leclerc when the Prince married her.

[3] Edouard Dillon (1751–1839), son of Robert Dillon, of Bordeaux. He was the Minister of France at Dresden.

[4] Arthur, Comte Dillon (1750–1794), guillotined at Paris, was the son of Henry, Count Dillon and Charlotte Lee.

[5] Theobald Dillon (1745–1792), brother of Arthur, Comte Dillon.

[6] Henry Augustus Dillon-Lee, Viscount Dillon (1777–1832), was eldest son of Charles, Viscount Dillon and Henrietta Maria Phipps, daughter of Constantine, Lord Mulgrave.

most eccentric man. I also met this evening with a very interesting Italian, the Marquis of [ ] who had long been in the diplomatic service of Prussia. About midnight we returned home.

21. This morning received very unexpectedly a call from Thomas Bartlett of Boston who had just arrived from Rome. We spent the remainder of the morning at home. Called at nine o'clock on the Swedish Minister and lady, and went at ten to the masked ball at the theatre which we found to be very crowded, all the rooms being open and filled. This evening Amelia masked and we became acquainted with the Count Solaro della Margarita, secretary of the Sardinian legation at Naples, who appeared to be a well informed young man.

22. Called this morning on a gentleman from Demerara [1] and inquired after my old friend Madame Dusart; also called on Mr. Bartlett and walked with him to the Sotto d'Uffizi, but were too late to see the maskers. At half past five went to dine with Lord Burghersh. The party was small consisting of Lady Salter, Sir William Paine and five others, — all English. I handed in Lady Burghersh and enjoyed her conversation until the dessert when she was suddenly taken ill with fainting and was obliged to leave the table and the room. This was owing to her situation. From Lord Burghersh's we returned home in a short time and then went to a ball at the Grand Duke's. We found less company there than on the former night and this diminution was almost entirely at the expense of the English which did not render the party the less agreeable. I was, this evening, presented to the young Duke and had considerable conversation with him. He is in truth rather a dull young man. We returned home at twelve o'clock.

23. Went this morning to see the maskers Sotto l'Uffizi and found the crowd very great. They dispersed, however, about half past two. At half past three they thronged on the quay before our inn. At half past four went in our carriage to the Corso, and found a great number of carriages, some of which were very elegant, particularly those of the Grand Duke and the Prince Borghese. The latter was accompanied as usual by the Duchess of Lante. Mrs. Russell and myself had now seen enough of the carnival and decided not to go to the ball this evening, but Amelia was actuated by a different spirit and placed herself under the protection of the lady of the Minister of Sweden and again went to the theatre.

24. Mrs. Russell was confined this morning with her teeth. I attempted, however, to take a walk with Mr. Ambrosi to the Cascine, but was arrested on my way by the rain and was obliged to

[1] Faber. Page 431, *infra*.

take refuge in the church of a Franciscan Convent. I then returned home and having dressed went to dine with a gentleman from Demerara by the name of Faber. He is a very considerable planter in that Island and from him I learned several interesting particulars concerning the colony. Our dinner lasted until near nine o'clock. After it was over I called, with the Swedish Minister and the ladies, on the Countess of Albany and thence we went to pass the evening at [ ] where I was engaged in a game of whist.

25. I called this morning to see Thomas H. Perkins, the son of Thomas H. Perkins of Boston, but I was told that he was not at home. I afterwards went with Mrs. Russell and Mr. Ambrosi to the gallery, but some of the ducal family being there the doors were shut against strangers. We then went to the palace of the Prince of Mozzi[1] and saw many fine pictures. That, however, which pleased us most was one painted at Florence by [ ] portraying Napoleon Bonaparte, receiving after the battle of Austerlitz the oath of the Saxons. The scene is represented by moonlight and torchlight, and exquisitely painted. The likeness of Bonaparte is very good and there is also the likeness of Murat, five or six marshals, four pages, etc., all taken from the life. We next went to the church of St. Lorenzo. This church is very rich, but like many of the Italian churches has never been finished. It contains the tombs of the Medici and marble monuments of some of them by Michael Angelo. These monuments are also unfinished. From the church of St. Lorenzo we went to the church of Santa Croce. This is a very ancient building of bad Gothique but very interesting for the monuments which it contains. Among others are the monuments of Galileo, the famous astronomer; Aretino, the poet; Machiavelli, the historian and civilian. His epitaph begins with "Tanto nomini nullum par elogium." There is also a monument to the late poet, Alfieri, raised to him by his particular friend, the Countess of Albany.

28. Our attempt to visit the gallery this morning was more successful. We entered it at eleven o'clock and remained till half past one. We did not, however, see one half of the wonders which it contained, not even the Venus of Medici. The corridors contain many fine ancient busts and statues, which we passed very rapidly. Among the rooms which we afterwards entered, that which contains the group of Niobe and her children is particularly interesting. The story is the vengeance of Apollo, and the passions of anger and dismay are admirably depicted in the several statues. One only is yet dead and one wounded. The dead figure is perfect,

[1] Mozzi-Carolath.

but the wounded one had suffered mutilation, and the head and an arm are modern, which undoubtedly alters the whole character of the man and renders his appearance very tame. He hangs his head now like a narcissus. The figure of the mother and the youngest daughter, in one piece, and the eldest daughter, at the other end of the room, are supposed to be by one artist who is supposed to have been Scopas. In another room we saw an admirable Magdalen by Carlo Dolci. In still another room was a fine Assumption in claro obscuro, by Fra Bartholomew.[1] There was a room of portraits of all the celebrated painters by their own hands. We had time this morning to visit a part of the rooms only.

27. We repaired to the gallery again this morning but found the doors again shut against strangers on account of the presence of the Grand Duke and family. To indemnify ourselves for this disappointment we went to the Physical cabinet, where we saw not only a very valuable collection of specimens from the different reigns of nature, but a most wonderful collection of anatomical preparations in wax. This collection indeed is said to be the finest in the world. Besides these anatomical preparations in wax there were numerous representations of vegetables, fossils, etc., in the same material. We next visited the Academy of Arts where we saw some very good productions of modern artists and a very great number of casts of the productions of the ancients. Among these were casts of the Elgin marbles which had been made a present to the Grand Duke by the Prince of Wales. From the Academy we proceeded to the rooms of Morghen, the celebrated engraver.[2] We saw specimens of most of his performances. He is considered the first engraver in the world, but he sometimes multiplies his impressions to such a degree as to give very imperfect copies and thus to run the hazard of injuring his own fame. We found a young gentleman from New York named Main[3] studying the art with Morghen. At three o'clock we obtained admission into the palace of Pitti and saw the several apartments containing a most precious collection of pictures by the first masters, particularly of Raphael and Titian. I had felt a bad cold all day and in the evening I was so sick as to be obliged to stay at home. Mrs. Russell and Amelia, however, visited the Countess of Albany and the Countess of Santini.

28. I continued very ill with my cold this day and kept house and even my bed almost without intercession. My headache was unutterably painful.

March 1. I was somewhat better this day but still continued

[1] Baccio della Porta, called Fra Bartolomeo de S. Marco.
[2] Raffaelo Sanzio Morghen (1758–1833).
[3] William Main. See Stauffer, *American Engravers*, I. 169.

too sick to go abroad. Amelia, however, visited some of the churches with Madame Lagerswärd and Mrs. Russell visited in the evening Mrs. Graham and went a little while to the theatre.

2. I found myself this morning well enough to accompany Mrs. Russell and Amelia with Mr. Ambrosi to the gallery of paintings and saw the apartments containing the Venetian school and that containing the celebrated Venus of Medici. In this last room are several pictures of Raphael exhibiting in a striking way his three different manners. We received a call this day from Mons. and Madame Lagerswärd.

3. At half past eight o'clock this morning we set off by an extra diligence for Leghorn. At eleven we passed Casciano [1] and Mr. Ambrosi, who was with us, told us a remarkable instance of fraternal animosity. The father had left his estate equally to two sons, who proceeded to the division, and whenever an article was found which had no exact match or counterpart they literally cut it in twain without any regard to the injury or even total destruction of the article. At last one of the brothers was found murdered, and the survivor, who had often been heard to declare his intention to get rid of the deceased, was naturally suspected of being the murderer. He has, however, for want of proof hitherto escaped punishment. At half past twelve passed San Miniato.[2] The church in this place contains the tombs of the ancestors of Napoleon Bonaparte who were patricians. At half past four o'clock we passed Pisa and arrived at Leghorn at half past seven. Stopt at the Aquilla nera — black eagle — a very tolerable inn.

4. This morning had an early call from Mr. Appleton, the consul, and received our letters from America. After breakfast we took a walk with him to see the harbour. We found there an Algerine cruiser turned bottom upwards to be caulked. We afterwards left the quay and mounted an eminence in its vicinity which commanded a view of the sea whence, although the weather was not very clear, we distinctly saw the Islands of Corsica, Elba and Capraja; the two former so celebrated as the cradle and prison of Napoleon. On this eminence we saw the subterraneous vaults contrived for the preservation of corn and pulse from the insects. They consist of caverns completely walled and floored with brick through which neither air nor moisture can penetrate. These vaults have a small circular opening at the top of about two feet or two feet and a half diameter, which are closed by a cover on which the earth is thrown to the depth of two or three feet which brings it on a level with the surface of the earth. This as Mr. Appleton

[1] Cascina, on the Arno.

[2] San Miniato al Tedesco.

expressed it is hermetically sealing them. The philosophy of the contrivance is the complete exclusion of the air which prevents the insect from generating there and kills him if already in the commodity. For want of air he crawls to the top of the mass and there perishes. We took a ramble about the streets of Leghorn which we found to be well built and thickly populated city, having an air of activity and business. We stopt at a large magazine of alabaster and made some small purchases of vases and lamps. Mr. Appleton dined with us, and in the evening I accompanied him and Mr. Ambrosi for a short time in the box of a Mr. Coat a Scotch banker and heard Mallenotta and Bernanotta sing.

5. A call this morning from Mr. Appleton and having breakfasted we took leave of Leghorn at half past eight, Mr. Appleton having very politely handed me a letter for Canova and Trentanove. We reached Pisa at noon and remained there two hours during which time we visited the Cathedral, the inclined tower, the cemetery, etc. The Cathedral contains some fine statues and paintings. The inclined tower or campanile torto is one hundred and eighty-eight feet high and is ascended by one hundred and ninety-three steps. We had no desire to mount it as it has a frightful appearance varying from a perpendicular fifteen feet. There is a difference of opinion respecting the cause of this inclination, some ascribing it to design and some to the sinking of the earth. Whatever may have been the cause it is evident that it is occasioned by the foundation being no longer on a level. On one side there are three steps of about a foot high each, on which rest a pedestal of about two feet and a half. These steps not only diminish and disappear under the earth as they circle round the tower, but on the opposite side the whole base of the column and a part of the shaft are buried in the ground. The cemetery or Campo Santo is a magnificent Gothique marble arcade forming a square and containing many tombs of the inhabitants of Pisa. There are also many antiquities of Grecian, Roman and Egyptian origin. The walls are painted in stucco and among other subjects "The Last Judgment of Dante" is painted. The blessed look sufficiently contented and the damned sufficiently miserable. The devils and the angels appear to perform parts equally important, and there is a contest between two individuals of these different orders for the embodied spirit of a priest. In returning to our inn we passed the famous tower in which the celebrated Count Ugolino was confined whose fate has been strangely avenged by the imagination of Dante. We only saw the top of the tower which appears to be an isosceles triangle, the bottom being covered by a dwelling house of which it seems to form a part. We left Pisa at about half past two and arrived at Lucca at five where we found a

good inn. Lucca contains twenty thousand inhabitants, and the territory seventy thousand.

6. Left Lucca at half past eight o'clock and reached Pistoja at two. We remained there two hours in which time I called with Mr. Ambrosi on the Governor who treated us with a cup of coffee and a glass of Rosolio. He is Count Fanlom. He told me that Pistoja is very ancient; that its inhabitants took part with Catiline in his conspiracy and that he was defeated by Antony in this neighbourhood. He likewise informed me that Pistoja has very [much] decreased in population, that it has still sufficient habitations for the comfortable accommodation of twelve thousand persons, but that the actual number of inhabitants does not exceed ten thousand. The neighbouring country, however, he stated to be very populous. We left Pistoja at four o'clock and arrived at Florence at nine.

7. Called this morning on Baron Lagerswärd. Soon after received a call from him and his lady. Dismissed this morning our waiting woman Francesca for impertinence, intemperance, indolence, and dishonesty. Had a call about three from Robert Goodloe Harper,[1] who announced himself as General Harper of the United States — much disappointed in his manners and appearance. The Emperor of Austria and his suite arrived at five o'clock this afternoon and the town was illuminated in consequence of that event this evening. At half past seven we ordered our carriage and rode round the city to see the sights. It was on the whole rather a shabby illumination. The palace of the Prince of Borghese had the most splendid appearance. Mr. Ambrosi accompanied us on this excursion. My cold although much better is still troublesome.

8. Went this morning to the gallery of pictures and again saw the apartment of the Venus of Medici. The first manner of Raphael is exhibited in a portrait; his second manner in two pictures of the Virgin, Jesus and St. John; and his third manner in a Pope, his mistress, and St. John in the wilderness. We also visited the Dutch school this morning and the cabinet of precious stones. In this last an onyx vase was shown worth at least $100,000. From the gallery we went to the Church of Annunciation and saw in the corridor a picture of the Virgin and Son in fresco, which is very much admired and which it is said Titian specially visited Florence to see and that it exceeded his expectation. From the church I went to call on Count Neipperg but did not find him at home. I then went with Mrs. Russell and called on Madame Lagerswärd. After setting Mrs. Russell down at our inn I went ashopping and bought a trunk

[1] (1765–1825). He was a member of the United States Senate at this time, and owed his military rank to service in the war of 1812.

for three dollars. I then called on Mr. and Mrs. Harper. Dined at home. Called with Mrs. Russell and Amelia on Mrs. Harper and then went to the theatre and saw poor acting.

9. Went this morning after breakfast to the gallery and saw again the Venetian school; the room containing antiquities; the fine Mercury in bronze; the group of Niobe; the Dutch and French schools; the room containing the Venus of Medici, etc. In going to the gallery this morning I stopt at a manufactory of swords and asked the price of one which I wanted and was told it was seven franceschonis.[1] Upon demanding the very lowest it was six and one-half. I offered six which was refused, and I walked on intending to return after seeing the gallery and to take the sword at six and a half. I accordingly went again to the manufactory at three; pointed out the very sword which I had seen in the morning and requested the manufacturer to do the little that was still wanting to finish it. This he did and when I was directing the servant to take it, and had taken out my money to pay for it, I observed the price asked was six and one-half franceschoni but was most astonished to hear the manufacturer assert that it was seven and one-half franceschonis. My valet de place affected to be as much surprised as myself as he perfectly remembered that in the morning the highest price asked was seven franceschoni and that the sword was actually offered afterwards for six and one-half. For my own part, revolting at such bare faced fraud and falsehood, I left the sword where I had found it. This singular effrontery is not, however, peculiar to this sword manufacturer. Some days since I ordered some shoes to be made for Mrs. Russell and had very distinctly agreed to pay for them six francs the pair. When he had made the shoes and brought them home he insisted that I had agreed to pay ten francs.

At five o'clock we accompanied the Baron Lagerswärd to the palace of Marie Louise. We found Count Neipperg in waiting. The ladies were first introduced. After they had come out the gentlemen were introduced. These consisted of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Interior, the Minister of Finance, and the diplomatic corps. Her Majesty received us en circle, that is, we stood in form of a crescent. The order was as follows: The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mons. Fossombrone; the Minister of England, Lord Burghersh; the Minister of France, beaux Dillon; the Minister of Interior, Prince Corsini;[2] the Minister of Finance, Mr. Frulani;[3]

[1] The francescone was a coin of Tuscany, worth about 45 centimes, but there is no mention of the coin of the text.

[2] Thomas Corsini, Prince of Simismeno (1767–1856).

[3] Leonard Frulani (1756–1824).

myself; the Minister of Sweden, Baron Lagerswärd; the Chargé d'affaires of Portugal, Mr. Quinn; the Chargé d'affaires of Russia, Mons. Svertchhoff; the French, English, and Austrian secretaries. Her Majesty addressed each individual. With the Minister of England, whom she had seen before, she conversed very gaily, but when she addressed the Minister of France she was evidently embarrassed, cast down her eyes and appeared sad. She merely inquired of him after the Duchess of Berry,[1] whom she said was her cousin but had never seen her. Of me she made inquiries concerning our journey; whether we had yet found a vessel for the United States; where our vessels of war were, if we arrived during the carnival; if we had been to the ball of the Grand Duke; if we were going to Rome for the Holy Week; said it was said it would not be so gay as usual as the Pope would not pontificate but one or two days, etc. I spent the evening at home with Mrs. Russell but Amelia went with Madame Lagerswärd to a ball at Madame Le Blanc's.

10. We began this morning to make our arrangements for packing up. I went at twelve o'clock to see the Baptistery which is a very ancient building and by some said to have been a temple of Mars. The doors of this building are very celebrated and were said by Michael Angelo to be worthy of being the gates of Paradise. They were made by Ghiberti, father and son. At five o'clock Baron Lagerswärd called and took me with him to the Palace Pitti to be presented to the Emperor and Empress of Austria. No ladies were this day presented. Count D'Apponyi, the Minister of Austria did the honours of the day. The Grand Chamberlain of the Emperor and the Grand Master of the Empress were in the antechamber and the members of the diplomatic corps were presented to them with one *unaccountable exception*. The Emperor received the members of the diplomatic corps in succession. The English Minister and his secretary, first entered; then the French Minister and his secretary; then the Danish Minister,[2] who has no secretary; then Baron Lagerswärd and myself. After us the Portuguese Chargé d'affairs and the others in the same order as yesterday. The Emperor remembered me and asked many questions concerning my journey hither and the voyage to the United States. He inquired after Mrs. Russell and expressed an expectation of meeting us at Rome. After leaving the Emperor we proceeded to the apartments of the Empress and were presented to her in the same order.

[1] Marie-Caroline-Ferdinande-Louise de Bourbon, Duchesse de Berry (1798–1870), daughter of Ferdinand I. She married in 1816 the Duc de Berry, nephew of Louis XVIII.

[2] Baron de Schubart.

She was very courteous, inquired after Mrs. Russell and the child, etc. In the evening we went to the theatre until half past ten.

11. We went this morning to the gallery and spent an hour in the apartment of the Venus of Medici. We met there Mr. Harper and his wife with young Mr. Taylor. We afterwards took a ride with our little one to the Cascine. At five we went to dine with the Baron Lagerswärd. At seven we went with him to the theatre. About eight the Emperor, Empress, Marie Louise, Grand Duke, etc., made their appearance. There had been every arrangement made to secure them a distinguished reception. All the fauteurs of Austria among the rabble had been allowed to enter gratis and a host of police officers were placed in the pit for the purpose of applauding. Still, however, the applause was so feeble that the voice of the police officers in the pit, directing the covered to take off their hats was very distinctly heard. The Emperor and Empress first appeared and after they were seated Marie Louise slid silently to her place near them. This mode of proceeding was believed to be entirely at the direction of the Emperor. While at Venice the daughter had so notoriously engrossed every expression of public regard that the father could not conceal his chagrin. He therefore resolved here to keep her as much out of sight as possible. Notwithstanding all this a murmur was distinctly heard in the pit, after Marie Louise was discovered, "Ecco la Napoleonide."

12. At ten this morning we went in company with Mrs. Hall and Madame Lagerswärd to visit the reclusio, which is an establishment for the support of the indigent. It is very spacious comprising two ci-devant convents. Begging publicly is forbidden in Florence and the beggars have been taken up and those who were able to work were placed in the reclusio. Many of the mechanic arts are here taught and carried to great perfection. The first room which we entered contained very small female children employed in knitting woolen hosiery. We successively on the female side passed through rooms containing winders, and weavers of silk and linen. On the male side were manufacturers of carpets, cutlery, etc. There were at first about two thousand people confined here but the number is now reduced to about nine hundred of which three hundred are females and the rest males, — chiefly boys and girls. The reason of this diminution is that those who are discharged as capable of managing their own affairs and providing for their own subsistence, greatly exceeds the number of recruits that the actual state of mendicity at Florence supplies. For whenever any of the workmen have given sufficient evidence of good conduct and declare a wish to leave the place they are permitted so to do, but if afterwards they should be detected in begging they are imprisoned and

punished. To encourage them while they are in the reclusio one-third of the net proceeds of their labour is appropriated to their use, that is, one-half of this third is placed to their absolute disposal at once, and the other half is placed in trust to constitute a fund for their support in old age. This institution would exclusively deserve praise were it not sometimes abused for unjust purposes. As the government of Tuscany is entirely arbitrary there are instances of persons, who were not mendicants or poor, being confined here on the denunciation of their enemies or what is still more horrid at the instance of their relations and even of their fathers. After leaving the reclusio we returned to our inn and then took a walk to the gallery but could not get in as the Emperor was there. We then took a walk to the Cathedral and afterwards called on Mrs. Harper[1] but she being sick we were not received. We then dressed and took a ride to the Cascine and at five o'clock went to dine with Mr. Graham and lady. The Swedish, Danish and Portuguese Ministers were of the party. In the evening we went to the Pergola and were invited into the box of the Marquis of Corsi where we took ices and other refreshments. The Marquis was charged this evening with the police of theatre.

13. We went this morning to the gallery and were again refused admittance as the Imperial Family were there. We afterwards rode to the Cascine and in the evening went to the Pergola and saw the opera of Othello. The singing and music were very fine but the acting was very bad.

14. We were very busy this day making arrangements to leave Florence. In the morning at eight o'clock, however, we visited the Cathedral and saw in it some of the fine works of Michael Angelo. Generally, however, we were not pleased with the interior of this church. We next went to the house of Signor Buzzei who had a few choice pictures by the first masters; among others the Visit of Alexander to Diogenes, by Salvator Rosa, and the Virgin, Jesus, St. Joseph and another saint by Titian, — small but excellent. I next went to leave my cards P. P. C. with the persons from whom we received attention at Florence. I called with Mrs. Russell on the Countess of Albany, the Marchioness of Santini and the Duchess of Lante. The two former only we found at home. We received a visit from Madame Lagerswärd and Madame Graham. In the evening we went to the theatre to take leave of the Baron Lagerswärd and his lady who had been particularly attentive to us. The Baron gave us several letters of introduction to Rome and Naples

[1] She was a daughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and married Harper in May, 1801.

and the Duchess of Lante sent us a very flattering letter to the Princess Chigi at Rome. It is well to remember that whenever we visited the theatre we had seats in the box of the Baron Lagerswärd.

15. At eight o'clock this morning we left Florence with a vetturino for Rome. We stopt at noon at a small town where we found a family in their carriages also travelling towards Rome. We reached Levane at five o'clock where we found a very bad inn and very ungracious hosts. It was not until after the arrival of the family which we overtook at noon that we were allowed to take possession of the rooms which suited us. The chief of this family proved to be a Russian Admiral [1] who, together with his lady, was very polite and insisted on our having the apartments which we wished, but which had been before refused us having been ordered by an avant courier for him.

16. We left our inn this morning without regret, at seven o'clock, having first eaten a bad breakfast. We arrived at Arezzo at twelve and stopt to dine just beyond the town. While dinner was preparing I took a walk into the town and saw the remains of an amphitheatre built in the time of the Romans. A part of the circuit is covered by the church of Olivetains but the rest is very conspicuous but in a very ruinous state being a few feet only above the surface of the earth. In a vault beneath the ruins the figure of a man painted in fresco was shown me, but I could not learn from my guide when, by whom, or for whom it was painted. Arezzo was the birth place of the celebrated Maecenas the patron of genius. After dinner we proceeded on our journey and arrived at Cammucia at five o'clock where we stopt for the night. I immediately took a walk to Cortona, the ancient Corytum, one of the twelve principal Etruscan cities. It is situated on a hill of pretty steep ascent in the immediate neighbourhood of Cammucia. I regretted that it was too late to see the ruins of an ancient temple of Bacchus and of some baths ornamented with mosaic, as well as the tomb which is still shown as that which covers the remains of the imprudent, unfortunate consul Flaminius. As the Russian Admiral had again commanded rooms for his family at this inn which was small, it was not until his arrival that we could obtain lodgings.

17. Left our inn at seven and passed the boundary line which divides the dominions of the Grand Duke of Tuscany from those of the Pope. At the papal custom-house they contented themselves with leading [2] our baggage, to which I consented in order to avoid a dispute and to save time. At eleven we passed the lake called by

[1] The name is given in a later entry — Morzwindoff.
[2] Sealing with lead.

the Romans Trasimenus, by the modern Italians Perugia, and by the French Pérouse. It is a delightful sheet of water, surrounded by hills and a well cultivated country, and celebrated by the defeat of the Romans under their consul by the Carthaginian General Hannibal. We also passed the little stream called Sanguinetto, said to have received this name from the blood of the Romans with which it was swelled and discoloured on that occasion, altho' others suppose the battle to have taken place where the little village of Ossoja now stands, as many human bones have been there found. The Sanguinetto is a small brook, even at this season, and must be nearly or quite dry in summer. After passing the lake we ascended a very elevated hill which gave us a fine view of the country which we had passed. We dined at one o'clock and then proceeded to Perugia where we stopt for the night. Perugia is placed on a mountain of considerable height and from the castle on the top we had a most extensive view of the adjacent country. We also visited the church of St. Pedro,[1] but it was too dark to see the paintings to advantage. We this night found a comfortable inn and the Russian Admiral with his family lodged at another inn.

18. Breakfasted this morning as usual at six thirty and began our journey at seven. We soon passed the Tiber on the bridge of St. John, and at ten a little town called Spello where we saw the ruins of an ancient amphitheatre. At half past eleven we stopt at Foligno to dine, where we met again the Admiral and family. I went immediately with Mrs. R[ussell] to see the famous picture of the Virgin in her glory by Raphael. We left Foligno at one and soon after [2] passed the little temple dedicated by the Romans to the river Clitumnus on whose banks it stands. This edifice appeared to be nearly entire and beautiful for its simplicity, but the lower part was about ruined in something like a mill-dam. We reached Spoleto at half past four where we stopt for the night. We immediately went to view the famous acqueduct which crosses a deep valley between the town and the mountain Maroggia. Along this aqueduct is a narrow bridge for foot passengers. It is six hundred feet in length and three hundred feet high supported by several ranges of small arches one above the other. This work with the valley and the Maroggia which is covered with houses almost to the top, presents one of the most enchanting views we had ever witnessed. We next visited the Cathedral where there is a fine picture of Correggio. We then passed to the other extremity of the city to see the gate which is called the Porta di Fuga and at which we arrived by the Via de Annibali. The origin of these names

[1] San Pietro de' Cassinensi.

[2] Near Campello.

is said to have been the precipitate retreat of Annibal from before this place which he had besieged after his victory over Flaminius and which he expected would have surrendered without much resistance. But the citizens made a resolute defence and by a vigorous sortie compelled him suddenly to abandon his enterprise. Near the Porta di Fuga is the remains of an ancient bridge consisting of three arches, one of which only is entire, and which is now called the Bloody Bridge, as it is said to have been the place of execution of no less than seven thousand Christian martyrs. The Admiral stopt this night within the walls of Spoleto and we lodged in the suburbs just without the walls towards Rome and we fared extremely well.

19. Left our quarters at seven and reached Terni at eleven. We immediately took a calash and went to visit the famous cataract of Marmore. We proceeded two or three miles along the road in the carriage when we left it, and turned through the field along the river on foot for about two miles further. The descent at first was very considerable and in places very rough. Just before we arrived at the falls we met the Admiral and his family on their return, and as they had taken jackasses for their accommodation they very kindly offered us a couple for our accommodation. We would consent, however, to take but one. A few minutes afterwards we arrived at the falls and our expectations were much disappointed. We viewed them from below. The water, which forms a mere brook of about twenty feet wide, appears to fall over the brow of the opposite hill, or, as it is called, mountain, and its first perpendicular descent is said to be two hundred feet, tho' to the eye it seemed less. The stream is called the Velino and is said in all to descend one thousand and sixty-three [feet], but to us the rapids below the first fall had nothing interesting. There was certainly mist enough to have formed rainbows had the sun been in a proper position, but we saw none. To us who had seen the great falls of Niagara the cascade of Marmore appeared a wretched dwarf. We returned to Terni, which was formerly called Interamna, being between the two branches of the Nera, to dine. Mrs. Russell and Amelia took turns in riding the jackass the Admiral had furnished. The Admiral had, from a fear of highwaymen, with which this country abounds, provided himself with a military escort of four dragoons, and he politely invited us to keep him company and share in the protection. We accordingly set off together after dinner. Terni, or Interamna, was the birthplace of the Emperor and of the historian Tacitus. In passing Narni the ancient Nequinum, the streets being rather narrow our driver very carelessly drove us against the iron grating of a window and broke one of our lanterns

and injured one of the arms of our carriage — chastisement little satisfaction. We reached Otricoli, anciently Oriculum, at half past five. Oriculum is thirteen leagues from Rome but the Emperor Constantine is said to have believed on leaving to be entering that city, as the whole distance was at that time crowded with magnificent buildings and splendid monuments. We this night slept at the same inn as the Admiral, and fared rather poorly but as well as our companions.

20. We left Otricoli about six o'clock and about half after nine passed Civita Castellana, where Alexander the sixth built a palace which looks like a castle, and which has been used as a prison of state. This town is situated on a steep hill or mountain on which formerly stood, but not precisely in the same place, the ancient city of Fescennium, the capital of Falerii. It was before this town that Furius Camillus had been for nearly two years besieging it in vain, when a schoolmaster who had been entrusted with the children of the principal inhabitants betrayed his trust and delivered his pupils to the Roman general who, disgusted with this meanness and treachery, caused the betrayed scholars to scourge their pedagogue back into the town, which so pleased the beseiged that they immediately surrendered the place. We reached the small town of Nepi about half past eleven where at the recommendation of the Admiral we consented to pass the remainder of the day, as Baccano, the place where we had been destined by the vetturino to lodge, was reputed to be unhealthy. There is a considerable aqueduct of modern date at Nepi but nothing else worth seeing.

21. We left Nepi at six o'clock with an escort of four dragoons, who ranged themselves successively by the side of the four carriages. These dragoons were relieved regularly by the same number of others at the distance of five or six miles. The country from Nepi to Rome we found to be poorly cultivated and sparsely inhabited and without one vestige of antiquity to attract our attention. We discovered Rome at a distance of five or six miles by its towers and domes but we did not see the dome of St. Peter's until we had got a mile or two nearer, as it was concealed by high ground on our right. We arrived at the Eternal City by the Gate of the People about three o'clock and passed the custom-house without trouble, as we were considered as part of the train of the Russian Admiral who had provided himself with a free pass. We first stopt at the Hotel of La Grande Europe, but not being able to obtain apartments there we drove to that of La Grande Bretagne where we were tolerably accommodated tho' much to the dissatisfaction of Amelia. Being fatigued we did not go out this evening.

22. This morning about eleven o'clock I called by mistake on the Prussian Minister supposing that the letter addressed to Mr. Bartholdy the Chargé d'affairs of Prussia.[1] The minister, however, received me very politely. I next called on the Dutch Minister [2] for whom I had a letter from Baron Lagerswärd which I delivered to him and received in return the usual tender of service. He engaged to present on Thursday next to the Cardinal Minister Gonzalvo. After making these calls I went, with my valet de place, in search of other apartments till dinner time but without success. I renewed this search after dinner with the same bad fortune. I saw many things this day en passant, viz.: The Palace of Louis Bonaparte, Madame Letitia, Doria, etc., the Mount Quirinal and the statues there of Castor and Pollux with their horses and the obelisque, the column of Trajan, etc. In the evening I found myself very unwell with a cold and went to bed at eight o'clock.

23. Although very sick this morning I again went out after lodgings and at length succeeded in finding some which suited but for which thirty Louis d'or per month was demanded. It was necessary to take them or run the risk of having none, as those I occupied at the Grande Bretagne were engaged to others after the first week. I therefore took them and agreed to sign the contract on the morrow. I called on Mr. J. G. Joy at half past three at the Grande Europe and found him at home, with three other young Americans among whom were a Mr. Gibbs and a Mr. Smith. Finding myself very ill after dinner I went to bed at half past seven.

24. I felt myself somewhat better of my cold this morning, and I received the agent of the woman whose apartments I had engaged in order to execute the contract. In any other country I should have been surprised to discover that the instructions he had received varied essentially from the terms of the contract which I had made. He was authorized to lease only a part of the rooms for twenty-five Louis and not the whole for thirty. After a long discussion in which I peremptorily refused to take less than the whole he went for new instructions and returned saying I might have the whole provided I took them for two months instead of one. This I categorically refused to do and expressed my indignation at such equivocation and declared that I considered the negotiation at an end. He then requested me to wait half an hour until he should again consult his principal. I told him he might act as he pleased but that I should consider myself entirely free. He returned, however, within the half hour and the proprietor, having agreed to the

[1] The sentence is incomplete. The Prussian minister was the historian, Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1776–1831).

[2] Baron de Reinhold.

terms which were first contracted between us the contract was executed accordingly. While this business was proceeding the wife of the Russian Admiral with her two daughters called on us and I proposed an excursion to Tivoli on Friday. At half past twelve I went with Mrs. Russell to make several calls on persons for whom we had letters, the Princess of Chigi, letter from the Duchess of Lante; the Princess of Barberini, letter from Ambrosi; the Marchioness of Greca, letter from Baron Lagerswärd; Col. Bonar and lady, letter from Major Weiss. We afterwards rode to the church of St. Pierre where we remained two hours. The most curious thing which we saw on the inside was a statue of Jupiter Capitolinus turned into St. Peter. The hands and head were new but the toes of the right foot of the old Jove, which projects a little beyond the pedestal, have been worn quite smooth by the labial taste of the worshippers of St. Peter. After dinner we took a ride on Mt. Pincio and through the course to Mount Quirinal and viewed the obelisk and statues of Castor and Pollux which stand before the Pope's palace. On the base of one of these statues is an inscription denoting it to be the work of Phidias and on the other the work of Praxiteles. We spent our evening at home.

25. As I had an engagement this morning with the Dutch Minister to accompany him at noon to wait on the Cardinal Gonzalvo [1] I did not go out before that time, but Mrs. Russell went to the church of St. Maria de Minerva to see there a ceremony at which the Pope [2] was present. The Dutch Minister came at the time appointed and I went with him to the palace of the Quirinal, but before we arrived there we fell in with the cortège of the Pope and actually appeared to make a part of it as we passed all the guards with their arms presented. There is considerable pomp in the movements of his Holiness. He is too infirm to ride the white mule as usage requires but this animal is led before. The Pope is placed with four of his officers in a splendid state coach in the Spanish form. His two postilions ride without their hats with their hair powdered. A troop of cavalry, all young noblemen, make a part of the escort. Two or three carriages follow. To a considerable distance from the palace the street was lined with infantry on each hand with a very full band of music. The troops are all dressed in the French military fashion and make a very different appearance from the papal forces thirty years since. On arriving at the palace we found unfortunately that the Cardinal Gonzalvo had not returned with the Pope from the ceremony of St. Maria. I left my card and returned to my hotel with the Dutch

[1] Ercole Consalvi (1777–1824).

[2] See page 450, *infra*.

Minister who spent some time with us. Before he had come in the morning a Mr. Cobb of Boston called and left cards for his wife and the Miss Inches.[1] About one we had a visit from the Princess of Barberini (Chiara) and her husband who staid half an hour and made us repeated offers of the most obliging services. Soon after they were gone Major Sommerville came in and remained some time. After his departure we all called on Lucien Bonaparte but found nobody at home. We left our names but not our cards and then drove to the church of St. Maria Maggiore on the Mount Esquiline where we remained until dinner time. The colonnade in this church is really magnificent. It consists of thirty-six Ionic Grecian pillars and four granite pillars of the same order. On our return home we found cards from Col. Bonar and his lady with a note from the latter. While at dinner we received a card from Lucien Bonaparte. I spent the evening at home.

26. The Russian Admiral and his lady called on us this morning and definitely arranged a party for Tivoli to-morrow. Soon after, as Mrs. Russell was busy, I went alone to see the Coliseum and the ruins of temples and triumphal arches in its vicinity. While I was absent Doctor Heap[2] and Messrs. Barnard and Robinson of Virginia called on me. I wrote this morning to Consul Hammet[3] of Naples to inquire the probability of obtaining a passage from that port for the United States. Called on the Cobbs and the Inches this morning and found them at home. At eight o'clock we went to take tea with the Minister of Holland and at half past nine went from thence to the house of the Princess Barberini where we remained until eleven. Here we found a specimen of Italian conversazioni. There were about twenty persons assembled, and all excepting half a dozen, in which was included the mistress of the house and ourselves, play at cards. One table was of faro and one of Boston.

27. Agreeably to the arrangement which we had made yesterday with Admiral Morzwindoff we this morning a little before nine o'clock set off for Tivoli. Our party consisted of the Admiral and his family, a Russian Count and his companion, and a Russian colonel and his lady who, with us, amounted to ten persons, besides five or six servants and two dragoons who escorted us. The country between Rome and Tivoli is very thinly inhabited, very

[1] Probably daughters of Henderson Inches of Boston, and sisters of Henderson Inches, Jr., who married Susan Brimmer, sister of Martin Brimmer, Mayor of Boston.

[2] Samuel D. Heap, a surgeon in the United States Navy, and director of the American hospital at Pisa.

[3] Alexander Hammett of Maryland, appointed 1809.

flat, and until we approach the Villa of Adrian without any interesting remains of antiquity. About four miles from Rome we passed the Teverone, anciently the Anio, flowing towards the Tiber into which it falls about three miles above Rome. About ten miles from Rome we passed a small stream called Solfatara from the qualities of the waters which compose it, its color and its smell being derived from the presence of sulphur. The former is of a light bright greenish blue and the latter is so strong as to assail the traveller at a considerable distance. We did not visit the small lake from which this stream flows and which is also called Solfatara. We left it about three-fourths of a mile on our left. A little farther on we passed the tomb of the ancient family of Plautia, a family much distinguished both in republican and imperial Rome. The tomb is quite round and formed of the stone of Tivoli. Of the four Ionic columns which formerly ornamented this tomb towards the road there remain only some fragments. It unfortunately proved to be a rainy morning and in ascending the hill of Tivoli we were obliged to walk as one of our horses was very restive. Tivoli is said to have been built four hundred and sixty-two years before Rome or three thousand, one hundred and thirty-three years ago. Its founders are said to have been three Argians: Tiburtus, Coras, and Catillus [II] who drove away its more ancient inhabitants, the Siculi. From the name of the first of these the town was called afterwards Tibur, and the Roman road which led from it to the capital was called the via Tiburtina. Tibur has, however, by the modern Italians been changed into Tivoli. We stopt at a very good inn in the middle of the town, and before dinner went to see the cascade. This is a perpendicular fall of about fifty feet and had nothing particular to distinguish it. The river is here, I should judge from the view, about thirty feet broad. It is only at the bottom of the fall that the romantic commences. After the downright fall the water still descends very rapidly and has forced its way through the mountains forming sometimes a frightful chasm and sometimes caves at once gloomy and sublime. The first cavern is called the Grotto of Neptune and the second that of the Sirens, the latter being the most interesting. We went round the town and descended the hill below the Grotto of Neptune to a little zigzag path made by the French engineer Miollis.[1] This path was made in consequence of the fall and death of a Frenchman in endeavoring to descend. As it began again to rain we hurried back to our inn, just seeing the little temples of Vesta and of the Tiburtine Sibylla near the bridge. The former is a very beautiful small, round build-

[1] Sextus-Alexandre-François, Comte Miollis (1759–1828).

ing formerly surrounded with eighteen Corinthian columns of which ten still remain. We did not go out after dinner and much to our annoyance our chambermaid, whom we had taken at Florence, was discovered to be extremely intoxicated.

28. Rose this morning at six. Breakfasted and began our rambles at half past six. As the way was wet and rough and the distance we were going considerable we had provided ourselves with jackasses. We first passed over the bridge below the falls, then turning to the left above the river we had a fine view of the caves and grotto of Neptune and the Sirens and of the rapids below the falls. We had also a fine view of the cascatelles as they are called or little cascades on the opposite side of the river. They are little streams diverted from the main flood near the falls, and after having been used for mills, forges, etc., fall over the top of the mountain to a depth of more than a hundred feet. These little streams are very beautiful and three of them fall from the ancient country house of Maecenas. We passed on our way the ruins of the Villa of Catullus and the ruins of the Villa of Quintilius Varus. Some remains also of the country house of Horace were pointed out to us. We next passed a little clear stream called Aquoria, gold water, on an ancient bridge still entire. Inclining to the left we next passed the Teverone (Anio) and soon after arrived at the ruins of the Villa of Maecenas. These ruins are still very spacious and give an idea of the original magnificence of the place. We walked under the arch of more than a hundred feet in length through which the ancient way Tirburtina passed. The way itself in this place is still perfect. We then ascended a flight of steps which conducted us over this arch on which we found an immense terrace and which was more than one hundred and thirty of my paces in length. From this terrace, which stands on the very brow of the mountain, there is a most extensive prospect commanding a view of Mount Soratte, the city of Rome and all the champaign country on that side, etc. From the Villa of Maecenas we returned to our inn but found that our breakfast which we had ordered à la fourchette at eleven o'clock was not yet ready. We went to view the Villa of Este which is kept in tolerable repair. It was here that Ariosto composed at least a part of his Orlando Furioso. After breakfast we set off at about half past eleven for Rome but stopt nearly three hours at the Villa of Adrian which we visited in all its details. It was said to have had formerly a circumference of seven miles, and among the heaps of ruins can now be distinguished the remains of a Grecian theatre; of a square building supposed by some to be a ménage and by others a portico to the theatre; of the Poecile in imitation of that at Athens, of what is now erroneously called the temple of

the Stoics; of the circular building erroneously denominated the Maritime theatre but probably a bathing house; of the Library and the Temple of Diana and Venus *so-called;* of a large elevated building called the Imperial Palace; of the barracks of the guards or the Hundred Chambers, cento camerelle; of the Thermes and of the Canopus in imitation of the Canopus at Alexandria in Egypt. Many of the fine marbles found here have been sent to Rome and many in the dark ages were converted into lime. There still remain, enough however, to give an idea of the ancient immensity and magnificence of this villa. About three o'clock we mounted our carriages very much fatigued and arrived at Rome a little after six.

29. Agreeably to appointment the Dutch Minister called on me at ten o'clock this morning in order to accompany me to the Cardinal Gonzalvo to whom I was to be presented. We found however, on our arrival at the Quirinal Palace that the Cardinal was already engaged with a consistory of his order for the confirmation of Bishops. He sent word, however, that he would receive us to-morrow. I now employed myself in removing from the Grande Bretagne to lodgings which I had taken in the Via de Prefetti No. 17, and I accomplished this undertaking in about an hour. I then went to take an external view of the Capitol and Tarpeian Rock. The modern Capitol stands on the same site as the ancient and rests in part on the old foundations. It is, however, in every respect infinitely inferior. In front of the Capitol are two marble statues of Castor and Pollux with their horses, and although ancient, very indifferently executed. In the middle of the place, however, is an equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, of exquisite workmanship, and is the more interesting, as it is said to be the only equestrian statue which remains of ancient Rome. The Tarpeian Rock is very different from what it was of old. There is only part of one side of it which now remains visible, the rest being covered above by buildings and below by earth. The part now visible is now about twenty feet high. It is probable, however, that the whole perpendicular height of the rock was anciently at least sixty feet, as a floor of a church in the neighbourhood is said to be on a level with the ancient base, and a part of the top of the rock is said to have been broken off.

30. At ten o'clock this morning I was, at last, presented to the Cardinal and found him remarkably polite. He speaks French very fluently. I went again this day to visit the Capitol and the Tarpeian Rock with Mrs. Russell. We also saw behind the Capitol the ruins of the Temple of Jupiter Tonans, the Temple of Fortune, the Temple of Concord, the Arch of Septimius Severus, the column

erected to the Emperor Phocas, etc. In the evening I went to a conversazione at the French Ambassador's, the famous Count Blacas.[1] I found his lady very pretty and very amiable.

31. The Dutch Minister called on me this morning and conducted me to the Quirinal Palace in order to present me to the Pope.[2] After passing a numerous suite of apartments richly furnished and lined with guards, we were immediately admitted to the Pope in his cabinet. He received us standing and in the most gracious manner. On my being presented the Pope very kindly took my hand which he held constantly in his while I remained with him which was nearly a quarter of an hour. He was dressed in a white gown or surtout which sat close to his body and which reached from his chin to his feet and which buttoned the whole length with small buttons of the same white broadcloth. On his head he had a callot [*calotte*] and on his feet crimson red cloth or velvet slippers embroidered with gold. The surtout was considerably soiled. No other part of his dress was visible. He does not speak French but understands it when addressed to him and answers in Italian. He observed that I belonged to another world and that the last director general of the Austin Friars was an American. His Holiness is now seventy-six and even infirm and much bent for that advanced age. His mind is however, perfectly clear; his conversation animated and his smile the most benignant I ever beheld. I went afterwards with Mrs. Russell and Amelia to see the paintings à fresque and the statues in the palace of Frescali and Frescatelli. The paintings in the former fell short of our expectations, but those in the latter, being the history of the marriage of Psyche were very fine, being partly painted by Raphael and all under his direction. There was a fine head in black chalk or coal on one of the walls concerning which our guide told us the following story: — That one day, while Raphael was still employed in painting the Frescatelli but while he was absent Michael Angelo came there and taking a piece of coal drew on the wall the head in question. Raphael had never seen him but knew him well from his fame and his works, and immediately on seeing this head pronounced it to be the work of Michael Angelo. We next went to the work-shop of Canova[3] and Thorwaldsen.[4] They were neither at home but we left a card for the former and a letter. We admired much the works of both these artists. Canova has and deserves the highest reputation for statues, but Thorwaldsen, although not

[1] Pierre-Jean-Louis-Casimir, Duc de Blacas d'Aulps (1770–1839).
[2] Luigi Barnaba Chiaramonti (1740–1823), Pope Pius VII (1800–1823).
[3] Antonio Canova (1757–1822).
[4] Bertel Thorwaldsen (1770–1844).

much known until lately, is supposed even to excel in bas-reliefs. In the evening we had a visit from Canova who staid with us until eight o'clock and was very entertaining. He talked much of his familiarity with Napoleon and left us at no loss to discover his sentiments on all that happened. After Canova had gone we called on Prince Lucien and his Princess,[1] and staid with them an hour and were very politely treated.

April 1. We went this morning to the Vatican and first viewed the pictures kept there. These are not numerous but they are of unequalled excellence. The Transfiguration by Raphael, and the Deposition from the Cross by Michael Angelo, are of themselves worth a gallery. We next passed into the Museum where are collected the finest statues, capitals and vases of antiquity. There is also an immense number of ancient inscriptions fixed on the wall. Among the statues are the celebrated Apollo and the Laocoön. Canova has made a present to the Pope of three of his masterpieces, viz., the two Pugitetosi, and Perseus with the Head of Medusa. They are indeed admirably executed. After spending more than two hours in these apartments we ascended to view the School of Athens, painted in fresco by Raphael, and which is considered as his most finished composition. The colouring was somewhat injured by time and humidity, but the performance was still sufficiently perfect to command our most unqualified admiration. Plato and Aristotle occupy the front ground, and Socrates, Diogenes, etc., have conspicuous places. Mrs. Russell, who had been indisposed all the morning, was here taken quite ill and we were obliged to return, when she immediately went to bed and called in the assistance of Doctor Heap, a physician in the American Navy, and whom we found to be well educated and skillful. A call from the sculptor Trentanove.[2]

2. Mrs. Russell still continues very ill this morning. Trentanove called again this morning and I accompanied him to his workshop. He appears to be a young man of much promise in his profession. He has already executed in a very handsome style the busts of most of the Bonapartes. He has also made the bust of Thomas Appleton, the American Consul at Leghorn, and of Robert Goodloe Harper, another American, both of which are finely done. Trentanove is now engaged in making a pedestal in basso-rilievo for the monument of Washington which we saw in the workshop of Canova. After leaving Trentanove I called on a Mr. Knutson and the Prussian Consul Bartholdy, for whom I had letters, but

[1] She was a Madame Jouberthon, who had been his mistress.

[2] Raymond Trentanove (1792–1832).

not finding either of them at home I left the letters with cards. I then went to the Palatine Mount and saw the ruins of the Palace of Nero which had been cleared out by the French and into which I descended two stories under ground. At five o'clock I went to call on the Cobbs and being in the Corso with Amelia we saw the Emperor of Austria pass. The Corso was crowded with people to witness this spectacle, but they did not salute His Majesty or Her Majesty, who accompanied him, with a single shout or cheer. A few, a very few, lifted their hats. Everyone was sad and silent. The Emperor with his suite were in seven state coaches of the Pope. His travelling carriage followed.

3. Mrs. Russell somewhat better this morning but still in bed. I rode this morning to see the arch, called Janus Quadrifrons. From the meanness of the architecture it is supposed to have been erected at least as late as the time of Caracalla, formerly in every part of Rome, particularly in the Forums, and they are said to have severed for shelter for the people in rainy weather. The Janus Quadrifrons was near the Forum Boarium. Close by it I saw a little gate-way or arch erected by the Emperor Septimius Severus. On one side in bas-relief, were the figures of this Emperor and his wife, on the other the figures of his two sons, Caracalla and Geta. That of Caracalla only now remains, and he is said to have had that of his brother, after he had murdered him, torn off, and a hole is still shown in the marble which was said to have been made by the act of violence. We had a call this afternoon at five o'clock from Lucien Bonaparte and his lady, and they staid with us half an hour, and the Princess went and sat beside the bed of Mrs. Russell. At half past six I went with Amelia to dine with Col. Bonar, where we remained until ten.

4. Mrs. Russell better this morning but still in bed. At twelve o'clock I went to see the baths of Titus, which, it being Sunday, I found shut. I then rode round the Mount Palatine and saw the remains of imperial palaces and the caserns of praetorian guards. I passed between the Mount Palatine and the Aventine, and went to see the Temple of Vesta, near the banks of the Tiber, which is said to have been built by Numa Pompilius. The columns must, however, [have] been added at a much later time. It is a small round building. I also saw near it the square temple erected by Ancus Martius to Fortuna Virilis. This building is now made a church and is partly covered with dwelling houses. I next saw the small ruin which remains of the bridge of Horatio Cocles. From this place I went to the Vatican and again saw the pictures, inscriptions and statues. Just as I was leaving the Vatican, a little before four o'clock, the sound of cannon announced the movements of the

Emperor of Austria, and I found that he was on a visit to the Church of St. Peter. A call from the Grand Master of the Pope.

5. Mrs. Russell was better this morning but still too ill to venture abroad. I therefore took Amelia with me in the calash and first drove to the circulating library, then to the workshop of Trentanove and engaged him to procure some prints for Mrs. Russell; then purchased a bonnet for Amelia; then called on the Dutch Minister, who was not at home, but his wife received us. She told us that the reason why a woman she had sent to us was not willing to remain with us was because she saw that we had a fire and that our windows were shut and she hence was afraid of falling sick. From the Dutch Minister's we took a ride round the Mount Palatine, going between it and the Mount Aventine. We passed the Coliseum and stopt at the Baths of Titus. These baths with palace to which they joined were of immense extent, but a great part of the ruins are now covered with earth. It appears that Raphael who had the superintendence of antiquities, caused a great part of these ruins to be cleared and that it was from the arches painted en fresque, some of which remained very entire, that he conceived the idea of his third manner. It is even said that fearing others should profit by these paintings as he had done, or at least discover from them that his third manner was not entirely original, he caused the rooms he had cleared to be again filled with earth. In later times it was the French who made the excavations which now leave some of the apartments free of earth. On the vaults of the lower story we saw several paintings en fresque most wonderfully preserved for about eighteen hundred and ten years, and from their grace and colouring we were not surprised that Raphael should have known how to profit from them. There were also some paintings on the wall very perfect. In a long narrow vaulted portico was an inscription in black paint still visible threatening anyone who should do a dirty thing there with the anger of Diana, Minerva, and Jupiter Maximus Optimus. The room of the common bath and that called the lake, and the rooms of single baths were readily recognized. The niche was shown us from which was taken the famous statue of Laocoön. Part of the Bath was built over the house of Maecenas, some of the rooms of which are still visible. From the Baths of Titus we went to the Quirinal to take a look at the obelisk and the fine statues of Castor and Pollux. While there I left my cards with the Grand Master of the Emperor and the Grand Master and Mistress of the Empress. We then rode to St. Maria Maggiore and saw the fine colonnade in this church, consisting of forty columns, viz.: thirty-six of marble and four of oriental granite, twenty on each side. Received this evening tickets to the Pontifical Chapel.

6. We were kept in this morning by calls from Mr. Bartholdy, Consul General of Prussia, Mr. Rathbone of New York, the Miss Inches, and the wife of the Minister of Holland. At two o'clock we got into the carriage with Mrs. Russell and first drove to the Baths of Diocletian and Maximian. Of all the thermes of ancient Rome these are said to have been the largest and to have covered a square of ten hundred and sixty-nine feet on every side. Besides Baths it contained edifices for gymnastic exercises, the Pinacotheca which was embellished with the finest works of painting and sculpture, and with the library of the wise Ulpian which was transported thither from the Forum of Trajan. On a part of the place formerly occupied by the principal hall of the Baths of Diocletian, now stands the church of St. Maria degli Angeli. It is in form of the Grecian cross and built by Buonarotti. To avoid the humidity, the floor has been raised six feet higher than that of the ancient church by which the bases of the columns of oriental granite are covered. Notwithstanding this, however, we found the floor so wet and the whole place so damp that we took only a glance at these fine columns and the tombs of the celebrated painters, Carlo Maratta and Salvator Rosa, when we hastened out into the open air on account of the delicate state of health of Mrs. Russell. We next rode to the bridges which join the Island of the Tiber to the mainland. The origin of this island is very remarkable. After the expulsion of Tarquin the Proud, the senate is said to have made a present to the people of the goods and estates of this king, against whom the people were so much enraged that they threw into the river all his effects, among which was such a quantity of wheat which he had harvested on one of his fields, afterwards the Campus Martius, as to obstruct the course of the river and form a little island which was afterwards preserved by a stone wall. From these bridges we distinctly saw the Temple of Vesta of which I have already spoken, and the outlet of the Cloaca Maxima. This last is entirely concealed by the Tiber excepting a very small space below the top of the arch. We also saw the bridge which is now called Ponte Rotto, or broken bridge. It was the first stone bridge erected over the Tiber and said to have been begun by the Censor M. Fulvius and certainly finished by the Censors Scipio Africanus and L. Mummius. It was called the Palatine on account of its proximity to the mount of this name. It has been broken three times by the inundations of the Tiber. It was first repaired by Julius the Third, and afterwards by Gregory the Thirteenth, but since it was last broken in 1598, it has not been repaired, and only about the half on the right side of the river now remains. We saw also a few small heaps of ruins in the river which were formerly a part

of the foundations of the Bridge Sublicius. This was the very first bridge built over the Tiber by the Romans and originally consisted entirely of wood. It was erected in the time of Ancus Martius and it soon became very memorable by the heroism of Horatio Cocles who withstood alone the whole army of Porsenna the King of the Etrurians or Tuscans, until the part of the bridge behind him was destroyed and then leaped with his horse into the river and swam to the city. The bridge was afterwards repaired without nails that it might be the more rapidly demolished, should another occasion require it. This bridge was afterwards called Æmilius, because it was rebuilt in stone by M. Æmilius Lepidus, the last Censor under Augustus, after the wooden bridge had been destroyed by an inundation of the Tiber. It was repaired by Antoninus Pius and afterwards carried away by the overflowing of the Tiber in the year 780. Under Pope Nicholas the Fifth the ruins which remained were almost entirely destroyed in 1484 when cannon balls were made of the travertine.[1] The bodies of Heliogabalus and Commodus were thrown from this bridge into the Tiber.

7. Spent the morning in writing and at half past one went with Mrs. Russell to the Quirinal to dine with Cardinal Gonzalvo. There were about fifty persons at this fish dinner, among whom were Lord Guilford and Sir Humphrey Davy. After dinner we returned home for a short time and then went to the Sistine Chapel to hear the Miserere. The first part was a little tedious, but the close was really affecting and sublime. The Pope was not present.

8. We went this morning at half past ten o'clock to the Sistine Chapel and Mrs. Russell and myself found seats among the diplomatic corps. The ceremony began by chanting the Miserere. About eleven o'clock we left the Sistine Chapel and proceeded to the Pauline Chapel, which being very small there were no persons admitted into it excepting the Emperor and Empress with their suites, the diplomatic corps, and some of the higher clergy. The Pope soon appeared [ ] which he deposited in the tomb of the saint. From the Pauline Chapel we next went to the scaffolding erected to see the benediction of the Pope conferred on the people collected in the court of the Church of St. Peters. This scaffolding was erected over colonnade at the left of the court of St. Peter's, while the balcony from which the Pope gave the benediction was in the centre of the front of St. Peter's on the same level. The Pope with his attendants in the balcony; the Emperor and Empress with their suites; the number of ladies and gentlemen on the

[1] Nicholas V died in 1455. Sixtus IV was pope until August 12, 1484, and he was succeeded by Innocent VIII.

scaffolding with us; the immense concourse of people and carriages in the courts below; the temple; palace; all illuminated by a fine Italian sun, exhibited a most magnificent spectacle. From this spectacle we went into the hall of transept where the feet of twelve men were to be washed by the Pope. On our passage thither we were very much squeezed and jostled by the tumultuous crowd which thronged our way and which the guards were unable to control. A German lady was struck by one of these guards with his halberd and wounded.[1] When we arrived in the hall we were well situated to view the scene which was there presented. The Pope first took his seat in his pontifical robes which he soon after laid aside, and binding himself with a cord he descended to perform his humble office. The twelve beggars whose feet he was to wash were arranged on a seat at the right. He walked to the first followed by priests with a basin, ewer and towel. The shoe of each of the beggars, who by the way were dressed in white and very clean linen, was taken, in succession, from the right foot which was then slightly wet with water by the Pope and wiped with [the] towel above mentioned. When this ceremony was finished we proceeded, without molestation, from the [ ] to the hall of Borgia. The same twelve poor men also repaired thither as also the Pope. These first ranged in a row and the Pope passed them in succession with a basin and ewer and a towel with which he served them to wash and wipe their hands. They afterwards placed themselves on one side of the table with their backs to the wall and the dignities of the church, among whom I observed the Grand Master of his Holiness, brought the food and wine from the kitchen and the Pope served it with his own hand across the table to the beggars. He began at one end and went to the other five or six times, the wine and the different courses of food requiring this repetition. All these ceremonies finally closed at about half past one o'clock, and we proceeded immediately on foot to the apartments of Raphaello, where we had been invited to dine with his eminence Cardinal Gonzalvo. These apartments are also in the palace of the Vatican. A young Austrian officer [ ] handed Mrs. Russell in to dinner and I handed in the Neapolitan Princess Pantchelli, who is accompanying the Prince, her husband, on a diplomatic mission to Berlin. After dinner we walked through the rooms of the Museum. We then returned home, and changing our dress went to St. Peter's to see the illumination of the cross.[2] We found it very brilliant but it lost some of its effect from the light

[1] Metternich mentions the same incident and the indecent crush and confusion. *Memoirs of Prince Metternich*, III. 221.

[2] See Metternich, III. 222.

which was kept up in several of the chapels. The latter is said, however, to be necessary to prevent the scandalous scenes which formerly took place in their obscure recesses. There were priests at one of the shrines situated opposite to the corners of the great altar where they exhibited to the people below the *precious relics* which are there deposited. Trentanove sung in evening at our lodgings.

9. As our curiosity was glutted yesterday with papal exhibitions we did not again visit that place, but I accompanied Mrs. Russell to see the Coliseum, leaving to Amelia, who went to the Sistine Chapel with the Cobbs and Inches, to report what she saw. The Coliseum is certainly the most magnificent ruin which remains of ancient Rome. A considerable portion of the wall still retains its original altitude and although stript of its ornaments is still sublime. The four orders which ornamented it are still there and some of them entire. The lowest is Doric, the next Ionic, the third Corinthian and the fourth composite. The three lowest are pilasters or half round columns and the uppermost flat pilasters. The French excavated this edifice to the ancient Arena but the water rushing in they were obliged to fill in the earth again for several feet. The French also built a flight of steps to ascend the ruin. Indeed the French with two exceptions of small account, made all the excavations amidst the remains of antiquity which have been made at Rome in modern times. I went again this day to partake of a fish dinner at Cardinal Gonzalvo's. In the evening we called on the Princess Paulina [1] who received us most kindly and reposed in us much confidence. We afterwards went to the Dutch Minister's and spent the remainder of the evening.

10. We this morning visited the Pantheon. We found it too entire to be called a ruin, although, stript of many of its ornaments, it has lost much of its ancient magnificence. It is said to have been built by Marcus Agrippa, the son-in-law of Augustus, in his third consulate and twenty-six years before the Christian era. From the architecture, however, of the main building, I should incline to the opinion of those who suppose it to have been built before that epoch. The portico is of better architecture and evidently of a later period; the capitals of four of the columns of the portico are much superior to the other twelve. These were added by Pope Alexander the Seventh. All of the columns are of oriental granite of a single block fourteen feet in circumference and thirty-eight and one-half feet high without including the base and the capital. The whole quantity of bronze torn from this magnificent temple is

[1] Marie Pauline Bonaparte (1780–1825) wife of Prince Camillo Borghese.

said to have weighed more than forty-five millions of pounds, and that the bronze nails alone weighed nine thousand three hundred and seventy-four pounds. It was the Popes and Christian Emperors who tore off this metal, some of which was employed in the Church of St. Peter and much in the cannon of the fort St. Angelo. The diameter of the dome is one hundred and thirty-two feet and the height of the building the same. The walls of its circumference are nineteen feet thick. The opening at the top of the vault is twenty-six feet in diameter and the whole building is lighted by this sole aperture. A flight of stairs, without, conducts to the top and consists of one hundred and ninety steps. This temple was denominated Pantheon because it was dedicated to all the Gods. The Emperor Phocas presented it to Pope Boniface the Fourth who turned it into a Christian church and dedicated it to the Virgin and the Saint Martyrs. It was thus preserved from destruction. Gregory the Fourth, in 830 dedicated it to all the saints, but the saints have now but a very small portion of the church. A confraternity of artists, which belong to the church, have filled almost the whole circumference with busts of distinguished persons in letters and the arts. Canova has much increased the number of these busts either by his own hand or by paying others. There is a fine bust of Christopher Columbus by Trentanove at the expense of Canova. The bust of Raphael, by Paolo Naldini, is also here with the following inscription by Cardinal Bembo:

ILLE HIC EST RAPHAEL, TIMVIT QVO SOSPITE VINCI
RERVM MAGNA PARENS ET MORIENTE MORI

Bellori has translated it in Italian:

Questi è quel Raffael, cui vivo vinta,
Esser temea Natura, e morto es tinta.

From the Rotonda, as it is now called, we went to view the remainder of the Baths of Agrippa, in its immediate vicinity, but which are covered with modern houses and are but very partially visible. From the Baths of Agrippa we went to the church of St. Mary of Minerva, so called because erected on the ruins of the Temple of Minerva built by Pompey the Great in gratitude for his victories. This church now contains many interesting tombs and paintings. We next visited the Baths of Titus and again went through the apartments which had been cleared out by the French. The inscription to which I before alluded in the corridor is as follows:

Duodecim Deosiit Deanam et Jovem optimum maximum habeat iratos quisquis hic minxerit aut cacarit.

We next visited the church of St. Peter in vincoli, where we saw the famous statue of Moses by Michael Angelo. We next visited the church of St. Martin which is supposed to be one of the oldest churches at Rome but rebuilt in 1640, and is now one of the most magnificent churches at Rome. The walls are decorated with landscapes by Gaspard Poussin and with figures by his brother Nicolas. There is beneath the church a subterranean vault where are the bodies of St. Sylvester and St. Martin, and this vault leads to a subterranean church in which St. Sylvester then Pope, is supposed to have held a council as long ago as the year 324. It is supposed to have a communication with the catacombs. From St. Martin's we entered a vineyard where we saw the Seven Halls, so-called, but which were formerly denominated Piscina and formed a reservoir for waters for the Thermes of Titus.

11. At ten o'clock this morning Mrs. Russell and myself went to the Villa Borghese with Ida. We then dressed and went to dine with the Cardinal Gonzalvo, and Lent being over we had a most excellent dinner. After dinner we returned home and called and took Amelia, who was at Mrs. Cobb's and then proceeded to the Place of St. Pierre, but finding it too early for the fireworks we took a walk in the church and then took a turn in the Corso. About half after seven we returned to the Place of St. Peter and went into the lodge which had been prepared for the Emperor to see the illumination of the dome of St. Peter's. The first illumination was very rich and classical, marking the domes and columns and pilasters of the front of this magnificent church. The second illumination, which took place about an hour afterwards, was instantaneously lighted and was most splendid and dazzling.[1] About nine o'clock we proceeded to the place prepared for the fireworks from the girandole of St. Adrian. We were, however, very inhospitably stopped by the guards and not allowed to pass the Bridge of St. Angelo in our carriage. We then went over it on foot, and safely reached our place in the Emperor's box to which we had been invited by the Cardinal Gonzalvo. We had here ices and other refreshments. We waited near an hour before the fireworks began. They were very brilliant and very short, — could not have continued for more than fifteen minutes. It was quite calm and the smoke enveloped the place from which the fireworks were set off

[1] Metternich was also much impressed, III. 224. His general opinion was thus expressed: "I acknowledge that I cannot understand how a Protestant can turn catholic at Rome. Rome is like a most magnificent theatre with very bad actors. . . . In all this it is evident that Italian taste has much influence in the ceremonies; what pleases and excites laughter on this side of the Alps causes weeping on the other, and *vice versa*."

which is said to have prevented the exhibition of a part of them. We got home safely at about a quarter past ten o'clock.

12. At ten o'clock we visited the French Museum and then went again to the Villa Borghese with Ida and walked in the gardens. We afterwards called on the Danish Consul at Algiers and stopped at Torlonia's and received two hundred scudi. We afterwards visited the Baths of Caracalla. These baths were built by Antoninus Caracalla and of great extent and magnificence. The hall called Cella Solearis is one hundred and eighty-eight feet in length and one hundred and thirty-four in breadth. Many precious monuments of antiquity have been found in these baths. The Torso of Belvedere, the two urns of basalt now in the Vatican; the celebrated Hercules of Glycon the Athenian, the Flora, the famous group of the Farnese Bull, etc. There were formerly sixteen hundred rooms for bathing. There were three stories, the first contained the baths. The second was for mental amusements, and the third for workmen and domestics. From these baths we went to visit the grotto generally, although erroneously called the Grotto of Egeria. It is a large, half-ruined arch with a little stream falling into it and running through which is one of the sources of the little river Almo. The reclined decapitated statue placed at the bottom is supposed to be the young river Almo. We saw on our left a little temple of fine architecture, supposed to be of the time of Nero. It is now called the Temple of Rediculo and said, incorrectly, to have been erected on the abrupt retreat of Hannibal — a *redeundo*. On the hill just above the Grotto of Egeria we visited a little oblong temple which is by some supposed to be a temple of Bacchus, by some a temple of Camenae, and by some neither. In returning we stopt a few minutes to view the Arch of Drusus under which we passed. It was erected in honour of Drusus the father of the Emperor Claudius after his death. There still remain two columns of African marble of the composite order and it is supposed to have been made use of by Caracalla to support the aqueduct by which the water was conducted to his Baths. Spent evening at home and had a visit from our young countryman Robinson, and from Trentanove who sung to his guitar.

13. This morning we visited the Church of St. Sebastian and from it descended into the catacombs for a short time. These catacombs are said to have been inhabited by the early Christians during the times of persecution. We were shown the horizontal cavities in which they are said to have deposited their dead. The subterraneous passages are very narrow and sometimes low, but of great extent and we were shown the opening of one of them which is said to extend to Ostium. After leaving the catacombs we visited the

stables of Caracalla, some of the arches of which are still entire and support a terrace on which we ascended. From these stables we went to the tomb of Cecilia Metella, the daughter of Quintus Creticus and the wife of Crassus the Triumvir. The lower part is square and the upper circular which has eighty-nine and a half feet diameter and the walls of which are thirty feet in thickness, of brick covered with large blocks of travertine. The sarcophagus of Grecian marble which was found here is in the court of the Farnese Palace. On the outside is seen still a great part of the marble on which was the inscription. From this tomb we went to the Circus of Caracalla. It is fifteen hundred and twenty-four feet long and three hundred and ninety-five broad. Sufficient of the goals and the *spira* still remain to give a very accurate idea of the races which were there performed in the biga or quadriga, carriages of two and four horses. In the upper part of the walls are the remains of many earthen pots which are supposed to have been placed there either to render the work more light or to expedite the labour. We next visited the Tomb of the Scipios. This tomb was originally two stories of which the lower story only remains into which we descended with lighted torches. It was discovered in 1780. There has been found there a sarcophagus of Lucius Scipio Barbatus, vanquisher of the Samnites, as the inscription on it imports, a bust of [the] poet Ennius or another of the Scipios; another bust unknown, and many inscriptions. We next visited the palaces of the Caesars on the Palatine hill. The vast masses of ruins indicate the grandeur, but have nothing left to show the splendor of the buildings when in their glory. We then visited the Temple of Vesta; the Cloaca Maxima; the Temple of Fortuna Virilis; the place of the Jews which is shut every night, and the Portico of Octavius or rather of Octavia. Called in the evening on the Cobbs and Inches where we remained until eleven o'clock.

14. After Mrs. Russell had returned from a ride with Ida, we went to see the paintings in the Palace of Doria in the Corso. These paintings are arranged in numerous apartments and are from the hands of the first masters. The most remarkable are the Bridge of Lucano and the Road of Tivoli by Gaspard Poussin;[1] a Turkish woman on horseback, by Benoit Castiglione; Endymion by Guercino; Cain and Abel, by Salvator Rosa; the celebrated portrait of a woman, by Rubens; two very fine landscapes, by Claude Lorraine; a Belisarius, by Salvator Rosa; a Judith, by Guido; Queen Jeanne, by Leonardo da Vinci, and several fine portraits by Titian and Vandyke. From the Palace Doria we went to the fine Palace

[1] Gaspar Dughet Poussin (1613-1675).

Borghese and saw there the superb collection of pictures on the lower floor or *rez-de-chaussée*. Among many masterpieces the following may be distinguished: Our Saviour absolving the woman taken in adultery; a fine head by Raphael, said to represent one of the family of Borgia; Leda, by Leonardo da Vinci; Prodigal Son, by Titian; a head of Jesus Christ, commonly called the Divinity in anger, by Caracci; The Three Graces, by Titian; The chase of Diana, by Domenichino; The Deposition from the Cross, by Raphael, etc. We next proceeded to the Sacred Mount and on our way thither we stopped to view the churches of St. Agnes and St. Constance. The former was built by Constantine the Great. We entered it by descending forty-five steps. The three naves are supported by sixteen ancient columns of different materials, two of which are of fine marble fluted in a very particular manner. The chief altar, which is not beautiful in itself, is supported by four small columns of the most beautiful porphyry. On the altar of the Virgin is a very fine head, in marble, by Michael Angelo. There is also in this church a very magnificent candelabra of ancient workmanship in white marble. This church is supposed to approach in appearance the ancient basilica more than any other now remaining. The church of St. Constance is supposed by many to have been an ancient temple of Bacchus and I am inclined to be of the same opinon. Its form is spherical and it has a diameter within of sixty-nine feet. It is said to have been used first by Constantine as a Baptistery for the baptism of his sister and daughter and afterwards as a tomb for these two Constances. A sarcophage of unusual size and of fine porphyry found in this church and once containing at least one of these persons was by the order of Pius the Sixth transported to the Museum of the Vatican where it is now seen. In 1256 Alexander the Fourth turned this edifice into a church and took the body of St. Constance from the sarcophage above mentioned and interred it under the altar. Much of the ancient mosaic on the vault above is perfectly preserved and represents clusters of grapes; carts loaded with grapes drawn by four oxen and the attendant workmen. The oxen are yoked with bows around the neck, in our manner, and not with strings round the foreheads as in many parts of Europe. In the immediate neighborhood of these two churches are the ruins of a Hippodrome erected by Constantine. It was a large court surrounded by porticos and used, as its name imports, for equestrian exercises. We next proceeded to the Sacred Mount which is nearly three miles from Rome. It was to this mount that the Plebians of Rome retired several times when weary of the injustice and tyranny of the nobles. We found it to be rather a rising ground than a mountain or even a hill as its

elevation was small and gradual. It rises immediately on the right bank of the Anio and extends a considerable distance back but not without being intercepted by a small valley. The ancient bridge over this river was called Nomentanus because it was passed in going from Rome to the Sabine city of Nomentum. This bridge was destroyed by the Goths; rebuilt by Narses and repaired by Martin the Fifth.[1] It is now called Lamentana. Immediately after passing it are the ruins of two tombs without any inscription or other indication of the persons they contained.

15. At half past ten o'clock this morning we went, agreeably to invitation, to breakfast with Mr. Sartori, Acting Consul of the United States at Rome.[2] We were ushered by a servant into a long suite of apartments indifferently furnished, in the third or fourth of which we found Mr. Sartori alone. He did not indeed appear quite prepared to receive us, but in order to gain time he invited us to look at some paintings on the walls of an adjoining room. While thus occupied Mr. Cobb and his family arrived. We all now went into the room where we had just joined Mr. Sartori and where we soon had the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Sartori, who is a very beautiful woman; an English officer who spoke very good Italian; an Italian gentleman; the niece and the sister of Mr. Sartori, the last of which was extremely ugly. Shortly after we were there assembled breakfast was announced, and we were conducted into another suite of apartments better furnished. The breakfast table was square, beautifully decorated with flowers and amply furnished with ham, anchovies, bread, butter, oranges, and a variety of other fruits. The coffee and the tea were very good, and it being much later than my usual hour for breakfasting I ate most heartily. After breakfast we were conducted to various parts of the house to see the several views from the windows, none of which were extensive or fine. We were next shown into an apartment where the mother of Mr. Sartori was in bed but had been dressed to see us. She is an old lady of eighty-three years of age and apparently very infirm. Mr. Sartori now made me a present of a small print of Murweld, the painter, engraved by Morghen; to Mrs. Russell a little mosaic of the Temple of Vesta; to Mrs. Cobb a little mosaic of birds, and to each of the rest of our party a bouquet of flowers; and we were given to understand that it was the custom thus to accompany a breakfast given at Rome.

From Mr. Sartori's we went to the Palace of Simonetti now occu-

[1] Otto Colonna, Pope Martin V (1417–1431).

[2] John Baptiste Sartori was nominated to be United States Consul at Rome, June 24, 1797, and confirmed by the Senate June 26.

pied by Cardinal Fesch,[1] the uncle of Bonaparte. We had a billet permitting us to see the pictures of the Cardinal. We found the collection to be very extensive and consisting of many fine paintings, particularly of the French School, but very much divided by being distributed in a great number of small rooms. In one of these rooms we found the Cardinal himself to whom we were presented and who received us very politely. There was in another apartment a bust of Bonaparte with its head bound with a gilt laurel wreath. From the Palace Simonetti we went to the Capitol with the intention of seeing the pictures and the musée there, but owing to the preparations making for the fête for the Emperor we were not admitted. We then drove to the Vatican and having again seen the pictures there and a part of the inscriptions, we went home to dinner. After dinner I took a walk round the Pincian mount.

16. We began our rambles this morning by a visit to the Palace of Rospigliosi on the Quirinal mount. This palace was built on the ruins of the Thermae of Constantine. We here saw the celebrated Aurora of Guido and it is one of those paintings which deserve their reputation. Aurora with inverted face leads the way; Hesper flees behind her with his torch; then follows Apollo in his car drawn by four horses while the hours, represented by seven female figures, attend his course. There is infinite grace, splendor and character in the whole. In the adjoining rooms we saw the Adam and Eve of Domenichino, and the Sampson of Louis Hannibal Caracci,[2] with many other fine pictures. We next went to Mount Caelian where we saw the church of St. Gregory the Great, and the three chapels annexed to it. In one of these chapels are the Flagellation of St. Andrew, by Domenichino, and the Adoration of the Cross by the same, said from the hand of Guido[3] — both in fresco, and said to have been painted in competition for excellence. In another chapel is a fine statue of St. Gregory begun by Michael Angelo and finished by Nicolas Cordier. We also visited the church of St. Mary della Scala, and saw its fine tabernacle of precious stones. We next went to the Villa Mattei, now belonging to the Prince of Peace.[4] We saw in his apartments some fine pictures and statues and a double [headed] Hermes in marble, of the heads of Socrates

[1] Joseph Fesch (1763–1839). Charles Bonaparte, father of Napoleon, married Letizia Ramolino, whose mother, Angela-Maria-Pietra-Santa, widow of the patriot Ramolino, took for her second husband François Fesch of Basle.

[2] Ludovico Caracci (1555–1619). Hannibal (1560–1609), also a great painter, was his nephew.

[3] The entry is confused. The second painting is of St. Andrew kissing the cross on his way to martyrdom, by Guido.

[4] Alvarez de Faria, Rios Sanchez y Zarzosa, Manuel de Godoy (1767–1851), who had followed Charles IV of Spain and his queen to Rome.

and Seneca, which has lately been found in these grounds. Both these heads are marked by an ancient inscription and Socrates is the same as has universally passed for him, but Seneca is quite different. The Prince has by his excavations also discovered a small obelisk in two pieces which he has erected in his garden. These two pieces might have belonged to the same obelisk originally, but I doubt it, as they differ in colour and the upper piece is covered with hieroglyphics and the lower piece without any. We next visited the church of St. Etienne, called round on account of its spherical form. It is supposed by some to have been an ancient temple, market or arsenal, but by others, on account of the different orders and sizes of the columns, to have been built in the fifth century, with the spoils of more ancient edifices. The walls are painted by Pomarancio[1] and Tempesta[2] with murder and martyrdom in all its varieties. We thence proceeded to the place of St. John de Lateran and visited the Basilica of that name. This is a noble church and considered the first in the Catholic world. It was formerly so rich as to be denominated "The Golden Basilica." This church is celebrated for the twelve councils, general or provincial which have been holden in it. It was founded by Constantine the Great. In the immediate vicinity of this church is that of St. John in Fonte or the Baptistery of Constantine, the latter name being given to him, Constantine the Great having been there baptised. The baptismal fount is an ancient urn of basalt. We next visited the Chapel of the Saviour which is also called Sancta Sanctorum on account of the great number of sacred relics there deposed. There are three flights of steps to ascend to this chapel, and that in the middle consists of twenty-eight steps of white marble and is believed to be the same which belonged to the palace of Pontius Pilate at Jerusalem, and which Jesus Christ ascended and descended many times. From this circumstance it is regarded as sacred and no person is allowed to ascend it except on the knees. We saw several ascending in this way and on some fête days the stairway is thronged, and to prevent the entire destruction of the marble steps by almost continual friction they are cased in hard wood in which openings are left through which the stone is visible and through which no doubt the holy influence passes. The marble at the top, which is not covered, is very deeply worn. We next visited the Basilica of the St. Cross of Jerusalem because it is said to contain a third part of the holy cross. We saw the place where this relic is kept but not the relic itself, nor anything else very

[1] Niccolo Circignani, called il Pomarancio (1516–1588).
[2] Peter Molyn, called Tempesta (1637–1701).

curious. We thence proceeded to the Sessorium, commonly called the Temple of Venus and Cupid, because the statues of these two divinities now at the Museum of the Vatican were found here. From the Sessorium we went to see the remains of the Amphitheatre Castrense. Belisarius filled up the arches and made use of this edifice to form a part of the walls of the city. We next passed the modern Porta Maggiore and went to see the Temple of Minerva Medica. This edifice, by whatever name it might have been anciently called or to whatever use applied, is now a decagonal tower of two hundred and twenty-five feet circumference, vaulted over, but a part of the circumference and vault have fallen and the whole is in a very ruinous state. Near it we saw what is called the Columbaria, because the little chambers resemble the apartments of a pigeon-house. This Columbaria is said to have been used by Augustus [1] for the sepulchre of his freedmen. This Temple of Minerva and the Columbaria are in the fields. We afterwards passed the little Church of St. Bibiana and went to see the Arch of Gallienus, which will probably fall in a few years. Adjoining is the Church of St. Vito, built upon the ancient Macellum Livianum. We had also this morning visited the aqueducts and the castle of the Aqua Julia called the Trophies of Marius. In returning home we saw the ruins of the Temple of Nerva, consisting of three magnificent Corinthian fluted columns of Parian marble supporting a fine architrave. There is also one pilaster remaining. The columns are sixteen and one-half feet in diameter and fifty-one feet high. Received in the evening a call from Count Antonelli and delivered our letters from Madame Perera for him.

17. We spent this morning until one o'clock in purchasing prints. In the meantime, however, we went to see the drawing of the lottery, but arrived a little too late at the place. We called next on the Marquis of Canova who sent one of his men with us to see his model of the equestrian statue of Ferdinand the Third, King of Spain. We also called at Trentanove's. We next went to visit the Pyramid of Caius Cestius without the gate of St. Paul. This pyramid is the tomb of Caius Cestius who was one of the septemviri of the Epulones who were charged with preparing the banquets of the Gods, particularly of Jupiter. The paintings of the vault, now much injured, were in relation to the sacred dignity of this employment. The pyramid is one hundred and thirteen feet high and the sides at the bottom are sixty-nine feet, which makes the pyramid appear rather flat. The outside is very nearly perfect having only a few fractures occasioned by shrubs pushing between the interstices.

[1] It was built by Lucius Aruntius, consul under Augustus.

Caius lived in the time of Augustus. They are digging now about the base of the pyramid which has been covered by the accumulation of earth. Immediately behind the pyramid is the cemetery of the Protestants and many English are buried there. We saw from this place Mount Testaccio which is said to have been formed by pieces of broken earthen-ware which were cast here by the potters who had their manufactories in that place. This artificial mountain is one hundred and sixty-three feet high and five hundred and three feet in circumference. In modern times many cellars have been excavated in it which are peculiarly excellent for the preservation of wine. We next proceeded to the Basilica of St. Paul without the walls. It is said to have been built by Constantine the Great on the spot where St. Paul was buried. This church has a very rude and shabby appearance on the outside notwithstanding its magnitude. It is in the form of a Roman cross, and the interior is divided into five naves by eighty columns of marble, twenty-four of which are very beautiful, being each formed of a single piece of violet marble. They are of the Corinthian order fluted to two-thirds which is said to be rare in antiquity. The two immense columns which support the great arch of the tribune are of Saline marble forty-two feet high and fifteen in circumference. Around the principal nave are painted the portraits of all the Popes from St. Peter to Pius the Seventh, the reigning Pope, inclusive. This church is now very seldom visited and its situation in summer is considered very unhealthy. The roof is out of repair and the whole building is kept very slovenly. The beams that pass from eave to eave are of wood and said to be of the cedar of Lebanon. The body of St. Paul is said to repose under the main altar.[1] From this church we returned to town and on our way met Madame Letitia,[2] the mother of Bonaparte. She was walking with some of her attendants, and her carriage was following. We took some pains to have a good view of her and succeeded. She is a remarkably fine looking old lady with sharp black eyes. In the evening we went to a ball at Torlonia's alias Duke of Bracciano.[3] This ball was given in his Palace of Venezia which we found to be in every respect most magnificent. The spacious colonnaded court-yard; the marble staircase; the numerous apartments with painted ceilings, thronged with busts and statues formed an ensemble of splendor, perfectly complete and corresponding in all its parts, and may be considered as a fair representation of ancient Roman magnificence in all its perfection. Among the marbles was a colossal statue of Hercules

[1] This church was burnt July 15, 1823.
[2] Letizia Ramolino (1750–1836).
[3] Giovanni Torlonia (*d* 1829).

in the act of killing Cacus whom he holds by one ankle and the hair. The workmanship of this group is very excellent, but the manner and attitude is a little too artificial. I had a very bad toothache this evening.

18. We called this morning at the Villa Pauline, but the Princess being indisposed we were not admitted. We then drove to the Villa Albani where we spent two hours in seeing the mosaics, marbles, etc. This villa was built about the middle of the last century by the Cardinal Albani after his own plan.[1] He afterwards placed there an extensive collection of the finest statuary of antiquity. It was said that the Cardinal was so great a connoisseur that after he became blind he could pronounce on the merit of a statue by the touch. In the collection is a celebrated Mercury and a bust of Caligula which are very rare. From the Villa Albani we returned home and Mrs. Russell went to dine with the Cardinal Gonzalvo. A very severe toothache prevented my accompanying her. I went, however, to see the German exposior[2] at the Palace Caffarelli but found nothing in it extraordinary. I afterwards with Amelia, who accompanied me, ascended one hundred and twenty-four steps to the Church of St. Mary d'Ara coeli. This church has been erected on the very spot where once stood the famous Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. We found very little to admire in the church excepting twenty-two large columns of Egyptian granite of different diameter and different workmanship. The picture of the Virgin over the great altar is said to have been painted by St. Luke. After dinner Mrs. Russell took a turn with me in the Corso and we then called together on the Prince and Princess of Canino.[3] I returned home and Mrs. Russell went to the theatre where she had been invited by the Princess Pantano and to a place in her lodge. She was much pleased with the performance as she had an opportunity of hearing Paganini who is a prodigy on the violin. He had been convicted of the murder of his wife and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. In his confinement he procured a fiddle with one string and he learned to play tunes through all their varieties on this single cord and to play them in a superior manner. He afterwards was indulged with a complete instrument and he arrived to such a degree of excellence in performing on it that he astonished all who heard him and finally obtained his release from prison.[4]

[1] Alessandro Albani.

[2] Exposition (?).

[3] Charles-Lucien-Jules-Laurent Bonaparte (1775–1840), brother of Napoleon. He married for his second wife, Marie-Alexandrine-Charlotte-Louise-Laurence de Bleschamp (1778–1855).

[4] Nicolo Paganini (1784–1840). The story of the murder and his imprisonment was false.

19. Mrs. Russell went this morning to the Palace of Colonna in company with the Princess Pantano, and I went with Amelia to the Antonine column which we ascended to the top by one hundred and ninety steps and enjoyed the fine view of Rome which the elevation commands. We afterwards joined Mrs. Russell and went to view the remains of the aqueduct of Agrippa. All these remains which are visible are in a cellar into which we descended, and in doing so I caught a severe fall as the steps from the humidity of the place were very slippery. We then went to the gardens of Colonna where we saw some wonderfully large pieces of white marble, the fragments of a frontispiece of exquisite workmanship, which are said to have formed part of the Temple of the Sun. In this garden we also saw some of the ruins of the Baths of Constantine. In the evening we had a visit from the Marquis Canova who made me a present of two prints of his statue of Washington. The Cobbs and Inches afterwards called, with Joy, and passed the remainder of the evening. I ought to have mentioned that Trentanove called this morning and commenced the model for my bust.

20. I again sat this morning to Trentanove for the model of my bust, which he completed. We then went to visit the Villa Doria-Pamfili. This villa was built in the time of Leo [1] the Tenth by the Prince Pamfili, and has since become the property of the house of Doria, and now belongs to the little Cardinal of that name.[2] The gardens are most spacious, ornamented with many magnificent pines which are left to grow according to nature, but most of the alleys are bordered with trees trimmed stiffly in the old French style. There are many beautiful fountains in this garden; in one of which there is a grotto with a marble faun at the bottom in the act of playing on his flute. Immediately behind this statue is concealed an organ, resembling a hand organ, but much larger, which is turned, at pleasure by the water, and which produces very fine music, which seems to persons placed in the grotto to come from the instrument of the faun. In the midst of a tune a hundred little fountains appear to pierce the stones before the grotto and to play at the sound of the music, and they cease when the music ceases. The château is much less elegant than most we had seen and contains very few fine specimens of the arts. In going to the Villa Pamfili-Doria we passed the aqueduct of [Acqua Paola]. In the evening we were at a great fête at the Capitol, given in honour of the Emperor and Empress of Austria. The fire-works and illumination were brilliant, but the crowd was insufferably great.

[1] Innocent.
[2] Giovanni-Pamphili Doria (1751–).

21. We went this morning to Mount Marius. This mountain in the time of the Romans was called Clivus Cinnae, and afterwards by the name by which it now passes, on account of the nobleman Marius Millini, who built a country house there. We ascended to this house which stands on the summit and thence enjoyed a most extensive view of the valley of the Tiber, Mount Soracte, the Apennines, the Sabine Hills, and the city of Rome. Over this hill formerly passed the Flaminian road, a considerable portion of the pavement of which still remains. It was by this road that Porsenna entered Rome. We called at the Villa Pauline between five and six o'clock and spent half an hour with the Princess. We then went to a fête at the ancient Mausoleum of Augustus. It is now used as a place for bull-baiting in summer. The fête this evening was for the Emperor and Empress which consisted of a great crowd and a little dancing, but nothing brilliant.

22. Went this morning with Trentanove to the rooms of Krusiman,[1] a celebrated landscape painter *à la guache*,[2] or with water-colors on paper. His papers are indeed admirable and exceed I think everything of the kind which I had before seen. From Kusiman's rooms we went to the French Academy and saw there the exposition for the present year. There was nothing, however, very remarkable. We now proceeded, without Trentanove, to the Capitol and took a glance at the Capitol and then drove to the Vatican. We now went into the library which we had not visited before, and were filled with admiration at its extent and value and at the beauty and number of the apartments which contained it. Besides books and manuscripts there is a vast collection of ancient coins and medals and Etruscan vases. There is a very fine statue of Aristides of Smyrna — sitting. From the library we went once more into the museum of Chiaramonti and again enjoyed the fine statuary of antiquity which is found there. It is remarkable that the most beautiful and most celebrated statue in the world, the Apollo of Belvedere, has two imperfections, which escape, amidst its grace, general observation. Its head is not placed precisely in the middle of its body and one of its legs is longer than the other. The Princess Canino called and invited us to breakfast for Saturday, and afterwards our countrymen Main and Terril came and spent the evening.

[1] Cornelis-Kruseman (1797–1857) (?).

[2] Mr. John Briggs Potter, of the Museum of Fine Arts, writes me: "Gouache differs from straight water-color painting, which is the transparent use of water color on white or a very light toned paper, in that the water colors are mixed with Chinese white to build up reliefs of light and the paper used is almost always of a medium or grey tone. Gouache really means the use of water color rendered opaque instead of transparent."

23. I was much pestered this morning in obtaining a carriage as the month for which I had engaged one had expired. I at last succeeded at the rate of four dollars per diem. I called on Torlonia this morning and took up six hundred and eighteen dollars, making in all eleven hundred for Rome. We spent the remainder of the morning in again visiting the ruins in the ancient Roman Forum and in seeing the museum at the Capitol. The evening we spent at the Dutch Minister's and at the Princess of Sciara's.[1]

24. Called this morning on Trentanove and went with him to visit the Graces of Thorwaldsen which we found to be admirable. We went at one to dine with the Prince of Canino, or rather as he expressed it, to dine with him. After dinner we examined his pictures which were very fine. We also saw three statues, a vase, and other marbles which he had found at his villa. The statues were a lady in a Greek dress; Tiberius in marble; and a young Apollo in bronze. The arms of this Apollo were broken off and Lucien supposes they were so even before it was placed in Roman times in his villa, as after every search no arms could be found near the place where the statue was discovered. After dinner we went with the Reverend Mr. Grassi to visit the Nunnery of St. Francis. This nunnery contains some of the children of the noblest families in Rome who are not, however, bound by any vow to perpetual exclusion. There has not been any instance, however, of a single one having left the convent when once she had entered it. The nuns are not idle, but employed in spinning and other occupations. From the capacious refectory and the numerous cells the convent was calculated for and once contained several hundreds, although there are now only fifteen there. We went to a ball in the evening at the French Minister's but did not stay long.

25. We went this morning to the Church of the Convent d'Umilita to see a nun take the white veil, but as the ceremony was not to begin until half past ten we availed ourselves of the interim to visit several churches, among others those of St. Ignatius, St. Maria in Vallicella and Jesus, the latter of which was very rich. At half past we returned to the convent and as we had a note from the Princess Sciarra to the Superiora good seats had been reserved for us in the church. As soon as the Cardinal arrived the nun came forward to the grate. She was richly dressed and her head covered with a blaze of diamonds. The Cardinal had put on his pontifical robes and the ceremony began by a sermon from another prelate. As far as I could understand this sermon, it appeared to me a most curious production. The bishop then read the usual ritual; the nun

[1] In the Palazzo Sciarra-Colonna.

took off her ornaments and covered herself with a white veil; she then smiled most theatrically in order to express her satisfaction at her change of situation. Upon the whole the ceremony was much less impressive than I had imagined. After this ceremony was over we returned home, dressed, and went to dine with the Cardinal Gonzalvo. There was to have been this afternoon a horse race in honour of the Emperor and Empress, but as it rained excessively the Cardinal had gone to obtain the imperial consent for the postponement of the fête until the return of their Majesties from Naples. This circumstance made us wait for our dinner an hour beyond the usual time. In the evening, in consequence of an invitation from the Princess Canino, we called on Madame Mère.[1] The Princess was there by agreement to introduce us. Cardinal Fesch was also present. The old lady was very amiable while we stayed which was about half an hour. We then went and spent the remainder of the evening with Lucien and family. He and Madame expressed a wish that I would permit their eldest son [2] to accompany me to America provided they could obtain for him the passport for which they had applied. They requested me also to mention the subject to Cardinal Gonzalvo when I should see him, as I proposed on the morrow to take leave.

26. Called this morning and took leave of Torlonia and the Ministers of France and Austria.[3] I then called on Cardinal Gonzalvo who received me very graciously, and although the antechamber was crowded with people in waiting, he gave me immediate audience. I began by thanking him for all his attentions and politeness. I then said a few words in respect to Mr. Sartori, our Acting Consul, all which was well received by the Cardinal. I next proceeded to a more delicate subject — the wish of Lucien Bonaparte to send his eldest son with me to the United States. The Cardinal immediately entered fully and frankly into the subject. He recounted all the circumstances relating to the conduct of the allied powers towards Lucien. He said that after the last defeat of Napoleon, Lucien, on his way from Paris to Rome, was arrested at Turin by the King of Sardinia and imprisoned at that place, that on representation of this circumstance to the ministers of the great allied powers then at Paris, it was resolved by those ministers that Lucien should be liberated and allowed to proceed to Rome provided the Pope consented thereto, and provided that neither Lucien nor his family should leave the papal territories. The Pope acquiesced without hesitation, and Lucien embraced the proposition

[1] Letizia Bonaparte.
[2] Charles-Lucien-Jules-Laurent Bonaparte (1803–1857).
[3] Prince de Kaunitz.

with eagerness and even volunteered his word of honour to observe the conditions that were imposed; that Naples and France were dissatisfied with the arrangement, and the former had required that Lucien should be driven out of the papal dominions which the Pope peremptorily refused. The Cardinal showed me the protocols of all these transactions, and a letter from Tallyrand on the subject in which he contends that a distinction ought to be made between Lucien and the other members of the Bonaparte family on account of the part which he had acted some months before. He also showed me a letter from Lucien asking a passport for his son to accompany me to America, the Cardinal's answer to this letter stating the necessity of consulting the allied powers before he could accede to this request; a second letter from Lucien in which he remonstrates against the injustice of delaying to grant the passport which he had requested, stating that his parole could not affect his children who, when of age, would be masters of their own conduct, and even intimating that he would sooner return to the castle of Turin than submit to the oppression of a different construction. The Cardinal appeared to be a little hurt at the tone of this letter but observed "il est malheureux et je lui pardonne." After this conversation I asked the Cardinal for his orders for post-horses and for an escort which he immediately accorded filling the blanks up himself. He followed me to the outward door and took his leave in the most gracious manner, sending his compliments and good wishes to Mrs. Russell. I next returned home and then accompanied Mrs. Russell to the Capitol, the tower of which we ascended to the top. Thence we had a very fine view of the site and ruins of ancient Rome and could distinguish the famous Seven Hills. The prospect commanded also modern Rome and the vicinity as far as Mount Soracte on one side, and the Sea and the Pontine Marshes on the other. After dinner I called on Lucien and gave him an account of my interview with the Cardinal Gonzalvo at which he appeared very little pleased. I afterwards accompanied Mrs. Russell and Amelia to the Princess Pauline's and took leave of her. In the evening Terril and Trentanove called on us and the former remained until half past twelve the next morning.

27. We had at last obtained permission, through the influence of Monseigneur [ ], to visit the statues and the celebrated paintings at the Villa Ludovisi. We according called on him at half past twelve and took him with us in our carriage. At the gate we met our countrymen, Terril and Main, to whom we had given a hint of our success and desired them to profit by it. This villa occupies part of the gardens of Sallust close by the Aurelian wall. We first entered the casino which contains the statues. We saw

there the finest collection, for its extent, which we had ever seen. Among other chefs-d'œuvre, a superb statue of Mars reposing, a sitting gladiator, an Esculapius, a group of Pluto and Prosepina, one of Orestes, and Electra, and another most excellent of Paetus holding his wife Arria after she had killed herself and in the act of plunging the dagger in his own bosom. We next proceeded to the casino which contains the justly celebrated Aurora painted in fresco by Guerchino di Cento. It deserves all its reputation and excelled in our opinion the Aurora of Guido. In the story above we also saw the Fame of the same painter in fresco which was likewise very fine. We mounted on the top of the building and took a glance at the surrounding prospect which was very commanding but which, as it began to rain, we could not enjoy long. For the same reason we could not examine very leisurely the statues in the gardens. We carried Monseigneur to his apartments and then went to the Palace of Spada, and among many interesting objects saw there the famous statue of Pompey at the foot of which Julius Caesar is said to have expired. The head of this statue was found at a considerable distance from the body which occasioned some doubt if it rightfully belonged to it. Canova has, however, after a thorough investigation, pronounced it to be the true original head. We entered the apartment where the statue is kept with some English men and women, one of the latter of whom exclaimed on entering: "There is the statue which the barbarous French mutilated by sawing off the arm in order to get it through the door to remove it." She walked up to it with an air of triumph, in order to point out the truth of this violence, but she looked extremely foolish when she could find no trace of such an outrage, the statue being, in fact, as entire as the first moment it was discovered. The poor woman had been misled by the falsehood of Eustace who never paid the least respect to truth when there was a question of the French. In the afternoon the Prince and Princess of Canino called on us. Trentanove had joined us to a party to see the statues of the Vatican by torch-light, but some of the party came so late that we had merely time to arrive at the door of the Museum before our appointments called us elsewhere. We first called on the Prince and Princess of Canino and then returned home to receive Mr. Sartori and his wife, who came to pass the evening with us as well as Trentanove who had returned with us.

28. We were very busily engaged this morning in packing up. About noon Charles Bonaparte, the eldest son of Lucien, called on us with Monsieur Franci, the physician of the Prince. We ordered dinner at two o'clock and set off at three-quarters past three. Trentanove stayed with us till we were off. After leaving Rome we

found some part of the road broken up to repair and we did not reach Tor di Mezzavia until a quarter past five. The postmaster or his man attempted to impose on us by making us pay for a royal post and insisted on detaining us for this object, until I gave orders to return to Rome which appeared to alarm him and he permitted us to go on. We arrived at Albano at seven and stopped at the Hotel Ville de Londres to which we had been recommended by Mr. Kruseman.

29. We spent this morning in seeing the curiosities at Albano. This city is built on the spot of the ancient city of Alba Longa which was founded four hundred years before the city of Rome and flourished until the time of Tullius Hostilius. Ascanius son of Aeneas is said to have been the founder. A tomb is still seen which is said to have been the sepulchre of this Prince, but of which the origin is really unknown. It is a tower still of considerable elevation although all its ornaments are gone. From this tower we proceeded to the lake which is a long mile distant. We passed by the Castel Gandolfo, belonging to the Pope, and built upon the spot where Milo killed the Tribune Clodius. The lake was formerly called Albano, now Castillo on account of its proximity to this castle. We were mounted on jackasses, and on descending to the lake we found the road or path in some places very rough, and on account of the late rains, very muddy. The lake is supposed to be the crater of an ancient volcano and its depth, which is four hundred and eighty feet, appears to warrant this supposition. It is said to be five miles in circumference, but by reason of the high land on every side its extent appears to be much less. We visited the outlet which was made to this lake about three hundred and ninety-three years before the Christian era. It was worked through the solid mountain of rock for nearly two miles, its width being three and one-half feet and its height six feet. It has never received any repairs and is now as perfect as the day it was finished, more than two thousand, two hundred years ago. The entrance near the lake is protected by a kind of gate, and the man who opened it lighted a taper which he placed on a little piece of wood which he set afloat on the current, and which as it proceeded, threw a light on the subterraneous passage and made it visible for a considerable distance. On our return we stopped at a grotto which is supposed to have been a Nymphé or a hall ornamented with the statues of nymphs where they went to refresh themselves in old times. The statues are gone, but the niches in which they stood still remain, and places for baths and the conduit for water which supplied them. We next went to the Villa Barberini and saw there the ruins of a palace of Nero and of his amphitheatre. It is said that there was not only a covered way from the one to the other, but that there was such a way from

the palace to the city of Rome, a distance of about fourteen miles. In the gardens of Barberini there was a fine ancient bust of Scipio Africanus. We saw also parts of a fine marble frieze and a Corinthian capital worked into the modern walls of the garden. We next went to view the remains of an ancient conservatory of water. We now returned to our inn and having dined we set off at half past three in prosecution of our journey. Just as we left Albano we saw the remains of an ancient tomb vulgarly called the tomb of the Horatii and Curiatii, but supposed by others more reasonably to have been the tomb of Pompey the Great.[1] We stopped a short time to examine it. It has a square foundation which was formerly crowned with five pyramids of which two only are now standing. We arrived at Genzano, three-quarters of a post, at four o'clock, having been obliged to take six horses. We set off now with four horses only, and arrived at Velletri, one post at six o'clock. Here we met Mr. Robinson and Bernard returning from Naples. We went to visit the Palace Lancellotti, formerly Gennette. It is now converted into an inn and very much abused. We saw the fine staircase, said to be the most magnificent in Italy. The statues still remain on the ground, some of them much defaced and one of them placed under a stable window of modern times was literally covered with a dung heap. From the portico on the back of this palace is a fine view of the valley which we enjoyed for a few minutes and then returned to our inn, where Mr. Robinson took tea and spent the evening with us.

30. We took an escort this morning of two dragoons and resumed our journey at half past five. At half past seven we changed horses and dragoons at Cisterna at seven and again changed horses at Torre tre Ponti at eight thirty. Here the Pontine Marshes commence and here we discharged our escort. We changed horses at Bocca de fiume at half past nine; at Mesa at ten thirty — at Ponti Maggiore at eleven and reached Terracina at eleven thirty. A short distance before we arrived at this place we had left the Pontine Marshes. We found considerable cultivation on these marshes and the road everywhere excellent and the postillions, particularly the last two, drove with great rapidity. We stopped to breakfast at Terracina and again set off at twelve thirty. We reached the frontier of the Pope in about a mile and found there a military station and were persuaded to take an escort for the rest of the stage, but we had not proceeded far before we arrived at the Neapolitan barrier when our escort informed us they could go no further and demanded pay for the whole distance. This I refused and

[1] There are two tombs, not one, as Russell has it.

a warm altercation took place, which I ended by giving four pauls to the rogues. The usual rate of paying the dragoons is five pauls each for a post with a small *bon a mano*. We reached Fondi, a post and a half, at two; Itri, one post, at three fifteen; and Mola de Gaëta,[1] one post, at four thirty. At this place our passport was again required and a report of our baggage, but we passed without difficulty. We reached Garigliano at three-quarters past six and St. Agatha at a quarter past eight. We stopped here for the night and found most wretched lodgings in a most wretched inn.

May 1. We left our vile inn at St. Agatha this morning at half past six o'clock. We passed Sparanisi at eight, and reached Capua at a quarter past ten. As the old town of Capua is about a mile and a half from the new we did not visit it, as the few shapeless ruins which remain there would have afforded very little indemnity for the loss of time. We breakfasted at Capua and resumed our journey at half past eleven. We found the roads thence to Aversa very rough and heavy and we did not reach the latter place until one o'clock, although it is but one post. We likewise found the road bad from Aversa to Naples and were until three o'clock in reaching the latter. About half way we were indeed detained a short time by one of the fore wheels running off. John and Marcus who had greased the wheels the day before had not secured this in the proper manner and we found ourselves, all at once pitched diagonally on the end of the axle. At the Barrier of Naples I found a servant with a letter from Mr. Hammett informing me that he had taken apartments for our accommodation at the Crocelle. We therefore proceeded thither and found the apartments very comfortable and pleasant, commanding a fine view of the bay and surrounding country. We found them, however, too elevated having to mount no less than one hundred and two steps to arrive at them. After dinner I took a walk and called on our consul, Alexander Hammett.

2. Received a visit this morning from Mr. Hammett after which I made several calls and delivered letters of introduction, one to Count Mocenigo, the Russian Minister; the Princess Geraci; the Princess Bellmonte, and Madame Bird. All these letters were from Baron Lagerswärd. After dinner I took a long ride with Mrs. Russell and Amelia along the bay to the westward and encountered a crowd of carriages.

3. Mr. Hammett called this morning and introduced Mr. Davis from New Jersey. I afterwards went out and delivered the remainder of my letters of introduction which were to the following persons: Falconette & Co.; Rogers & Co.; Torrebello, the Por-

[1] Formia.

tuguese Minister; Boréel, the Dutch Minister; Circello, the Minister of Foreign Affairs; General Ambrosio; Major Salviggi; Mr. Joseph Ferro; and Jablonowski, the Austrian Minister. I found at home Mr. Rogers, the partner of Falconette (Falconette himself having gone with his family to Switzerland), the Ministers of Holland and Portugal and the Major Salviggi. The Minister of Foreign Affairs was at home, but so much occupied that he requested that I would call again to-morrow. At four o'clock we received a visit from Madam Bird and her daughters; at six the Princess Bellmonte. The latter told us that she received every Sunday and Wednesday evening. At nine o'clock the Princess of Geraci called by agreement and took Mrs. Russell with her to the Austrian Minister's. About eight o'clock the Minister of Russia called on me to make excuses for not intending to present me to the King,[1] etc. His reasons and his conduct were at least ridiculous if not impertinent.

4. Called this day on the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Circello, and he engaged to ask leave of presentation from the King. He said that the Count Mocenigo had called on him and consulted him concerning my presentation and that they had both considered it best, on account of the *alliance* between the United States and Great Britain, for me to be presented by the British Minister and Mrs. Russell by his lady. I remonstrated against this course, having no acquaintance with the said minister, and not being inclined to ask favours in that quarter. Circello then engaged to present me himself, but as the King would be absent for three days it would be necessary to wait a short time. I next went to the Custom-house and found that my trunks from Rome had not arrived. As my uniform coat was in one of them I felt it necessary to refuse an invitation to the Academy, given by the Austrian Minister to the Emperor and Empress and imperial family this evening. Received a note from Mocenigo saying that the English Minister would present me. The English Minister left his card and his lady called and made us a visit in person. Mr. Middleton also called. In the evening I took a walk to the gardens and Mrs. Russell and Amelia went to the Academy above mentioned, at six o'clock, and remained until ten. They came home very much pleased with the music and with the attentions which they had received.

5. We ordered our carriage this morning at nine o'clock, but having waited for it till half past ten, I took a walk to the Consul's. He accompanied me to the coachmakers who first tried to persuade us that the carriage had been sent at the time ordered, and then that it had not been ordered until noon. He promised, however,

[1] Ferdinand IV (1751–1825).

to be punctual in future. We walked home and there found the carriage. After sitting for some time we went to see the Chapel of St. Serverino or the Church of St. Marie di la Pietá. We saw some very fine and curious statues in this chapel as well as other excellent sculpture. Among the statues is one of the mother[1] of the Prince Dom Raimond under the figure of chastity [ ], covered with a veil. This veil tho' a part of the marble, is so well executed as to appear transparent and to discover the lineaments beneath it. The Greeks and Romans never sculptured veils and the latter painted them only. This statue was executed by Corradini.[2] Another statue, executed by Queirolo,[3] represents the said Dom Raymond of Vice Undeceived. The Prince after the death of his wife turned religious. He caused himself to be sculptured as a man covered by a net from which he was disentangling himself by the aid of a little winged spirit. The net is of the same piece of marble as the statue and admirably executed. There is also a bust [of] Christ begun by Corradini and finished by Joseph San Martino,[4] a Neapolitan, of wonderful workmanship. After we had seen the curiosities of this church we spent the remainder of the time, until dinner, in shopping. After dinner we took a ride and walked in the garden. We were obliged to stay at home in the evening, although invited to the Princess Bellmonte's, as Mrs. Russell had broken the key to the trunk which contained her clothes. We had a visit from Mr. Main whom I had met in the morning at the Consul's. Mrs. Middleton and Mr. Boréel called this morning while we were out. General Ambrosio also called and left a note inviting us to his box on Sunday evening.

6. We called on the Consul this morning at a little past nine o'clock and went with him to the Academy of Studies. We began by examining the pictures of later times, of which there is a considerable selection in several apartments. There are but few productions, however, of the great masters. The painting which interested us most was a portrait of Christopher Columbus, by Parmigiano. There was a little picture by Correggio not more than a foot square representing the Virgin Mary and her Son, for which the Academy is said to have paid twenty thousand ducats. We could see nothing in the work, however, to justify the price. We next went into the apartments containing the paintings found in Pompeii and Herculaneum, as well as rings, spoons, etc. We next went into the rooms where are the papyri in a carbonated state and were shown the

[1] Cecilia Gaetani, wife of Antonio di Sangro.
[2] Antonio Corradini (–1752).
[3] Francisco Queirolo.
[4] Giuseppe San Martino (1728–1800).

process by which they are developed. We then went into the library which is said to contain forty thousand volumes and one thousand manuscripts. We next went to the chambers containing the vases found in the ancient sepulchres which are very numerous and some of them finely executed. The paintings on them were often historical many depicting events well known, such as the Death of Patroclus, the Death of Hector, etc. We lastly descended to the ground floor and saw there the statues, busts and bas-reliefs. There are some very fine statues, as the Farnesian Hercules equestrian statues of the Consul Albius and his son, found in Herculaneum, a fine bust of Julius Caesar, etc. There is a bust of Aristides admired for its drapery and attitude. The latter, however, to me expressed very little, either of grace or force. In the court-yard we saw some of the ancient mills which were probably turned by hand. I have omitted to say that in some of the rooms above stairs we saw a great collection of cooking utensils and other household implements, implements of surgery, steelyards and scales with their weights, lamps, etc., found at Pompeii. At two o'clock we returned home and found cards from the Portuguese Minister, Torrebello, Mr. Rogers. We afterwards had visits from Mr. Rogers and his lady, and from General Ambrosio.

7. I stayed at home this morning, but Mrs. Russell and Amelia called on Mrs. Middleton. After dinner we went to see the tomb of Virgil, which we found on the side of a mountain or hill called Posilipo. To arrive at it we passed through a garden. The body of the work still remains consisting of four walls and an arch built of bricks. There are three openings or windows; on the inside are several niches, — all the ornaments have been taken away. In ascending and descending the hill we were thronged by a number of ragged, half-naked girls, from ten to thirteen years of age, who danced up and down the [roadway] in a very amusing manner, and fought for the money which we gave them, with the spirit of furies. In the evening we had a call from our countryman Davis and from our old acquaintance, the Count Voyna, who proposed a game of whist with the ladies, to which we assented, in order to remind us of Sweden.

8. We breakfasted this morning at half past seven and got into our carriage at half past eight. We called and took the Consul with us, and then proceeded to the city of Pompeii. This town is about twelve miles from Rome, and we arrived there at about eleven o'clock. We immediately took a cicerone and began our rambles. We first saw the Temple of Hercules with the triangular forum in which it is placed, the tragic and comic theatres and the Temple of Isis. We then passed over a considerable extent of

Pompeii still buried in volcanic matter, when we arrived at the amphitheatre. This amphitheatre is nearly entire, although defaced of nearly all its marbles. It gives even a more distinct idea of what it was than that of Verona. It is evidently divided for two classes of people, there being no communication between several rows of lower seats and those above. All the seats are divided into two parts by a little longitudinal rising of about an inch and a half, on the fore part of a little more than a foot, which was really the seat and the part behind, on which were placed the feet of those on the next seat was of course lower and somewhat wider. Thus the place for the seats and for the feet of the spectators was distinctly marked and prevented all interference and confusion. The seats which we had just seen at the tragic and comic theatres had not this advantage. Tacitus gives an account of a terrible quarrel which took place in this theatre between the inhabitants of Pompeii and some of the people of Nuceria, who were present, when several of the latter were killed and wounded. Livineius Regulus who gave this fête was in consequence executed by the Roman Senate,[1] and exhibitions of gladiators in this amphitheatre were forbidden for the term of ten years. Near the amphitheatre, a considerable part of the ancient walls of the city has been uncovered. I not only took a view of this part of the wall from the top of the amphitheatre but I took a ramble along it for a considerable distance and could thence form a pretty accurate conjecture of the real extent of the town. It was indeed of very respectable dimensions. We now walked through vineyards over the city which still remains covered, to nearly the opposite part which had first been explored. This part we found entirely uncovered and presenting an exact view of the temples and habitations, etc., of the ancients. All the buildings in Pompeii are of brick covered with stucco. They remain generally very perfect excepting being unroofed. The walls are painted either red or yellow with few exceptions, and on many are drawn figures of men, beast or birds, or architectural designs. Almost every house has a square court-yard in the centre, paved with mosaic and in the midst a cistern for the rain-water. The rooms are distributed round this court-yard and opening into it without any direct communication with each other. We were surprised to find most of these rooms very small not being from more than five to nine feet broad and about ten or twelve deep. They were generally, however, ten or twelve feet high. We could not find any traces of interior doors. All the utensils, furniture, etc., found in Pompeii have been removed to the Royal Academy. The

[1] Banished, according to Tacitus, *Ann.* iii, ii; xiv. 17.

name of the inhabitant is written on the outside of the house next the street in red paint. In the shops where wine and oil was retailed, large jars still remain supported by masonry. We also saw a bakehouse with a large oven still remaining and precisely of the form of ovens of the present day. In this bakehouse were also several mills of different shapes and sizes, all apparently worked by hand. The streets which have been cleared of the volcanic matter are precisely as they were seventeen or eighteen centuries ago. They are very narrow; say about eight feet wide besides the sideways which are about a yard wide on each side and raised about two feet, so as to be above the reach of rain-water. At the corners of the streets in order to pass to the other side are three large stones from a foot to a foot and a half high, so placed that the wheels of carriages passed between the centre stone and those on each side. The pavement was much worn by the wheels in these places, as here the carriages went in precisely the same track. In this part of the town was also a tragic theatre; a Temple of Esculapius; a Temple of Venus; a Basilica; a Forum, etc., all still magnificent. We also saw the house of Caius Sallust, which was one of the most considerable of Pompeii. The bath and the marble on which the table was placed still remain, with the surrounding floor on which they dined in cubito. After seeing these things we passed out through the gateway on the consular road which still remains entire. In the suburbs we went over the house of M. Arrius Diomedes which was spacious and delightfully situated on a hill commanding a prospect of the bay. A cellar runs all round underneath this house which has also been cleared and we went through it, and still saw some of the amphora which contained the wine resting against the wall. We also saw the tomb built by this person which according to the inscription was for *sibi et suis*, but even he did not find sepulture there as he perished in the eruption of 79 and was for centuries covered by the volcanic matter. His bones were found in his garden towards the gate which led out behind, and as in one hand he held keys and in the other money, it is supposed that he was in the act of escaping when he perished. Behind him were the bones of another person supposed to be a servant with vessels of bronze and silver. We saw also the other tombs on the consular way, and in one of them was still the vases containing the ashes of the deceased. Upon the whole the town of Pompeii impressed us with an idea of the taste and public magnificence of the ancient inhabitants, but their dwelling houses appeared to contain too little room according to our ideas of domestic comfort. The streets too, although most solidly made, were very narrow and rather rough. Indeed we can hardly suppose that carriages were much used in those times for

pleasure or personal transportation. The axle of those which marked the pavement of Pompeii could have been only about four feet long. In returning to town we stopt at the ancient site of Herculaneum and descended to the theatre which was once entirely uncovered. It has now again been filled up in such a manner as to have only narrow subterraneous passes through which we passed by candle-light, excepting under the well which was the first means of discovering the place where Herculaneum was. The orchestra was still cleared and by placing a candle at one side and passing to the other we could judge of the width of the theatre in this place. The equestrian statue of the Proconsul Albinus was found on one side of this orchestra and that of his son on the other. Upon the whole we were poorly paid for anything we saw here for the trouble of descending and ascending about seventy-five steps, and for the gloom and dampness of the place. We now returned to Naples where we arrived about half past five and kept the Consul to dine with us, and had a bottle of wine called Lacrimae Christi, which he found to be good, having a dryness and roughness like port. We were so fatigued with our excursion this day that we spent the evening at home, although we had an invitation at the Duchess of Nalboum, and another at the Princess Bellmonte.

9. I took a ride this morning with Mrs. Russell along the sea, in the fine road made by Murat. Had a call from General Ambrosio. In the evening accompanied him to the theatre of St. Charles, and sat in the box of the Princess Caramanico, which had been procured for us by the General. The theatre is one of the most magnificent in Europe, and this evening, on account of the presence of the Emperor and Empress of Austria, it was brilliantly illuminated. The entertainment was first a cantata which had no great import; then a series of dances in imitation of the national dances of other countries, and the tarantella, which is the national dance of Naples. On a signal being given, a garland was thrown over every box, which had a fine effect. The whole continued until about half past eleven, when we returned home.

10. I staid at home this morning while Mrs. Russell and Amelia paid several visits and went shopping. In the afternoon we, with the Consul, went up to the Castle of St. Elmo, from whence we had a fine view of Naples, its environs, bay, the sea, etc. In descending Mr. Hammett slipt and fell and hurt himself considerably. In the evening we went to the theatre and sat by previous invitation, in the box of the Princess Geraci. The opera was "Elizabeth" which we heard and retired before the ballet, which was "Orlando Furioso."

11. We intended this morning to have gone, with the Consul,

to Pozzuoli and Baiae, but received a note from him that his knee, from the fall yesterday, was too lame for the expedition. We then determined to change our destination for Portici. On our way thither we stop at the Consul's and I went up and found him in bed. The museum at Portici was very interesting. It contained many of the inscriptions and paintings which had been saved from the walls of Herculaneum, Pompeii and Stabiae. Some of these paintings were very fine, particularly four which had been found at Herculaneum — Theseus after slaying the Minotaur, the Centaur Chiron teaching the young Achilles, the son of Hercules, [to] suck a doe, the river Nile and its attributes. There was also a skull of a young woman shown which had belonged to a skeleton found in Pompeii. This skeleton was dressed in cloth of solid gold with pearl ear-rings and rings on her fingers and bracelets. There were several other skeletons found about her which were supposed to be those of her servants. There was also shown us a family altar at which were worshipped the Dii Penates. We next went to the rooms containing the portraits of Murat and his children, Napoleon and his mother, Masséna, etc. We were then introduced into the palace which we found to be furnished precisely as it was when inhabited by Murat and his consort.[1] Even the little library of the latter remained untouched. There was nothing indeed wanting but the mattresses of Murat to put on the elegant bedstead, and these were to be brought in order to show the Emperor of Austria how the unfortunate man had slept in whose murder Emperors and Kings had been accomplices. The mean triumph would, it seems, be more perfect by viewing the previous magnificence of the illustrious victim. This palace commands a beautiful view of the Bay of Naples and the city and surrounding hills. We returned to town about two o'clock and soon after I received a visit from the British Minister. In the course of the conversation he appeared surprised to learn that I had not been presented to the King. I explained to him my situation and rendered him an account of the strange conduct of the Greek Mocenigo. He then said he would see Circello immediately, and left me for that purpose. About three hours afterwards I received an invitation from the Prince of Migliano to a ball given by the King this evening at his palace of Capodimonte. But as it was a very late invitation; as I had not been presented to the King, and as Mrs. Russell had not been invited, I decided not to go, but spent the evening at home in reading "Olympie," a tragedy of Voltaire.

[1] Maria Annunciata Carolina Bonaparte, youngest sister of Napoleon.

12. I went this morning again with Mrs. Russell to the Royal Studium. We began by the rez-de-chaussée and saw there very leisurely all the marble statues. There are some very fine ones as well those from the Farnesian collection at Rome, such as the Hercules, Flora, etc., as several found in Herculaneum and Pompeii. We next went into the rooms containing the pictures of which we took a leisurely survey, and we purchased there a small copy of the portrait by Parmigiano for which I paid fifteen dollars. We next went into the room which contains the jewels found at Pompeii and Herculaneum, also some from the Farnesian collection; several frescos from Herculaneum and Pompeii, with a great variety of other interesting articles from these places. The rings found at Pompeii and Herculaneum are generally like those of modern times, that is joined, but there are some which are not joined but like the bracelets merely bent in a circle without being soldered. These bracelets are indeed made precisely like those worn at the present day in Calcutta and the East. I observed one pair, however, of gold which consisted of a serpent, each bent twice round. The engravings on some of the stones of the rings are remarkably fine. In this room is the finest cameo in the world. It is from the Farnesian collection. It is an agate of seven or eight inches in diameter, very transparent. One side is engraved with the apotheosis of Alexander and the other with the head of Medusa. Some of the frescos in this room are well delineated. There are here also hen's eggs found in Pompeii more than seventeen hundred years old and which externally appear quite fresh. There is also a vessel containing oil which has become nearly of the consistence of butter. The vessel itself is of glass. We were also shown wine in a jar which had been converted into a solid mass by the action of the heat of the volcanic matter or by time. We next went shopping for a short time and purchased a couple of tambourines. As it rained in the afternoon we kept [the] house until the evening, and then Mrs. Russell went without me to visit the Princess of Jablonowski, the Princess of Bellmonte, Madam Middleton and Madam Bird, and to pass a few hours at the theatre of St. Charles.

13. The Consul called and breakfasted with us this morning and we all set off together at about half past eight o'clock for Pozzuoli. We passed the Grot of Posilipo, which is a road through the mountain of that name of about a quarter of a mile in length lighted with lamps. We arrived at Pozzuoli at ten o'clock. We first went to the square to view an ancient pedestal, the four sides of which are ornamented with bas-reliefs a little obliterated. This is supposed to have been the pedestal of a statue erected to Tiberius by fourteen cities of Asia Minor, which are represented by the four-

teen figures in bas-relief. There is also in this place, a very fine statue standing on a pedestal on which is the following inscription:

Q. Flavio Mario Egnatio
Lolliano . . . D
Patrono Dignissimo —

We next went to visit the Temple of Serapis which although discovered entire, no longer ago than the year 1750, is now quite in ruins, having three pillars only standing, and the circumference in shapeless heaps. The outside building was square of one hundred and thirty-four feet long and one hundred and fifteen wide. The inner building or temple was round having a diameter of sixty-five feet. We now hired a boat for eighteen carlinos and crossed the bay towards Bajae. In passing we saw on our left the butments of the ancient mole which is now generally called the Bridge of Caligula because he continued this mole by a bridge to the opposite side. Of the bridge, however, there are no remains above water. On our right we saw the mountain of Gaurono now called Monte Barbaro, on account of its rude and barren appearance. It was this mountain, however, which formerly produced the wines so much boasted by the ancients. We also saw on our right the Monte Nuovo, because it was formed by a volcanic eruption so lately as 1538. It is very elevated and has three miles' circumference. We landed on the beach in the immediate vicinity of Lake Lucrino, anciently so renowned for its fish. It still abounds with excellent fish and oysters, but its dimensions were very much curtailed by the earthquake just mentioned, which filled up the greatest part of it. From Lake Lucrino we walked about a mile to Lake Averno. Near this lake we saw ruins which are supposed to be those of a temple of Apollo, but as some have conjectured they are probably of baths. In returning to the bay we took another path and passed through the subterraneous passage called the Grot of the Sybil of Cumae but more reasonably supposed to have been the grand canal formed by Nero, to conduct the warm waters to the promontory of Miseno. I counted about two hundred paces in passing it. On arriving at the shore we walked some distance along it to the south and came to the Baths of Nero, so-called, which are now quite in ruins excepting the subterraneous passage which conducted to the hot springs. I proceeded a short distance in this passage, but finding myself getting into an inconvenient perspiration and the difficulty of breathing increasing, I returned. There was a lad there, however, who satisfied, for trifling compensation, the curiosity of strangers in going quite to the spring and bringing thence some of

the water. He performed this enterprise for us and prepared himself for it by stripping off all his clothes excepting his pantaloons, he took with him a bucket and two eggs, and after being absent a short time he returned, making as he approached a great noise in breathing, which perhaps was theatrical and when he appeared he was literally dripping with sweat. The water in the bucket was too hot for the hand and the two eggs which he had put into it were slightly boiled, but the water we were told is not sufficiently hot to boil them quite hard. We now got into our boat and proceeded a short distance along the coast and landed in the vicinity of the temples of Venus Genetrix, Mercury and Diana Lucifera. Such, however, is the uncertainty attending most of the ancient ruins, that many suppose that these ruins belong to ancient baths, as they are situated near mineral sources and have a variety of appendages which seem not to appertain to temples. The circle of the Temple of Mercury is still entire and so perfect that a low whisper near the wall on one side is distinctly heard by a listener on the other. We again got into our boat and rowed towards the promontory. We passed many of the ruins of the ancient city of Baiae, some on the shore, but the greatest part submerged in the ocean. Julius Caesar had a country house in this city where Livia is said to have poisoned Marcellus. We landed at the ruins of the ancient village of Bauti formerly very celebrated. We saw there a subterraneous vault which is vulgarly called the Tomb of Agrippina although Tacitus says that the tomb of this woman was very humble. This vault is therefore supposed to have belonged to a theatre. A little farther on we visited what is denominated Piscina Admirabile, which was a grand reservoir of water built by Lucullus. It is still very entire and to arrive at the bottom we descended two flights of stairs of forty steps each. It is supported on forty-eight pilasters of square columns which are still, with the arches, supported by them in perfect order, and the stucco with which they are covered has become so hard that we were told snuff boxes had been made of it. We next descended into what is called Cento Camerelle, a favorite appellation for any great number of apartments. These apartments here are by some supposed to have been prisons for criminals, and were they really so, they must have been most dreary habitations. We went into several of them. We afterwards saw the shapeless ruins of the Mercato di Sabito which was a circus for equestrian exhibitions. We now took a long walk towards the promontory of Miseno, and having attained a considerable elevation in that direction we had a near and distinct view of the river Styx and the Elysian Fields beyond them. The former was a short communication between a pitiful little salt lake or pond

and the sea, and the latter a sidehill rather precipitous and covered now with trees. Over the Styx is now a bridge so of course the ferry-boat is no longer necessary. From Miseno we also had a very fine view of the islands Ischia and Procida. We now returned to our boat and recrossed the bay to Pozzuoli where we dined tolerably well. After dinner we went to the Solfatara. This is a plain of about eight hundred feet square. It was probably once a mountain and levelled by a volcano. There is undoubtedly a hollow space beneath from the sound which is occasioned by the stamp of the foot. From several places in this plain there issues a smoke and the ground thereabouts is encrusted with sulphur. The earth is also hot in many places. This plain is still surrounded with the hills which were anciently called Monte Leucogio. From the verge of these mountains in one place issued a small volume of smoke. We afterwards visited the ruins of an amphitheatre in this vicinity; some sarcophagi that had been found about two years since, and an ancient reservoir of water now used for the same purpose. We then returned to town quite fatigued.

14. We received a visit this morning from Commodore Stewart,[1] Captains Mac Donough [2] and Ballard,[3] and my old friend Shaler.[4] They spent some time with us and I accompanied Shaler to the British Minister's. I afterwards rode with Mrs. Russell to call on Mrs. Rogers. In the evening I was presented with Mrs. Russell to the King by the Marquis Circello. There were many of the officers of the government present, and after waiting some time the King entered and was announced by the person who preceded him, clapping the hands. He immediately came up to the Marquis Circello who stood next the door at which he entered, and received us. He conversed ten or twelve minutes with us, asking as many questions and making as many observations as he could find appropriate to the parties. There were, however, several long pauses. He then went on and received the Neapolitan officers in waiting who pressed round him and kissed his hand. He then returned again to us and having talked several minutes more, he retired and we returned home.

15. Mrs. Russell was quite unwell this morning and was obliged to let me go to the Studium without her. I met there the Commodore and the other commanders of the American ships at Naples as well as many of the officers. We stayed there until half past one. Mrs. Russell had sufficiently recovered in the afternoon to accom-

[1] Charles Stewart (1778–1869).
[2] Thomas Macdonough (1783–1825).
[3] Henry E. Ballard (1785–1855), a master commandant at this time.
[4] William Shaler (1778–1833).

pany me and Amelia to [a] dinner given by the British Minister. We found there the Duke of Leeds; [1] Lord Gordon, Minister at Vienna; [2] Lord Ponsonby; [3] Admiral Fremantle,[4] and several of their ladies. We sat down at the table at about half past six and the British Minister gave his hand to Mrs. Russell and his lady accepted mine. Immediately after dinner, which was about nine o'clock, Mrs. Russell was again taken ill and we were obliged to go home.

16. We this morning at about half past ten o'clock set off with Commodore Stewart in our travelling carriage and four horses for Cardeletto, as we had been invited by the Marquis Circello to a fête there this day and to dine at the table of the King. We reached our destination a little before noon just as the King had mounted on horseback and the Emperor, etc., had got into their carriages to ride around the ground. We met Circello at the door, who gave his arm to Mrs. Russell and told her that we should see the scene better by walking. He accordingly led the way with Mrs. Russell and Commodore Stewart and I followed. We found the ground finely shaded with oak and the peasantry from the neighbouring country grouped in little parties, enjoying their little feasts and dressed in their costume. As the Marquis was an old man decorated with many orders of nobility, many of these people mistook him for the King and cried out with great apparent joy "Viva il Re." They frequently pressed him to drink, etc. Mrs. Russell who was with him was of course taken for the Queen and participated in these attentions. One woman in particular came some distance from the party in which she was engaged, to give Mrs. Russell a full look in the face and then returned saying "Sono contenta; io ho visto la Regina." We afterwards returned to the palace and I presented the Commodore to many of the Emperor's suite and foreign Ministers. About one we sat down to dinner. After dinner the Austrian Minister told me that the Emperor would then receive the Commodore, and that he would go on board his ship on the morrow. The Commodore was accordingly presented and received this assurance from the Emperor in person. The horse-races began soon afterwards on a signal given by the King. They began by a number of mean looking horses starting with riders dressed in different colours and mounted bareback. They ran round an elliptical enclosure in front of the palace without any equality in their speed, some absolutely breaking down

[1] George William Frederick Osborne, sixth Duke of Leeds (1775–1838).
[2] Lord Stewart was at Vienna as Ambassador.
[3] John Ponsonby, Viscount Ponsonby (1770?–1855).
[4] Sir Thomas Fremantle (1765–1819).

after the first and second round, and the winner coming out several lengths before all the rest and more than half the course before some. About seven o'clock we set out on our return to town where we arrived about nine without accident.

17. At the request of Commodore Stewart we went this morning on board the *Franklin* a little before noon in order to dine with him and to receive the Emperor and the King. We had not been on board long, however, before the Commodore received a note from the British Admiral saying their Majesties would not be on board that day. As Admiral Fremantle had long given his invitation to this effect it was conceived proper that he should receive the first visit, which we found to be correct, and consented accordingly. Of the intention of their Majesties to defer their visit the Admiral had received a message. We staid on board, however, and dined and did not return on shore until towards evening. At my lodgings I found a note from the Grand Chamberlain of the Emperor, stating that on the opinion of the King the visit of the Emperor had been deferred till another day.

18. At nine o'clock this morning Captain Pasqualigo of the suite of the Emperor called on me to say that the Emperor and the King would go on board the *Rochfort*, an English ship of eighty guns, at four o'clock this afternoon, commanded by Admiral Fremantle, and that immediately after visiting that ship they would go on board the *Franklin* and wished me to give notice accordingly. I immediately dressed and to make all sure went on board the *Franklin* myself. I returned ashore and accompanied Mrs. Russell and Amelia on board the *Guerrière* and the *Erie*, where we had been invited by their respective commanders. After visiting every part of these ships we went on board the *Franklin* and there remained in order to aid in receiving the Emperor and King. We took a light dinner on board as we were engaged to dine this day with the Consul and had decided in putting off his dinner to a late hour in order to receive us. About four o'clock we saw the boats of the King put off from shore and direct their course towards the British ship. It was half past four when they arrived on board that ship, which had the yards manned, and a man on each truck. Immediately on their Majesties being on board two salutes of twenty-one guns were fired, without any intermission, which made it appear like a salute of forty-two guns. The Emperor and King remained on board that ship about an hour, when they put off and came on board of us. The yards and the trucks of the *Franklin*, the *Guerrière*, and the *Erie*, were manned, as those of the *Rochfort*. That ship again fired the salutes as she had done before. The Emperor and Empress of Austria, a daughter of the Emperor, his Grand-

Chamberlain, two Chamberlains, the Grand Master and Grand Mistress of the Empress, several maids of honour, the Prince of Saxony and his wife, a sister of the Emperor, an aid, and several maids of honour, the King of Naples, and his son Leopold, etc., etc., constituted the party which came on board. I accompanied the Commodore to the gangway to receive them as they came on board and Mrs. Russell received the Empress and the ladies. After the boats had hauled from along the side, the *Franklin* fired two salutes with sufficient pause between them to mark them severally. She differed also from the *Rochfort* in the manner of displaying the Austrian and Neapolitan flags. On board the *Rochfort* these flags were hoisted together on the same mast while we hoisted them distinctly on different masts. After the salutes were over we all went below into the cabin and I presented Captains Mac Donough and Ballard, Mr. Shaler, Mr. Hammett, and Lieutenant Gallegar [1] both to the Emperor and King. We then proceeded to show the ship in all parts with which all expressed themselves pleased and astonished. We then went again on the upper deck and from three boats at a little distance we exhibited a specimen of firing at a target from three of our newly invented swivels. After the imperial and royal party had been on board more than an hour and just as the Commodore was about ordering a manœuvre of the guns for the amusement of the Emperor, a most unhappy accident occurred which put an end to the exhibition and filled all with sadness. The Grand-Master of the Empress, as he was following her, in order to shorten his distance, attempted to step across the corner of the main-hatch and being near-sighted mistook the wind sail for a mast and in stretching his hand to support himself by it, lost his balance and fell through four decks into the cockpit. In this fall he broke both bones of the left leg. As all hands had just been called to quarters the surgeon and his mates were at their post and immediately performed the operation of reducing the bone in which they succeeded perfectly. When the Emperor & Co left the *Franklin*, is was half past seven o'clock and to prevent all noise that might be disagreeable to the Grand-Master, no salute was fired. About eight o'clock we went with the Commodore and dined with the Consul Hammett, whom we did not leave until eleven.

19. The Commodore came on shore this morning with Captain Mac Donough and Mr. Shaler and I accompanied them to the lodgings of the Grand-Master to enquire after his health. He received us into his bedchamber and assured us that he was entirely without pain or fever. When I expressed a wish that the accident

[1] John Gallagher.

might not make an impression unfavorable to our navy and country, he exclaimed, certainly not and that it was his fault. His gold snuff-box had fallen from his pocket while he was falling from the upper deck and somebody had picked it up and brought it to me. I availed myself of this opportunity to return it to him and he appeared to be pleased in seeing it again. He spoke in the highest terms of approbation of the tenderness and skill with which he had been treated. After leaving him I returned home and took Mrs. R[ussell] in the carriage with me. We called on Mr. Hammett and his landlady who accompanied us to make some purchases for the sea voyage which we contemplate. At half past five o'clock the Commodore came on shore and accompanied Mrs. R[ussell] Amelia and myself to Capodimonte to dine with an American by the name of Middleton who has a pretty wife. He was not, however, American enough to prefer his own countrymen to all others and he conducted to the table the wife of the British Consul and not the wife of the American Minister. In the evening we had a small party at whist and we returned to town about midnight.

20. I called this morning on my bankers Messrs. Falconette & Co. and took up seven hundred and twenty ducats equal to six hundred dollars which added to ninety-three ducats before drawn, makes in all six hundred and seventy-seven dollars and sixty cents. I afterwards called on the British Minister and on the Danish Consul General at Algiers, and as neither of them was at home, I left cards for them and their ladies. I then called on the Baron Stainlein, the Bavarian Minister[1] at the Court of Vienna and invited him to accompany me on board the *Franklin*. He assented and one o'clock called on me with the Prince [ ], who is of the suite of the Emperor and we went on board all three together. These gentlemen after seeing the ship returned on shore but I remained on board and dined. After dinner I went with the Commodore and the Captains of the other ships on board the brig *Spark* and she got under way, after making a stretch towards the town and running under the stern of the King's yacht and bowing to him as he stood on the quarter-deck. We tacked and run along the coast towards Pompeii and a little before sunset came to an anchor about two miles from the land. We all remained on board that night. We sent the pilot on shore to procure carriages for the next morning.

21. We turned out this morning, as the sailors express it, and after taking an early breakfast got into the boats and rowed on shore. We found the carriages ready and we immediately drove to

[1] He was chargé d'affaires.

Pompeii. We went over the place in the same direction as I had done with Mrs. Russell and Amelia on the eighth instant and I discovered nothing new to attract my attention. We dined at a modern house on provisions which we had taken with us, after we had finished our rambles. Just as we were leaving the place, Baron Schubart and Count Voyna arrived with a party of Polish ladies. We returned on board the *Spark* about eleven o'clock and immediately got under way. We dined there about four o'clock and came to an anchor off Naples about five and reached my lodgings in town at six.

22. We had a visit this morning from the Commodore and while he was with us Mr. Howard and Mr. Mac Donald from Baltimore and Mr. Van Rensselaer from New York called and invited us to dinner for to-morrow. I next called on the Grand Master of the Empress and found that the surgeons had taken off the bandages this morning, and found everything in excellent order. I then went to the Consul's and thence shopping with Mrs. Russell. I afterwards called on Baron Schubart and found him asleep. I then went and took a warm bath and returned home at four o'clock to dinner. After dinner I took a walk with Amelia in the Villa Reale or King's garden, where we met with Captains Ballard and Nicholson [1] and Doctor Heap. I staid at home in the evening and Mr. Davis came and spent half an hour with me. Mrs. Russell went out and made several visits. I have omitted to say above that about three o'clock I called on Prince Metternich but found that he was out. I saw, however, the Chevalier Floret and stated to him my object. This was to comply with the wishes of the Commodore in inviting the Prince on board the *Franklin*. The Chevalier informed me that the Prince was engaged to go to Castel del Mare to-morrow and to Caserta on Monday, whence he would not return till Wednesday and that he would set off for Rome on Friday so that Thursday was the only day which he would be at Naples and would inform me if his engagements were such as to permit him to go on board at that time.

23. I remained at home this morning occupied in writing. Mrs. Russell went to see the pension house of young women but was not admitted by the directress. Received several calls. Dined with Messrs. Howard, Mac Donald and Van Rensselaer, three American gentlemen, and in the evening played at billiards with my old friend Shaler.

24. Called this morning on the Grand-Master of the Empress and found him getting on well. I then went and made a little in-

[1] Joseph J. Nicholson.

vestment in stores. When this was completed I called on the Consul and accompanied him and Mr. Shaler to the prison to see Mr. Bullett of Maryland who had been confined there by the police. I found him to be a very well educated and intelligent young man with considerable eccentricity and very meanly clad. I was fully convinced that there was no sufficient cause for his confinement. I gave a dinner this day to Commodore Stewart, Capt. Mac Donough, Capt. Ballard, Capt. Nicholson, Capt. Thompson,[1] Mr. Shaler, Mr. Hammett, Mr. Galliger, Mr. Weaver,[2] Mr. Howard, Doctor Heap, Mr. Myers, Mr. Ellery, and Mr. Harris. Dr. Satin, Mr. Bourne, and Count Voyna were invited but did not come. I am sorry to say that the dinner was very indifferent and badly served. At eight o'clock I accompanied Capt. Mac Donough and Mr. Shaler to the billiard room and played till ten. On my return home I found there several of the gentlemen who had dined with us and the addition of Mr. Davis and Count Voyna.

25. At eleven o'clock this morning Count Voyna called on me by engagement and I accompanied him on board the *Franklin*, and after he had examined that vessel I went with him on board the *Guerrière*. We then returned on shore, and as it rained I remained at home until four o'clock, when Voyna came and dined with us. Mrs. Russell left us soon after dinner, and rode to Capo di Monte, in order to procure a stock of fresh milk for our voyage. The horses behaved very bad and she was obliged to jump out of the carriage and leave them on the road. After walking a considerable distance through the rain and mud, she took a hack and returned home about nine o'clock, fatigued, wet, and dirty.

26. I spent most of this morning in making preparations for the voyage. About two o'clock Commodore Stewart and Mr. Shaler called on me and informed me that in consequence of a council of war holden on board this morning, the voyage to Greece, Egypt, etc., had been abandoned, and that the squadron would proceed immediately to Gibraltar. The idea of sooner reaching our own country amply indemnified us all for all disappointment. It still continued to rain and we spent the remainder of the day at home.

27. I called on the Consul this morning and engaged him to send my accounts to-morrow morning. I then called on the Marquis of Torrebello, the Portuguese Minister, and reminded him of his offer of a letter to his agent at Madeira for a pipe of the best wine from the estate of Torrebello, and he gave me the letter ac-

[1] Charles C. B. Thompson, a master commandant.
[2] William A. Weaver, a lieutenant.

cordingly. This letter secures to me only a pipe of the best wine on my paying the value of it. After my return Consul Guerdin called with his wife and made us a visit of about an hour. After dinner I went with Mrs. Russell shopping and made several purchases, among others a lyre-formed guitar. In the evening Commodore Stewart, Mr. Shaler and Mr. Weaver called on us to tea and staid until half past ten o'clock. The Prince Metternich had engaged to visit the ship this morning but sent an apology, as he was obliged to take leave of the King to set out on his return to Rome to-morrow. Several gentlemen, however, were on board and the Commodore, for their amusement, presented them with the exercise of the great guns, boarding, etc.

28. I called after eleven o'clock this morning on the American Consul, but found that he was gone on board the squadron. I then accompanied Mrs. Russell to the Studium, where we spent two hours. We saw particularly the apartments which contain the ancient utensils and arms, in which, however, are several articles of a different description, such as musical instruments, chirurgical instruments, etc. The neatness of the copper sauce-pans, etc. was, very admirable, and they were generally lined with silver to render them wholesome. The steelyards I again examined and found them as before, exactly to resemble those of modern times, weighing on both sides with different powers, etc., but the pound appeared to be divided into sixths instead of fourths. There was the remains of a lady's toilet, in which were little mirrors, round and square, which were made of a composition of silver and bronze and burnished to reflect with great power, but they were now dimmed with rust. There was even a little pot containing rouge which had preserved its colour for more than seventeen hundred years. Among the medical remains were huge pills and boluses, of half an inch diameter, which could with difficulty have been swallowed through a throat of modern dimension. In these apartments we also admired the elegance and variety of the lamps. From these apartments we passed through those containing the pictures into those containing the sepulchral vases. Although there are above two thousand of these vases, there are no two of them of precisely the same form and size. These vases have been very exactly imitated at the present day in everything excepting the lightness of the material, and the permanency of the colours, which have hitherto been found to be inimitable, the modern vases being uniformly much more heavy and the colours easily obliterated by time or friction. These vases were all used for the tomb. There are two kinds, large, to contain the ashes of the dead; and very small, to contain the tears of the living. The paintings on them were adapted to the

character of the deceased, for the soldier, heroic, for the statesman, civique, for beauty, amatory, etc. Besides the paintings there were also placed in the tomb articles likewise characteristic of the deceased; arms for the first, a scroll for the second, and even rouge for the third, etc. The manner of the interring was as follows: a tomb of an oblong square, with the skeleton stretched longitudinally on its back, the vase containing the ashes of the combustible parts at the head, or elsewhere, and the small lacrimal vases on the breast, etc. The Studium shuts at two o'clock, and we were obliged to leave it at that hour. We spent the rest of the time until dinner. Before we rose from [the] table Commodore Stewart and Doctor Heap called to invite us to a walk, but as we had made our arrangements to visit the Grotta del Cane, we declined their invitation. They left us and we set out for the grotto at five o'clock. We passed through the Grotta of Posilipo, and in less then three-quarters of an hour we arrived at the lake of Agnano. Although this sheet of water is called a lake it does not much exceed the ordinary dimensions of a mill pond. Immediately on the margin of this lake, and but a few rods from the road, is the Grotta del Cane. A woman attended us to the spot and with a key opened a door by which the mouth of the grotto is shut. We found it to be a hole in the side of the hill ten or twelve feet in length, about four feet wide, and at the entrance about eight or nine feet, but rapidly lowering as you proceed, and at the farthest end almost forming an angle. The woman had a little white dog with her which she laid on its back inside the cave, and at the end of two or three minutes it gasped, foamed at the mouth, and became to all appearances lifeless. The woman then threw it on the ground on the outside of the cave and it almost instantaneously recovered and ran about as if it had suffered nothing. The woman then held a lighted torch within eight or ten inches of the ground and it became immediately extinct. This experiment was repeated several times and always with the same result. Notwithstanding the common opinion, I believed that I smelt a slight odor in the cave. We afterwards visited by the side of the road and close to the cave, several rooms which have been built in modern times, and which are filled with warm sulphuric vapour which proceeds from holes in the sides and which produces copious perspiration. These rooms are used by rheumatic and asthmatic people, and there are seats round the room on which the sick may lie or sit. The vapour which comes from the wall is, close to it, very hot, and leaves about the overture an incrustation of sulphur and saltpetre. We arrived back to town at seven o'clock and spent the evening at home having a visit which lasted until ten o'clock from Madam.

29. I went shopping again this morning with Mrs. R[ussell] and among other things purchased some of the new fashioned silk for gowns at six carlinos forty grains [1] the canna-ell. I afterwards went and settled with my bankers, Falconette & Co., and drew for their advances to me on Messrs. Hottinguer & Co. at Paris. I now left Mrs. Russell at our lodgings and proceeded along to the Studium, that I might visit there a particular room which I had not hitherto seen. Although it was past two o'clock, the keepers admitted me into the room I desired to see. It was filled with some of the most curious remains of antiquity in bronze, marble and fresco. There was a painter present copying some of the latter which had been injured. The contents of this room presents the strongest proof of the peculiar manners of the ancients and of their most remarkable superstition. After leaving the Studium I called and left cards to take leave of Counsellor Guerdin, Sir William à Court,[2] and the Prince Jablonowski. About four o'clock I rode with Mrs. R[ussell] to the other end of the city, in order to witness the drawing of the lottery. We arrived in time and were very civilly provided with convenient seats to see the ceremony behind the presiding judges. These judges were five in number, dressed in grand costumes of black. Their seats were raised three or four steps above the floor which was crowded with spectators anxiously awaiting their fate. Immediately behind the judges were two rows of seats which appeared to be filled by lazzaroni and the lowest order of the people. There was an urn before the judges which contained the numbers. When the ceremony began a person standing before the judges received the urn and turned and shook it violently in full view of all present. He then returned it to the judge who sat on the left, who opened the top of the urn with a key or instrument adapted to that purpose. A lad of fourteen or fifteen years of age standing erect on that side crossed himself, and then holding up his hand open to show the spectators that there was nothing in it, put it into the urn and thence drew a little ball between his thumb and finger, which he also held up in full view, and then passed it to the principal judge who sat in the middle. The judge then opened the ball and drew out a slip of paper on which a number was written. This number he immediately passed to a person behind him who appeared to be a lazzarone, and who proclaimed the number with a very loud voice. The ceremony was continued five times which is the whole amount of numbers drawn. On the proclamation of every number there was great agitation among the attending multi-

[1] A carline was, Neapolitan coin, a tenth of a ducat, or ten grains.
[2] William A'Court, Baron Heytesbury (1779–1860).

tude, and pleasure or disappointment was strongly depicted on their countenances, principally the latter. We now returned home and Mrs. Russell and Amelia went to visit Mrs. Bird and the Princess of Bellmonte, and did not return until half past eleven o'clock.

LAMON'S "LIFE OF LINCOLN."

UNION CLUB,
BOSTON, December 5, 1910.

MY DEAR SIR:

I give you below my recollections of the incidents connected with the preparation and publication of the first volume of Lamon's "Life of Abraham Lincoln," the only volume of the work published. This volume was published in 1872 by James R. Osgood & Co., of which firm I was then a member, and I had full charge of the publication. You are at liberty to make such use of the following statement as may serve the purpose of historic truth. Very truly yours,

JOHN SPENCER CLARK.

HORACE WHITE, Esq.,
18 West 69th Street,
New York.

I. About 1868 I learned that W. H. Herndon was preparing a life of Mr. Lincoln, and that he had a quantity of fresh material that would throw new light on some phases of Mr. Lincoln's life and character. I opened correspondence in the name of my firm with Mr. Herndon with reference to the publication of his work. This correspondence was continued for some time, Mr. Herndon not being ready to submit his copy.

II. Some time in 1870 Col. Ward H. Lamon appeared on the scene as the owner of all the Herndon material, which he had purchased,[1] and also as the possessor of much other valuable material which he had procured through his acquaintance and semi-official connection with Mr. Lincoln, and he came prepared "to talk business" in the matter of publication. I was convinced that Colonel Lamon had the material, and he stated that this material was to be used and put in literary form by Chauncey Black, a clever writer, and a son of Jeremiah Black, a tough, hard-headed old democrat of the pro-slavery school, and a leading, if not the dominating spirit on constitutional questions in the Buchanan Cabinet.

III. I raised objection to a life of Mr. Lincoln being prepared under such apparently hostile influences, and Colonel Lamon as-

[1] See Newton, *Lincoln and Herndon*, 306.

sured me that nothing politically hostile to Mr. Lincoln should go into the work; that Mr. Black was a great admirer of Mr. Lincoln, and that the work should be in full sympathy with the fundamental points in Mr. Lincoln's life and character. Colonel Lamon later brought Mr. Black to see me, and he also assured me of his loyalty to Mr. Lincoln, and his good faith in presenting the political aspects of his career. On the strength of these assurances we entered into a contract for publication.

IV. While the proofs of the early chapters as they came in to me showed a lack of appreciation of the finer qualities of Mr. Lincoln's nature, and a disposition to keep the rougher, coarser, aspects of his pioneer life prominent, I saw nothing I could positively object to until I received the proofs of Chapter XV, purporting to give a brief history of the Kansas struggle. Here I saw well known historic facts perverted to shield the pro-slavery democratic party from "high crimes and misdemeanors" in their attempt to bring in Kansas as a slave state. I protested to Colonel Lamon that the account was not only untrue, but was also wholly inconsistent with Mr. Lincoln's position on the Kansas question. After considerable discussion and the exhibition of much feeling on the part of Mr. Black, Colonel Lamon fully sustained me and authorized me to substitute the text as it now stands in place of what had been prepared by Mr. Black.

V. This experience with the Kansas matter made me suspicious of Mr. Black's good faith, and when the proofs came of the chapter pretending to give an historic record of the very memorable period between Mr. Lincoln's election and his inauguration, it was only too evident that justice to Mr. Lincoln during this critical period was sacrificed to an effort to extenuate if not excuse the shambling policy of the Buchanan administration — a policy which weakly supported the Constitution with one hand, while attacking it vigorously with the other hand. I put the matter squarely before Colonel Lamon and he saw the unwisdom, if not the absurdity, of compromising Mr. Lincoln in the slightest degree at this great period when in the tremendous swirl of political complications his was the sanest mind of all — sanest not only because he stood for the Union, but also for the inherent power of the Union under the Constitution to protect itself.

Mr. Black's effort to condone the interpretation of the Constitution by the Buchanan Administration during its last days — an interpretation which Mr. Lincoln had to fight during his whole term — in a life of Lincoln, was therefore unceremoniously cut out, as appears at the bottom of page 527; and although I have not

a distinct recollection of the details that followed, I do know that Mr. Black was greatly angered, that there was a split, and that we got no more copy for the work.

VI. Colonel Lamon impressed me as a man of fair intelligence and good sense, gained by a sort of rough and tumble experience, and while in no way a man of literary culture or of positive convictions in regard to the higher phases of Mr. Lincoln's character, he was an admirer of Mr. Lincoln as an honest political statesman, and in the matter of having Mr. Lincoln's life truly set forth he only needed to have the truth shown to him to stand by it. I think he at first put full confidence in Black, that there was a sort of good-fellowship understanding between them that was "busted" when Lamon saw clearly that Black's adherence to the flesh-pots of his democratic faith was stronger than his desire to see full justice done to Mr. Lincoln's memory.

VII. The publication of the work, which was entered upon with a belief in its historic importance, and high anticipation of its commercial success, came, with the publication of the first volume, to an untimely end. No more work was done upon it and the undertaking proved a losing venture all around; and I came to class the outcome as among those publishing experiences which show the futility of endeavoring to combine essentially antagonistic elements in the production of an important literary work.

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